

*Labor Omnia Vincit*

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REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS  
OF THE  
FIFTY-FIRST ANNUAL  
CONVENTION  
OF  
THE AMERICAN  
FEDERATION OF LABOR



HELD AT VANCOUVER, B. C., CANADA  
October 5th to 15th, Inclusive  
1931



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WASHINGTON, D. C.  
1931

# OFFICERS

OF THE

## AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

### 1932

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|                   |                               |                    |
|-------------------|-------------------------------|--------------------|
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# DELEGATES

## TO THE

# Fifty-first Annual Convention

| ORGANIZATIONS  | No. of Delegates | No. of Votes for each Delegate | NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES  |
|--|------------------|--------------------------------|--|
| Actors and Artistes of America, Associated.....  | 2                | 42                             | Frank Gillmore, 45 West 47th Street, New York, N. Y.                     |
|  |                  | 41                             | Paul Dulzell, 45 West 47th Street, New York, N. Y.                       |
| Asbestos Workers, International Association of Heat and Frost Insulators and.....                | 1                | 41                             | Joseph A. Mullaney, 15 Benham Street, Elmhurst, Long Island, New York.   |
|  |                  | 67                             | A. A. Myrup, 2719 Best Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.                        |
| Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America.....                            | 3                | 67                             | Peter Beisel, 153 Selma Street, Webster Grove, Missouri.                 |
|  |                  | 67                             | Henry L. Koch, 2719 Best Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.                      |
|  |                  | 93                             | James C. Shanessy, Delaware at 12th Street, Indianapolis, Indiana.       |
|  |                  | 92                             | Wm. C. Birthright, Delaware at 12th Street, Indianapolis, Indiana.       |
| Barbers' International Union Journeymen.....   | 5                | 92                             | Charles T. Crane, Labor Temple, Portland, Oregon.                        |
|  |                  | 92                             | Patrick H. Reagan, 509 Seward Street, Rochester, New York.               |
|  |                  | 92                             | Anthony Merlino, 168 Bradley Street, New Haven, Connecticut.             |
| Bill Posters and Billers of America, International Alliance of.....                              | 1                | 16                             | Leo Abernathy, 620 Duquesne Way, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.               |
| Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and Helpers, International Brotherhood of.....                         | 2                | 25                             | Roy Horn, 2922 Washington Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois.                  |
|  |                  | 25                             | W. C. Powlesland, 29 James Street, Apartment 7, Toronto 9, Ont., Canada. |
| Boiler Makers, Iron Ship Builders and helpers of America, International Brotherhood of.....      | 4                | 43                             | J. A. Franklin, 522 Brotherhood Block, Kansas City, Kansas.              |
|  |                  | 43                             | William E. Walter, 637 North 25th Street, East St. Louis, Illinois.      |
| Bookbinders, International Brotherhood of.....   | 2                | 42                             | J. N. Davis, 1211 Gallatin Street N. W., Washington, D. C.               |
|  |                  | 42                             | Harry Nacy, 26 South Street, New York, N. Y.                             |
|  |                  | 69                             | John B. Haggerty, A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.                |
| Boot and Shoe Workers' Union.....  | 4                | 68                             | Mary McEnerney, 431 South Dearborn Street, Chicago, Illinois.            |
|  |                  | 51                             | E. W. A. O'Dell, 246 Summer Street, Boston, Massachusetts.               |
|  |                  | 51                             | Nora O'Connor, 43 Spring Avenue, Brockton, Massachusetts.                |
| Brewery, Flour, Cereal and Soft Drink Workers of America, International Union of the United..... | 3                | 51                             | John H. Dillon, Rockland, Massachusetts.                                 |
|  |                  | 50                             | David Anderson, 4578 Austin Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.                   |
|  |                  | 54                             | Joseph Obergfell, 2347 Vine Street, Station E, Box 28, Cincinnati, Ohio. |
|  |                  | 53                             | A. J. Kugler, 156 Grant Avenue, Jersey City, New Jersey.                 |
|  |                  | 53                             | Adam E. Zusi, 124 Maple Avenue, Irvington, Newark, New Jersey.           |

## DELEGATES TO THE FIFTY-FIRST ANNUAL CONVENTION

| ORGANIZATIONS   | No. of Delegates | No. of Votes for Delegate | NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES   |
|---|------------------|---------------------------|---|
| Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union of America..... | 4                | 225                       | William J. Bowen, 1417 K Street N. W., Washington, D. C.                              |
|   |                  | 225                       | John J. Stretch, 2636 Birchwood Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.                            |
|   |                  | 225                       | William J. Moran, Box 677, El Paso, Texas.  |
|   |                  | 225                       | Walter V. Price, 255 Haven Avenue, New York, N. Y.                                    |
| Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, International Association.....      | 4                | 44                        | P. J. Morrin, 1615 Syndicate Trust Building, St. Louis, Missouri.                     |
|   |                  | 44                        | Edward Ryan, 179 W. Washington Street, Chicago, Illinois.                             |
|   |                  | 44                        | W. F. Bauers, 351 Broadway, Buffalo, New York.  |
|   |                  | 43                        | George McTague, 3701 Divisadero Street, San Francisco, California.                    |
| Building Service Employees' International Union.....                    | 4                | 45                        | Jerry Horan, 130 North Wells Street, Chicago, Illinois.                               |
|   |                  | 45                        | William Quesse, 130 North Wells Street, Chicago, Illinois.                            |
|   |                  | 45                        | Oscar F. Nelson, 130 North Wells Street, Chicago, Illinois.                           |
|   |                  | 45                        | Robert McLeod, 130 North Wells Street, Chicago, Illinois.                             |
| Carmen of America, Brotherhood Railway.....                             | 4                | 200                       | Martin F. Ryan, Carmen's Building, 107 West Linwood Boulevard, Kansas City, Missouri. |
|   |                  | 200                       | John O. Holmgren, 11740 Wentworth Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.                          |
|   |                  | 200                       | L. A. Beaudry, 1828 Desery Street, Montreal, Quebec, Canada.                          |
|   |                  | 200                       | F. H. Knight, Carmen's Building, 107 West Linwood Boulevard, Kansas City, Missouri.   |
| Carpenters and Joiners of America, United Brotherhood of.....           | 6                | 504                       | Wm. L. Hutcheson, Carpenters' Building, Indianapolis, Indiana.                        |
|   |                  | 504                       | Frank Duffy, Carpenters' Building, Indianapolis, Indiana.                             |
|   |                  | 503                       | H. C. Rogers, 522 East Fourth Avenue, Houston, Texas.                                 |
|   |                  | 503                       | Charles W. Hanson, 130 Madison Avenue, New York, N. Y.                                |
| Cigarmakers' International Union of America.....                        | 3                | 503                       | Thos. F. Flynn, 12 E. Erie Street, Chicago, Illinois.                                 |
|   |                  | 503                       | W. Page, 531 Beatty Street, Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada.                      |
|   |                  | 52                        | I. M. Ornburn, 604 Carpenters' Building, 10th and K Streets N. W., Washington, D. C.  |
|   |                  | 52                        | G. W. Perkins, 720 North Ridgeland Avenue, Oak Park, Illinois.                        |
| Clerks, National Federation of Post Office.....                         | 5                | 51                        | William Collins, 190 West Brookline Street, Boston, Massachusetts.                    |
|   |                  | 72                        | Leo E. George, 3851 31st Street, Mt. Rainier, Maryland.                               |
|   |                  | 72                        | Thos. F. Flaherty, 1801 16th Street, N. W., Apart. 506, Washington, D. C.             |
|   |                  | 72                        | Olie Allen, Post Office Clerk, Champaign, Illinois.                                   |
| Clerks Brotherhood of Railway.....                                      | 3                | 72                        | Robert Daney, 345 West 45th Street, Los Angeles, California.                          |
|   |                  | 72                        | Roy McIntosh, 4545 10th Avenue, South, Seattle, Washington.                           |
|   |                  | 251                       | Geo. M. Harrison, 701 Brotherhood Building, Court and Vine Streets, Cincinnati, Ohio. |
|   |                  | 251                       | D. E. Pearsall, 129 14th Avenue, West, Vancouver, B. C., Canada.                      |
|   |                  | 251                       | Frank H. Hall, 4601 Rosedale Avenue, Montreal, Quebec, Canada.                        |

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|---|------------------|--------------------------------|---|---|
| Clerks' International Protective Association, Retail.....                               | 2                | 50                             | John B. Schulte, Lock Drawer 248, Lafayette, Indiana.                                     |   |
|   |                  | 50                             | C. C. Coulter, Lock Drawer 248, Lafayette, Indiana.                                       |   |
| Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union.....                          | 1                | 58                             | Max Zaritsky, 621 Broadway, New York City.  |   |
| Conductors, Order of Sleeping Car.....  | 1                | 23                             | Myles S. Warfield, 107 West Linwood Boulevard, Kansas City, Missouri                      |   |
| Drastmen's Unions, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and..... | 1                | 17                             | C. L. Rosemund, Room 200, A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.                         |   |
|   |                  | 237                            | H. H. Broach, 1200 15th Street N. W., Washington, D. C.                                   |   |
|   |                  | 237                            | G. M. Bugniazet, 1200 15th Street N. W., Washington, D. C.                                |   |
|   |                  | 237                            | E. D. Bieretz, 3208 Hayward Avenue, Baltimore, Maryland.                                  |   |
|   |                  | 237                            | Charles M. Paulsen, 4919 North Cuyler Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.                          |   |
|   |                  | 236                            | Emil Preiss, 130 East 25th Street, New York, N. Y.  |   |
| Electrical Workers of America, International Brotherhood of.....                        | 6                | 236                            | D. F. Cleary, 1123 North Shore Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.                                 |   |
|   |                  | 34                             | Frank Feehey, Room 1505, Fox Building, 1612 Market Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.    |   |
|   |                  | 3                              | 34  | J. C. MacDonald, 321 Tremont Street, Room 10, Corner Broadway, Boston, Massachusetts. |
|   |                  |                                | 34  | Thomas O'Brien, 159 North State Street, Chicago, Illinois.                            |
|   |                  |                                | 68  | John Posschl, Room 202, 1003 K Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.                       |
|   |                  |                                | 68  | F. A. Fitzgerald, Room 204, 1003 K Street N. W., Washington, D. C.                    |
| Engineers, International Union of Operating.....  | 5                | 68                             | Wm. E. Maloney, Suite 643-644, 332 South La Salle Street, Chicago, Illinois.              |   |
|   |                  | 68                             | Frank Deraberger, 216 High Avenue, Cleveland, Ohio.                                       |   |
|   |                  | 68                             | Wm. P. Walsh, 9215 Clifton Boulevard, Cleveland, Ohio.                                    |   |
|   |                  | 45                             | Edward J. Volz, Room 1110, 292 Madison Avenue, New York, N. Y.                            |   |
|   |                  | 45                             | Matthew Woll, A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.                                     |   |
| Engravers' Union of North America, International Photo.....                             | 2                | 127                            | Luther C. Steward, 10 B Street S. W., Washington, D. C.                                   |   |
|   |                  | 127                            | Gertrude M. McNally, 10 B Street S. W., Washington, D. C.                                 |   |
|   |                  | 127                            | John Fitzgerald, 72 Adelphi Street, Brooklyn, New York.                                   |   |
| Federal Employes, National Federation of.....   | 3                | 90                             | Fred W. Baer, 207 A. F. of L. Building, 901 Massachusetts Avenue N. W., Washington, D. C. |   |
|   |                  | 90                             | Niel Macdonald, 1136 McLean Drive, Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada.                   |   |
|   |                  | 31                             | John F. McNamara, 321 Tremont Street, Boston, Massachusetts.                              |   |
| Fire Fighters, International Association of.....  | 2                | 30                             | Joseph W. Morton, 2922 W. Washington Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois.                        |   |
|   |                  | 30                             | James P. Holland, 112 East 23rd Street, New York, New York.                               |   |
|   |                  | 93                             | T. A. Rickert, Room 506, 175 West Washington Street, Chicago, Illinois.                   |   |
| Firemen and Oilers, International Brotherhood of.....                                   | 3                | 93                             | J. L. Wines, Room 621, Bible House, New York, N. Y.                                       |   |
|   |                  | 93                             | F. Doyle, Room 210, 69 Canal Street, Boston, Massachusetts.                               |   |
|   |                  | 92                             | A. Adamski, 547 Doat Street, Buffalo, New York.   |   |
| Garment Workers of America, United  | 5                | 92                             | D. A. Houck, (Mrs.), Room 621, Bible House, New York, New York.                           |   |

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| Garment Workers' Union, International Ladies.....   | 1                | 475                            | Benjamin Schlesinger, 3 West 16th Street, New York, New York.        |
| Glass Bottle Blowers' Association of the United States and Canada.....                                  | 2                | 30                             | James Maloney, 1010 Colonial Building, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.   |
|   |                  | 30                             | William W. Campbell, 157 Sherwood Avenue, Rochester, New York.       |
|   |                  | 23                             | William P. Clarke, 200 American Bank Building, Toledo, Ohio.         |
| Glass Workers' Union, American Flint.....   | 2                | 23                             | Harvey H. Harshman, 613 Orange Avenue, Dunkirk, Indiana.             |
|   |                  | 31                             | Michael F. Greene, 418 Bible House, New York, New York.              |
| Hatters of North America, United.....   | 3                | 31                             | Martin Lawlor, 418 Bible House, New York, New York.                  |
|   |                  | 31                             | Edward Gordon, 10 Liberty Street, Danbury, Connecticut.              |
|   |                  | 192                            | Joseph V. Moreschi, 25 School Street, Quincy, Massachusetts.         |
| Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union of America, International.....                        | 6                | 192                            | Joseph Marshall, 200 Guerrero Street, San Francisco, California.     |
|   |                  | 192                            | Herbert Rivers, Labor Temple, Kansas City, Missouri.                 |
|   |                  | 192                            | Joseph B. Etchison, 230 East Pratt Street, Indianapolis, Indiana.    |
|   |                  | 191                            | Carl E. Berg, 9374 103rd Avenue, Edmonton, Alberta, Canada.          |
|   |                  | 191                            | A. C. D'Andrea, 814 West Harrison Street, Chicago, Illinois.         |
| Hotel and Restaurant Employes and Beverage Dispensers' International Alliance.....                      | 5                | 68                             | Edward Flore, 426 Woodbridge Avenue, Buffalo, New York.              |
|   |                  | 68                             | Robt. B. Hesketh, 528 Walnut Street, Cincinnati, Ohio.               |
|   |                  | 67                             | Emanuel Koveleski, 104 Reynolds Arcade, Rochester, New York.         |
|   |                  | 67                             | Agnes M. Quinn (Miss), Room 303 Labor Temple, Portland, Oregon.      |
| Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, Amalgamated Association of.....  | 1                | 67                             | Conrad Schott, 2811 Henrietta Street, St. Louis, Missouri.           |
|   |                  | 58                             | M. F. Tigue, 500 South Main Street, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.        |
| Jewelry Workers Union, International.....   | 1                | 8                              | David Levine, 604 Union Street, Seattle, Washington.                 |
|   |                  | 42                             | Wm. J. McSorley, 2605 Detroit Avenue, Cleveland, Ohio.               |
| Lathers, International Union of Wood, Wire and Metal.....   | 4                | 41                             | Geo. T. Moore, 2510 North Harding Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.         |
|   |                  | 41                             | Chas. J. Case, 302 Este Building, Cincinnati, Ohio.                  |
|   |                  | 41                             | Harry J. Hagen, 4005 Lexington Avenue, St. Louis, Missouri.          |
| Laundry Workers' International Union.....   | 2                | 28                             | James F. Brock, P. O. Box 152, Oakland California.                   |
|   |                  | 27                             | John O'Keefe, 1170 Florida Street, San Francisco, California.        |
|   |                  | 110                            | Edward J. Gairor, A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.            |
| Letter Carriers, National Association of.....   | 5                | 110                            | M. T. Finnan, A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.                |
|   |                  | 110                            | Charles D. Duffy, 834 South Elmwood Avenue, Oak Park, Illinois.      |
|   |                  | 110                            | John T. Mugavin, Provident Bank Building, Cincinnati, Ohio.          |
| Letter Carriers, National Federation of Rural.....  | 1                | 110                            | Luther E. Swartz, Stahlman Building, Nashville, Tennessee.           |
|   |                  | 8                              | L. M. Onyett, Lafayette, Indiana.                                    |
| Lithographers' International Protective and Beneficial Association of the United States and Canada..... | 2                | 29                             | Andrew J. Kennedy, 52 Kings Parkway, Baldwin, Long Island, New York. |
|   |                  | 28                             | Robert Bruck, 1506 Jonquil Terrace, Chicago, Illinois.               |

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| Longshoremen's Association, International.....  | 1                | 299                            | John C. Bjorklund, 611 Pacific Avenue, City Hall Annex, Tacoma, Washington.                   |
|   |                  | 194                            | Arthur O. Wharton, Machinists Building, Washington, D. C.                                     |
| Machinists, International Association of.....   | 4                | 194                            | Charles W. Fry, 113 South Ashland Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois.                               |
|   |                  | 194                            | R. A. Henning, 2395 University Avenue, St. Paul, Minnesota.                                   |
|   |                  | 194                            | Daniel P. Haggerty, 936 Capp Street, San Francisco, California.                               |
|   |                  | 102                            | F. H. Fljozdal, 61 Putnam Avenue, Detroit, Michigan.  |
| Maintenance of Way Employes, Brotherhood of.....  | 4                | 102                            | E. E. Milliman, 61 Putnam Avenue, Detroit, Michigan.  |
|   |                  | 102                            | A. McAndrew, 427 Iroquois Street, West, Moose Jaw, Sask., Canada.                             |
| Marble, Slate and Stone Polishers, Rubbers and Sawyers, Tile and Marble Setters' Helpers, and Terrazzo Helpers' International Association of..... | 2                | 102                            | Geo. H. Davis, 19 Cohen Building, Covington, Kentucky.  |
|   |                  | 38                             | Stephen C. Hogan, 206 Machinists Building, 9th and Mt. Vernon Place, N. W., Washington, D. C. |
| Masters, Mates and Pilots of America, National Organization.....  | 1                | 38                             | Louis Rode, 406 East 149th Street, New York, N. Y.  |
|   |                  | 30                             | John J. Scully, 24 Moore Street, New York, N. Y.  |
| Meat Cutters and Butchers Workers of North America, Amalgamated.....  | 3                | 38                             | Patrick E. Gorman, 829 Eastern Parkway, Louisville, Kentucky.                                 |
|   |                  | 38                             | Dennis Lane, 160 North La Salle Street, Chicago, Illinois.                                    |
|   |                  | 37                             | Joseph Hofmann, 5210 Beacon Avenue, Seattle, Washington.                                      |
| Metal Workers International Association, Sheet.....   | 4                | 63                             | John J. Hynes, 642 Transportation Building, Washington, D. C.                                 |
|   |                  | 63                             | James J. Ryan, 113 South Ashland Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois.                                |
|   |                  | 62                             | John Reul, 162 East 23rd Street, New York, New York.  |
|   |                  | 62                             | James Close, 620 South Ashland Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois.                                  |
|   |                  | 500                            | John L. Lewis, 1114 Merchants Bank Building, Indianapolis, Indiana.                           |
|   |                  | 500                            | Philip Murray, 1116 Merchants Bank Building, Indianapolis, Indiana.                           |
| Mine Workers of America, United.....  | 8                | 500                            | Thomas Kennedy, 1107 Merchants Bank Building, Indianapolis, Indiana.                          |
|   |                  | 500                            | William Green, A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.  |
|   |                  | 500                            | Michael Hartneady, 305 American Bank Building, Hazleton, Pennsylvania.                        |
|   |                  | 500                            | P. T. Fagan, 407 Columbia Bank Building, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.                            |
|   |                  | 500                            | John Boylan, 512 Miller Building, Scranton, Pennsylvania.                                     |
| Molders' Union of North America, International.....   | 3                | 500                            | Mart F. Brennan, 508 Dime Bank Building, Shamokin, Pennsylvania.                              |
|   |                  | 51                             | M. J. Keough, Edwards Building, 528-530 Walnut Street, Cincinnati, Ohio.                      |
|   |                  | 51                             | Robert T. McCoy, P. O. Box 699, Cincinnati, Ohio.   |
|   |                  | 50                             | Henry Rosendale, 2035 Locust Street, Quincy, Illinois.  |
| Musicians, American Federation of.....  | 6                | 167                            | Joseph N. Weber, 1440 Broadway, New York City, New York.                                      |
|   |                  | 167                            | Chauncey A. Weaver, City Hall, Des Moines, Iowa.  |
|   |                  | 167                            | John W. Parks, care Local 147, A. F. of M., 2009½ Main Street, Dallas, Texas.                 |
|   |                  | 167                            | Chas. L. Bagley, 403 California Building, Los Angeles, California.                            |
|   |                  | 166                            | Edward Canavan, care Local 802, A. F. of M., 210 East 86th Street, New York, New York.        |
|   |                  | 166                            | W. Ralph Fetterman, P. O. Box 480, Lincoln, Nebraska.   |

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| Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America, Brotherhood of.....   | 6                | 161                            | L. P. Lindelof, Painters' Building, Lafayette, Indiana.                                     |
|   |                  | 161                            | Clarence E. Swick, 517 South 9th Street, Lafayette, Indiana.                                |
|   |                  | 161                            | Christian M. Madsen, 1054 N. Mayfield Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.                            |
|   |                  | 161                            | James P. Meehan, 54 Olive Avenue, Lawrence, Massachusetts.                                  |
|   |                  | 160                            | Harry Kaufman, 734 Canton Street, Elizabeth, New Jersey.                                    |
| Pattern Makers' League of North America.....  | 1                | 160                            | Joseph P. Hunter, 1438 Bridge Street, Niagara Falls, Ontario, Canada.                       |
|   |                  | 70                             | James Wilson, Second National Bank Building, Cincinnati, Ohio.                              |
| Pavers, Rammermen, Flag Layers, Bridge and Stone Curb Setters and Sheet Asphalt Pavers, International Union of..... | 1                | 20                             | Edward I. Hannah, 819 Thrd Avenue, New York, New York.                                      |
|   |                  | 76                             | M. J. Colleran, 401 West 263rd Street, Riverdale, Bronx, New York.                          |
| Plasterers' International Association of the United States and Canada, Operative.....                               | 5                | 76                             | T. A. Scully, 301-303 Castell Building, Middletown, Ohio.                                   |
|   |                  | 75                             | John E. Rooney, 15401 Grovewood Avenue, Cleveland, Ohio.                                    |
|   |                  | 75                             | William A. O'Keefe, 4031 Scanlon Place, St. Louis, Missouri.                                |
|   |                  | 75                             | John A. Feeley, 1351 27th Avenue, San Francisco, California.                                |
|   |                  | 113                            | John Coefield, Machinists Building, Washington, D. C.                                       |
| Plumbers and Steam Fitters of the United States and Canada, United Association of.....                              | 4                | 113                            | Thomas E. Burke, Machinists' Building, Washington, D. C.                                    |
|   |                  | 112                            | S. G. Smylie, 3765 36th Avenue, W. Vancouver, B. C., Canada.                                |
|   |                  | 112                            | Charles Anderson, 1901 Fifth Avenue, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.                              |
| Polishers, Metal, International Union.....  | 1                | 50                             | W. W. Britton, Box 641, or 602, Second National Bank Building, Cincinnati, Ohio.            |
| Potters, National Brotherhood of Operative.....   | 2                | 27                             | James M. Duffy, Box 6, East Liverpool, Ohio.  |
|   |                  | 27                             | Frank Hull, 617 Broadway, East Liverpool, Ohio.   |
| Printers, Die Stampers and Engravers' Union of North America, International Plate.....                              | 1                | 12                             | James Windsor, 3501 13th Street N. W., Washington, D. C.                                    |
| Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union of North America, International.....  | 4                | 100                            | S. B. Marks, Suite 915 City State Bank Building, 130 North Wells Street, Chicago, Illinois. |
|   |                  | 100                            | Thos. S. Ezart, 1807 East 35th Street, Vancouver, B. C., Canada.                            |
|   |                  | 100                            | Harry F. Longley, 193 Kings Road, W., N. Vancouver, B. C., Canada.                          |
|   |                  | 100                            | Harry Listman, 2710 Sixteenth Avenue S. W., Seattle, Washington.                            |
| Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers of the United States and Canada, International Brotherhood of.....            | 2                | 25                             | John P. Burke, P. O. Drawer V., Fort Edward, New York.                                      |
|   |                  | 25                             | H. W. Sullivan, 88 Brandon Road, Worcester, Massachusetts.                                  |
| Quarry Workers, International Union of North America.....   | 1                | 30                             | Fred. W. Suito, Scampini Building, Barre, Vermont.  |

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|--|------------------|--------------------------------|---|
| Railway Employes of America, Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric.....   | 5                | 183                            | W. D. Mahon, 260 Vernor Highway, East, Detroit, Michigan.                         |
|  |                  | 183                            | Joseph J. Kehoe, 328 South Ashland Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois.                  |
|  |                  | 183                            | Sidney Van Ness, 906 Lawyers Building, Detroit, Michigan.                         |
|  |                  | 183                            | Harry H. Jones, Room 201, Law Building, 68 Hamilton Street, Paterson, New Jersey. |
|  |                  | 182                            | J. H. Cookman, Room 412, Washington Loan and Trust Building, Washington, D. C.    |
| Railway Mail Association.....  | 2                | 99                             | William M. Collins, 507 A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.                   |
| Roofers, Damp and Waterproof Workers' Association, United State, Tile and Composition.....                                     | 2                | 99                             | Henry W. Strickland, 507 A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.                  |
| Seamen's Union of America, International.....  | 2                | 20                             | J. M. Gavlak, 3091 Coleridge Road, Cleveland Heights, Ohio.                       |
|  |                  | 20                             | Peter J. O'Brien, 224 West 114th Street, New York, New York.                      |
| Stage Employes and Moving Picture Machine Operators of the United States and Canada, International Alliance of Theatrical..... | 4                | 75                             | Andrew Furtuseth, A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.                         |
|  |                  | 75                             | Victor A. Olander, 666 Lake Shore Drive, Chicago, Illinois.                       |
| Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Union of North America, International.....   | 2                | 60                             | William F. Canavan, Suite 2008, 1450 Broadway, New York, New York.                |
|  |                  | 60                             | Fred J. Dempsey, Suite 2008, 1450 Broadway, New York, New York.                   |
|  |                  | 60                             | Thomas E. Maloy, Suite 620 506 South Wabash Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.            |
| Stone Cutters' Association of North America, Journeymen.....   | 2                | 60                             | James F. Burke, 115 Broadway, Boston, Massachusetts.                              |
|  |                  | 41                             | Winfield T. Keegan, 78 Lincoln Street, Jersey City, New Jersey.                   |
| Stove Mounters' International Union.....   | 1                | 41                             | Chas. A. Sumner, 2645 East 28th Street, Kansas City, Missouri.                    |
|  |                  | 29                             | M. W. Mitchell, 8 East Market Street, Indianapolis, Indiana.                      |
| Switchmen's Union of North America.....  | 2                | 29                             | P. J. Cullen, 179 West Washington Street, Room 614, Chicago, Illinois.            |
|  |                  | 8                              | Edw. W. Kaiser, 6466 East Jefferson Avenue, Detroit, Michigan.                    |
| Tailors' Union of America, Journeymen  | 1                | 41                             | Thomas C. Cashen, 3 Linwood Avenue, Buffalo, New York.                            |
|  |                  | 41                             | James B. Connors, 3 Linwood Avenue, Buffalo, New York.                            |
| Teachers, American Federation of.....  | 1                | 58                             | Gust Soderberg, 6753 Stony Island Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.                      |
|  |                  | 154                            | Florence Curtis Hanson, 506 South Wabash Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.               |
| Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America, International Brotherhood of.....                                     | 6                | 154                            | Daniel J. Tobin, 222 East Michigan Street, Indianapolis, Indiana.                 |
|  |                  | 154                            | Thomas L. Hughes, 222 East Michigan Street, Indianapolis, Indiana.                |
|  |                  | 153                            | John M. Gillespie, 222 East Michigan Street, Indianapolis, Indiana.               |
|  |                  | 153                            | John P. McLaughlin, 536 Bryant Street, San Francisco, California.                 |
|  |                  | 153                            | L. G. Goudie, 220 South Ashland Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois.                     |
|  |                  | 153                            | J. J. McKenna, 265 West 14th Street, New York, New York.                          |
| Telegraphers, Order of Railroad.....   | 5                | 82                             | E. J. Manion, 3673 West Pine Boulevard, St. Louis, Missouri.                      |
|  |                  | 82                             | H. B. Perham, 3673 West Pine Boulevard, St. Louis, Missouri.                      |
|  |                  | 82                             | R. R. McInroy, Middlebury Center, Pennsylvania.                                   |
|  |                  | 82                             | R. M. Burr, 320 South Fifth Avenue, Ann Arbor, Michigan.                          |
|  |                  | 82                             | F. J. Ellison, 1740 North Avenue, 53, Los Angeles, California.                    |

| ORGANIZATIONS  | No. of Delegates | No. of Votes for each Delegate | NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES  |
|--|------------------|--------------------------------|--|
| Telegraphers' Union of North America, The Commercial.....    | 1                | 38                             | Frank B. Powers, 113 South Ashland Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois.                 |
|  |                  | 75                             | Thomas F. McMahon, Bible House, Astor Place, Room 605, New York, New York.       |
|  |                  | 75                             | Francis J. Gorman, Bible House, Astor Place, Room 605, New York, New York.       |
| Textile Workers of America, United.....                      | 4                | 75                             | James Starr, Room 605, Bible House, Astor Place, New York, New York.             |
|  |                  | 75                             | William Smith, 2530 North Fourth Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.             |
| Tobacco Workers' International Union                         | 1                | 24                             | E. Lewis Evans, 50-53 Our Home Life Insurance Building, Louisville, Kentucky.    |
|  |                  | 130                            | Charles P. Howard, Meridian at 28th Street, Indianapolis, Indiana.               |
|  |                  | 129                            | Frank Morrison, A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.                          |
|  |                  | 129                            | William R. Trotter, Box 428, Indianapolis, Indiana.                              |
| Typographical Union, International.....                      | 6                | 129                            | William J. Robinson, 1719 Parkview Avenue, Bronx, New York, New York.            |
|  |                  | 129                            | Frank X. Martel, Labor Temple, Detroit, Michigan.                                |
|  |                  | 129                            | Walter B. Nail, care Chronicle, Houston, Texas.                                  |
| Upholsterers' International Union of North America.....      | 2                | 51                             | James H. Hatch, 230 East 58th Street, New York, New York.                        |
|  |                  | 50                             | George V. Fay, 230 East 58th Street, New York, New York.                         |
| Building Trades Department.....                              | 1                | 1                              | M. J. McDonough, A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.                         |
| Metal Trades Department.....                                 | 1                | 1                              | John P. Frey, A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.                            |
| Railroad Employes Department.....                            | 1                | 1                              | B. M. Jewell, Room 402, 844 Rush Street, Chicago, Illinois.                      |
| Union Label Trades Department.....                           | 1                | 1                              | John J. Manning, A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.                         |
| Arizona State Federation of Labor.....                       | 1                | 1                              | J. C. Provost, 1224 E. Taylor Street, Phoenix, Arizona.                          |
| California State Federation of Labor.....                    | 1                | 1                              | Edward McLaughlin, 121 Alpine Terrace, San Francisco, California.                |
| Colorado State Federation of Labor.....                      | 1                | 1                              | John E. Gross, Box 1408, Denver, Colorado.                                       |
| Georgia State Federation of Labor.....                       | 1                | 1                              | O. E. Petry, P. O. Box 2119, Atlanta, Georgia.                                   |
| Idaho State Federation of Labor.....                         | 1                | 1                              | August Rosqvist, 1246 North Grant Street, Pocatello, Idaho.                      |
| Illinois State Federation of Labor.....                      | 1                | 1                              | Reuben G. Soderstrom, 728 Illinois Mine Workers Building, Springfield, Illinois. |
| Indiana State Federation of Labor.....                       | 1                | 1                              | T. N. Taylor, 2421 South 7th Street, Terre Haute, Indiana.                       |
| Iowa State Federation of Labor.....                          | 1                | 1                              | M. E. Sherman, 805 Observatory Building, Des Moines, Iowa.                       |
| Kansas State Federation of Labor.....                        | 1                | 1                              | Henry Allal, 541 Minnesota Avenue, Kansas City, Kansas.                          |
| Kentucky State Federation of Labor.....                      | 1                | 1                              | William C. Elliott, Box 811, Cincinnati, Ohio.                                   |
| Maryland-District of Columbia State Federation of Labor..... | 1                | 1                              | Charles E. Young, 720 Fifth Street N. W., Washington, D. C.                      |
| Massachusetts State Federation of Labor.....                 | 1                | 1                              | James T. Moriarty, 11 Beacon Street, Room 404, Boston, Massachusetts.            |
| Minnesota State Federation of Labor.....                     | 1                | 1                              | E. G. Hall, 4124 Bryant Avenue, South, Minneapolis, Minnesota.                   |
| Missouri State Federation of Labor.....                      | 1                | 1                              | Lawrence M. Kaffery, 3546 Page Boulevard, St. Louis, Missouri.                   |

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|---|------------------|--------------------------------|--|
| Montana State Federation of Labor.....  | 1                | 1                              | James D. Graham, P. O. Box 1152, Helena, Montana.  |
| Nevada State Federation of Labor.....   | 1                | 1                              | Lillie Barbour Clinedinst, 627 West Ninth Street, Reno, Nevada.                                  |
| New York State Federation of Labor....  | 1                | 1                              | John Sullivan, 2268 Hampden Place, Bronx, New York, New York.                                    |
| Ohio State Federation of Labor.....   | 1                | 1                              | Thomas J. Donnelly, 320-22 Atlas Building, Columbus, Ohio.                                       |
| Oklahoma State Federation of Labor....  | 1                | 1                              | Joe C. Campbell, 516 W. California Street, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.                              |
| Oregon State Federation of Labor.....   | 1                | 1                              | C. M. Rynerson, Labor Temple, Portland, Oregon.  |
| Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor.....   | 1                | 1                              | John Kmetz, 390 E. Green Street, Nanticoke, Pennsylvania.  |
| Porto Rico Free Federation of Workmen.....  | 1                | 1                              | Santiago Iglesias, A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.                                       |
| Texas State Federation of Labor.....  | 1                | 1                              | George H. Slater, Littlefield Building, Austin, Texas.   |
| Washington State Federation of Labor.....   | 1                | 1                              | James A. Taylor, 508-509 Maynard Building, Seattle, Washington.                                  |
| Aberdeen, Wash., Grays Harbor County Central Labor Union.....                       | 1                | 1                              | Andrew Winberg, Box 509, Aberdeen, Washington.   |
| Arkansas City, Kans., Central Labor Union.....                                      | 1                | 1                              | Abc Pool Garrison, 513 So. First Street, Arkansas City, Arkansas.                                |
| Atlanta, Ga., Federation of Trades.....   | 1                | 1                              | A. S. Nance, 713 Glenn Street S. W., Atlanta, Georgia.   |
| Balboa, C. Z., Central Labor Union.....   | 1                | 1                              | Charles F. Wahl, Balboa, Canal Zone.   |
| Bremerton, Wash., Central Trades and Labor Council.....                             | 1                | 1                              | Geo. W. Possee, 1621 Gregory Way, Bremerton, Washington.   |
| Cambridge, Mass. Central Labor Union.....   | 1                | 1                              | Harry Joel, 259 Broadway, Cambridge, Massachusetts.  |
| Centralia, Wash., Twin City Central Labor Union, Chehalis and Centralia             | 1                | 1                              | Leo F. Flynn, c/o P. O. 5, Centralia, Washington.  |
| Chicago, Ill., Federation of Labor.....   | 1                | 1                              | Edward N. Nockels, Furniture Mart, 666 Lake Shore Drive, Chicago, Illinois.                      |
| Cincinnati, O., Central Labor Council.....  | 1                | 1                              | O. Zoocklein, Rooms 7-8 Bavaria Building, N. E. Cor. Court and Walnut Streets, Cincinnati, Ohio. |
| Cle-Elum-Roslyn, Wash., Central Labor Council.....                                  | 1                | 1                              | Andrew Hunter, Box 94, Roslyn, Washington.   |
| Clinton, Ia. Tri-City Labor Congress of Clinton and Lyons, Ia. and Fulton, Ill..... | 1                | 1                              | Geo. C. Campbell, 1309 Camanche Avenue, Clinton, Iowa.   |
| Everett, Wash., Central Labor Council.....  | 1                | 1                              | Fred Michel, Labor Temple, Everett, Washington.  |
| Fargo, N. D., Trades and Labor Assembly.....  | 1                | 1                              | D. J. Driscoll, 8 Ninth Street North, Fargo, North Dakota.                                       |
| Fitchburg, Mass., Central Labor Union.....  | 1                | 1                              | E. Percival Coleman, Box 175, Fitchburg, Massachusetts.  |
| Hamilton, O., Cooperative Trades and Labor Council.....                             | 1                | 1                              | Milton Doll, Labor Temple, Hamilton, Ohio.   |
| Hannibal, Mo., Trades and Labor Assembly.....                                       | 1                | 1                              | W. F. Barger, 512 Lyon Street, Hannibal, Missouri.   |
| Indianapolis, Ind., Central Labor Union.....  | 1                | 1                              | Adolph Fritz, 721 Peoples Bank Building, Indianapolis, Indiana.                                  |
| Joliet, Ill., Central Trades and Labor Council of Will County.....                  | 1                | 1                              | Anthony Augustino, Labor Temple, Joliet, Illinois.   |

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|--|------------------|--------------------------------|---|
| Kansas City, Mo., Central Labor Union  | 1                | 1                              | Earl W. Cox, 5317 Holmes Street, Kansas City, Missouri.               |
| Kensington, Ill., Calumet Joint Labor Council                                      | 1                | 1                              | Steve Sumner, 7348 Constance Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.               |
| Klamath Falls, Ore., Central Labor Union   | 1                | 1                              | A. L. Rice, Labor Temple, Klamath Falls, Oregon.                      |
| Las Vegas, Nev., Central Labor Union of Clark Co.                                  | 1                | 1                              | H. C. Juneman, 132 N. 3d Street, Las Vegas, Nevada.                   |
| Los Angeles, Calif., Central Labor Council   | 1                | 1                              | J. W. Buzzell, 538 Maple Avenue, Los Angeles, California.             |
| Milwaukee, Wis., Federated Trades Council  | 1                | 1                              | James P. Sheehan, 536 W. Juneau Ave., Room 302, Milwaukee, Wisconsin. |
| Montreal, Que., Can., Trades and Labor Council                                     | 1                | 1                              | John T. Foster, Montreal, Que., Canada.                               |
| Newport, Ky., Trades and Labor Assembly of Kenton and Campbell Counties            | 1                | 1                              | Charles Farrell, 217 W. 12th Street, Cincinnati, Ohio.                |
| New York, N. Y., Central Trades and Labor Council of Greater New York and vicinity | 1                | 1                              | James C. Quinn, Room 301, 265 W. 14th Street, New York, New York.     |
| Olympia, Wash., Trades Council   | 1                | 1                              | J. L. Moore, P. O. Box 775, Olympia, Washington.                      |
| Pensacola, Fla., Central Labor Union   | 1                | 1                              | Philip Ickler, Lillian, Alabama.                                      |
| Phoenix, Ariz., Central Labor Council  | 1                | 1                              | J. A. Sisson, 1119 West Moreland Street, Phoenix, Arizona.            |
| Portland, Ore., Central Labor Council  | 1                | 1                              | Gust. Anderson, Labor Temple, Portland, Oregon.                       |
| Reading, Pa., Federated Trades Council   | 1                | 1                              | A. P. Bower, 705 Walnut Street, Reading, Pennsylvania.                |
| Reno, Nev., Central Trades and Labor Council                                       | 1                | 1                              | J. B. Clinedinst, 627 West 9th Street, Reno, Nevada.                  |
| Roundup, Mont., Central Trades and Labor Council                                   | 1                | 1                              | Walter Smethurst, Roundup, Montana.                                   |
| Sacramento, Calif., Federated Trades Council                                       | 1                | 1                              | J. L. R. Marsh, Box 2, Labor Temple, Sacramento, California.          |
| St. Joseph, Mo., Central Labor Council   | 1                | 1                              | Warren S. Welsh, 111 So. 11th Street, St. Joseph, Missouri.           |
| St. Louis, Mo., Central Trades and Labor Union                                     | 1                | 1                              | Samuel E. Snyder, 3503 Vista Avenue., St. Louis, Missouri.            |
| San Francisco, Calif., Labor Council   | 1                | 1                              | John A. O'Connell, 2940 16th Street, San Francisco, California.       |
| San Juan, P. R., Central Labor Union   | 1                | 1                              | Prudencio Rivera Martinez, Department of Labor, San Juan, Porto Rico. |
| Santa Maria, Calif., Central Labor Council   | 1                | 1                              | D. Calvin Reed, 217 W. Morrison Street, Santa Maria, California.      |
| Seattle, Wash., Central Labor Council, Seattle and Vicinity                        | 1                | 1                              | James A. Duncan, 510 33d Street, Seattle, Washington.                 |
| South Chicago, Ill., Trades and Labor Assembly                                     | 1                | 1                              | Frank E. Doyle, 7325 Coles Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.                 |
| Spokane, Wash., Central Labor Council  | 1                | 1                              | William J. Finn, 816 Riverside Avenue, Spokane, Washington.           |
| Springfield, Ill., Federation of Labor   | 1                | 1                              | Robert E. Woodmansee, 223½ South Sixth Street, Springfield, Illinois. |
| Springfield, Mo., Central Trades and Labor Assembly                                | 1                | 1                              | R. T. Wood, 1530 North Douglas Avenue, Springfield, Missouri.         |
| Toronto, Ont., Can., District Labor Council  | 1                | 1                              | W. P. Covert, 257 Brock Avenue, Toronto, Ontario, Canada.             |

| ORGANIZATIONS  | No. of Delegates | No. of Votes for each Delegate | NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES  |
|--|------------------|--------------------------------|--|
| Vancouver, B. C., Can., Trades and Labor Council.....  | 1                | 1                              | Percy R. Bengough, Room 200, 529 Beatty Street, Vancouver, B. C., Canada.  |
| Washington D. C. Central Labor Union.....  | 1                | 1                              | Nelson P. Alfas 303 Machinists Building Washington D. C.   |
| Yakima, Wash., Central Labor Union.....  | 1                | 1                              | Henry C. Thomas, 311 North 7th Street, Yakima, Washington.   |
| Associated Assistant Directors' Local No. 18096, Los Angeles, Calif.....                           | 1                | 1                              | Dick L'Estrange, 10640 Landale Street, North Hollywood, California.  |
| Bookkeepers Stenographers and Accountants' Union No. 12646, New York, N. Y.....                    | 1                | 3                              | Ernest Bohm, 3 West 16th Street, New York, New York.   |
| City and County Public Service Employees' Local No. 17212, Atlanta, Ga.....                        | 1                | 1                              | Fred K. Stephens, 857 Frazier Street, Atlanta, Georgia.  |
| Federal Labor Union No. 12985, Butte, Mont.....  | 1                | 1                              | John H. Driscoll, 2219 Amherst Avenue, Butte, Montana.   |
| Motion Picture Costumers' Union, Associated No. 18067, Los Angeles, Calif.....                     | 1                | 1                              | Joseph P. Tuohy, Room 206, 6472 Santa Monica Blvd., Los Angeles, California.   |
| Newsboys' Union No. 15834, Seattle, Wash.....  | 1                | 1                              | C. Gust Dahlbeck, Labor Temple, Seattle, Washington.   |
| Newspapers Writers' Union No. 17662, Boston, Mass.....   | 1                | 1                              | Michael J. Flynn, Box 1646 Boston, Massachusetts.  |
| Rope Splicers and Repairmen's Union No. 16857, Chicago Ill.....                                    | 1                | 1                              | Robert McElligott, 5513 Cortez Street, Chicago, Illinois.  |
| Shingle Weavers' Union No. 17813, Vancouver, B. C., Can.....                                       | 1                | 1                              | Fred Stevenson, 426 E. 10th Avenue, North Vancouver, B. C., Canada.  |
| Sleeping Car Porters' Union No. 18068, New York City.....  | 1                | 1                              | A. Philip Randolph, 239 W. 136th Street, New York, New York.   |
| Sleeping Car Porters' Union No. 18070, Chicago, Ill.....   | 1                | 1                              | Milton P. Webster, 4231 Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.  |
| Sleeping Car Porters' Union No. 18089, Fort Worth, Texas.....                                      | 1                | 1                              | L. Hampton, 115 East Humboldt Street, Fort Worth, Texas.   |
| Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 11773, Washington, D. C.....     | 1                | 3                              | E. J. Tracy, A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.   |
| Stenographers, Typists, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 16821, Portland, Oregon.....         | 1                | 1                              | Catherine Galvin, Portland, Oregon.  |
| Stenographers, Typists, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 18177, Vancouver, B. C., Canada..... | 1                | 1                              | Anne MacDonald, 1136 McLean Drive, Vancouver, B. C., Canada.   |
| Theatrical Agents and Managers' Association No. 18032, New York, N. Y.....                         | 1                | 1                              | Theodore Mitchell, 226 West 47th Street, New York City, New York.  |
| British Trades Union Congress.....   | 2                | 1                              | F. Wolstencroft, Amalgamated Society of Woodworkers, 131 Wilmshlow Road, Withington, Manchester, England.                      |
| Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.....  | 1                | 1                              | J. Beard, Workers' Union Group, Transport and General Workers' Union, Transport House, Smith Square, London, S. W. 1, England. |
| Women's International Union Label League and Trade Union Auxiliary..                               | ---              | ---                            | Colin McDonald, Room 200, 529 Beatty Street, Vancouver, B. C., Canada.   |
|  |                  |                                | Anna Fitzgerald, Citizens State Bank Building, Elwood, Indiana.  |

## DELEGATES TO THE FIFTY-FIRST ANNUAL CONVENTION

| Number<br>of<br>Unions | Name                                | Number<br>of<br>Delegates | Number<br>of<br>Votes |
|------------------------|-------------------------------------|---------------------------|-----------------------|
| 81                     | National and International.....     | 239                       | 28,215                |
| 4                      | Departments.....                    | 4                         | 4                     |
| 23                     | State Bodies.....                   | 23                        | 23                    |
| 47                     | Central Labor Unions.....           | 47                        | 47                    |
| 16                     | Trade and Federal Labor Unions..... | 16                        | 20                    |
| 3                      | Fraternal Organizations.....        | 4                         | 3                     |
| 174                    |                                     | 333                       | 28,312                |

# List of Delegates and Fraternal Delegates

Delegates from the American Federation of Labor to the International Federation of Trade Unions

1909 Samuel Gompers. 1911 James Duncan. 1913 George W. Perkins.  
\*1915. \*1917.

## To British Trades Union Congress

|      |                     |         |                    |      |                        |
|------|---------------------|---------|--------------------|------|------------------------|
| 1895 | Samuel Gompers.     | 1908    | Andrew Furuseth.   | 1920 | Timothy Healy.         |
|      | F. J. McGuire.      |         | James J. Creamer.  |      | Mrs. Sarah Conboy.     |
| 1896 | J. W. Sullivan.     | 1909    | John P. Frey.      | 1921 | Wm. J. Spencer.        |
|      | Adolph Strasser.    |         | B. A. Langer.      |      | James J. Forrester.    |
| 1897 | Marlin Fox.         | 1910    | W. B. Wilson.      | 1922 | Benjamin Schlesinger.  |
|      | Geo. E. McNeill.    |         | T. V. O'Connor.    |      | E. J. McGivern.        |
| 1898 | James Duncan.       | 1911    | Wm. B. Macfarlane. | 1923 | Peter Shaughnessy.     |
|      | Harry Lloyd.        |         | Daniel J. Tobin.   |      | Anthony J. Chlopek.    |
| 1899 | James O'Connell.    | 1912    | George L. Berry.   | 1924 | Peter J. Brady.        |
|      | Thomas F. Tracy     |         | John H. Walker.    |      | Edward J. Gaimor.      |
| 1900 | J. M. Hunter.       | 1913    | Chas. L. Baine.    | 1925 | A. Adamski.            |
|      | Sidney J. Kent.     |         | Louis Kemper.      |      | Edw. J. Evans.         |
| 1901 | Daniel J. Keefe.    | *1914   | W. D. Mahon.       | 1926 | †Frank Farrington.     |
|      | Eugene F. O'Rourke. |         | Matthew Woll.      |      | Wm. L. Hutcheson.      |
| 1902 | Patrick Dolan.      | ***1915 | W. D. Mahon.       | 1927 | John Coe field.        |
|      | Henry Blackmore.    |         | Matthew Woll.      |      | Michael Casey.         |
| 1903 | Max S. Hayes.       | 1916    | W. D. Mahon.       | 1928 | Michael F. Greene.     |
|      | Martin Lawlor.      |         | Matthew Woll.      |      | William B. Fitzgerald. |
| 1904 | W. D. Ryan.         | 1917    | John Golden.       | 1929 | William J. Rooney.     |
|      | D. D. Driscoll.     |         | James Lord.        |      | William P. Clarke.     |
| 1905 | John A. Moffitt.    | 1918    | J. A. Franklin.    | 1930 | John J. Manning.       |
|      | James Wood.         |         | Wm. J. Bowen.      |      | Thomas E. Maloy.       |
| 1906 | Frank K. Foster.    | 1919    | †Wm. L. Hutcheson. | 1931 | Joseph P. Ryan         |
|      | James Wilson.       |         | John J. Hynes.     |      | Joseph V. Moreschi     |
| 1907 | John T. Dempsey.    |         |                    |      |                        |
|      | W. E. Klapetzky.    |         |                    |      |                        |

## From British Trades Union Congress

|      |                     |         |                         |      |                   |
|------|---------------------|---------|-------------------------|------|-------------------|
| 1894 | John Burns.         | 1907    | David J. Shackleton.    | 1920 | J. W. Ogden.      |
|      | David Holmes.       |         | John Hodge.             |      | J. Jones.         |
| 1895 | Edward Cowey.       | 1908    | John Wadsworth.         | 1921 | J. H. Thomas.     |
|      | James Mawdsley.     |         | H. Skinner.             |      | James Walker.     |
| 1896 | Sam Woods.          | 1909    | A. H. Gill.             | 1922 | E. L. Poulton.    |
|      | John Mallinson.     |         | J. R. Clynes.           |      | H. Smith.         |
| 1897 | Edward Harford.     | 1910    | W. Brace.               | 1923 | R. B. Walker.     |
|      | J. Havelock Wilson. |         | Ben. Turner.            |      | W. C. Robinson.   |
| 1898 | William Inskip.     | 1911    | G. H. Roberts.          | 1924 | C. T. Cramp.      |
|      | William Thorne.     |         | J. Crinion.             |      | A. B. Swales.     |
| 1899 | James Haslam.       | 1912    | J. A. Seddon.           |      | Ben Smith.        |
|      | Alexander Wilkie.   |         | R. Smillie.             | 1925 | A. A. Purcell.    |
| 1900 | John Weir.          | 1913    | I. H. Gwynne.           | 1926 | J. Bromley.       |
|      | Pete Curran.        |         | T. Greenall.            |      | G. Hicks.         |
| 1901 | Frank Chandler.     | **1914  |                         | 1927 | Arthur Pugh.      |
|      | Ben Tillet.         |         | C. G. Ammon.            |      | W. Sherwood.      |
| 1902 | M. Arrandale.       | 1915    | E. Edwards.             | 1928 | John Marchbank.   |
|      | E. Edwards.         |         | H. Gosling.             |      | E. Edwards.       |
| 1903 | William Mullin.     | 1916    | W. Whitefield.          | 1929 | J. T. Brownlie.   |
|      | James O'Grady.      |         | John Hill.              |      | J. Bell.          |
| 1904 | William Abraham.    | 1917    | Arthur Hayday.          | 1930 | A. A. H. Findlay. |
|      | James Wignall.      |         | F. Hall.                |      | A. Shaw.          |
| 1905 | William Mosses.     | ***1918 | Miss Margaret Bondfield | 1931 | F. Wolstencroft   |
|      | David Gilmour..     |         | S. Finney.              |      | J. Beard          |
| 1906 | Allen Gee.          | 1919    | Miss Margaret Bondfield |      |                   |
|      | J. N. Bell.         |         |                         |      |                   |

## List of Delegates and Fraternal Delegates—Continued

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### To Canadian Trades and Labor Congress

|                         |                         |                           |
|-------------------------|-------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1898 Thomas I. Kidd.    | 1910 John J. Manning.   | 1921 John O'Hara.         |
| 1899 James H. Sullivan. | 1911 Wm. J. Tracy.      | 1922 William E. Hulsbeck. |
| 1900 W. D. Mahon.       | 1912 John T. Smith.     | 1923 Walter N. Reddick.   |
| 1901 John R. O'Brien.   | 1913 Wm. J. McSorley.   | 1924 Walter W. Britton.   |
| 1902 D. D. Driscoll.    | 1914 M. M. Donoghue.    | 1925 James Duncan.        |
| 1903 John Coleman.      | 1915 H. J. Conway.      | 1926 James B. Connors.    |
| 1904 John H. Richards.  | 1916 Harry P. Corcoran. | 1927 Thos. J. McQuade.    |
| 1905 Frank Feeney.      | 1917 Emanuel Kovaleski. | 1928 Joseph W. Morton.    |
| 1906 Thomas A. Rickert. | 1918 Stuart H. Hayward. | 1929 John D. Haggerty.    |
| 1907 Robert S. Maloney. | 1919 Sam Griggs.        | 1930 Adolph Kummer.       |
| 1908 Hugh Frayne.       | 1920 W. G. Shea.        | 1931 Charles J. Case.     |
| 1909 Jerome Jones.      |                         |                           |

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### From Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.

|                         |                           |                             |
|-------------------------|---------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1898 David A. Carey.    | 1910 R. P. Pettipiece.    | 1921 U. M. F. Bush.         |
| 1899 David A. Carey.    | 1911 Wm. Glockling.       | 1922 Ernest Robinson.       |
| 1900 David A. Carey.    | 1912 John W. Bruce.       | 1923 James A. Sullivan.     |
| 1901 P. M. Draper.      | 1913 Gus Franco.          | 1924 John Colbert.          |
| 1902 John H. Kennedy.   | 1914 R. A. Rigg.          | 1925 Donald Dear.           |
| 1903 James Simpson.     | 1915 Fred Bancroft.       | 1926 Richard Lynch.         |
| 1904 John A. Flett.     | 1916 Thomas A. Stevenson. | 1927 Alfred Farmilo.        |
| 1905 William V. Todd.   | 1917 Wm. Lodge.           | 1928 Wm. Varley.            |
| 1906 Samuel L. Landers. | 1918 Thos. Moore.         | 1929 James A. Whitebone.    |
| 1907 W. R. Trotter.     | 1919 J. M. Walsh.         | 1930 William E. Stephenson. |
| 1908 P. M. Draper.      | 1920 J. A. McClellan.     | 1931 Colin McDonald.        |
| 1909 F. Bancroft.       |                           |                             |

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### From German Federation of Labor

1924 Peter Grassman.

### From Mexican Federation of Labor

|                       |                          |                         |
|-----------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1924 { Jose W. Kelly. | 1925 { Canuto A. Vargas. | 1926 { Ricardo Trevino. |
| Roberto Haberman.     | Roberto Haberman.        | Jose F. Guterrez.       |
|                       |                          | Salustrio Hernandez.    |

\*No convention.

\*\*No delegates.

\*\*\*Delegates did not attend.

†Did not attend

# Conventions of American Federation of Labor

| Year | City and State           | Date            |
|------|--------------------------|-----------------|
| 1881 | Pittsburgh, Pa.          | December 15-18. |
| 1882 | Cleveland, Ohio          | November 21-24. |
| 1883 | New York, N. Y.          | August 21-24.   |
| 1884 | Chicago, Ill.            | October 7-10.   |
| 1885 | Washington, D. C.        | December 8-11.  |
| 1886 | Columbus, Ohio           | December 8-12.  |
| 1887 | Baltimore, Md.           | December 13-17. |
| 1888 | St. Louis, Mo.           | December 11-15. |
| 1889 | Boston, Mass.            | December 10-14. |
| 1890 | Detroit, Mich.           | December 8-13.  |
| 1891 | Birmingham, Ala.         | December 14-19. |
| 1892 | Philadelphia, Pa.        | December 12-17. |
| 1893 | Chicago, Ill.            | December 11-19. |
| 1894 | Denver, Colo.            | December 10-18. |
| 1895 | New York, N. Y.          | December 9-17.  |
| 1896 | Cincinnati, Ohio         | December 14-21. |
| 1897 | Nashville, Tenn.         | December 13-21. |
| 1898 | Kansas City, Mo.         | December 12-20. |
| 1899 | Detroit, Mich.           | December 11-20. |
| 1900 | Louisville, Ky.          | December 6-15.  |
| 1901 | Scranton, Pa.            | December 5-14.  |
| 1902 | New Orleans, La.         | November 13-22. |
| 1903 | Boston, Mass.            | November 9-23.  |
| 1904 | San Francisco, Calif.    | November 14-26. |
| 1905 | Pittsburgh, Pa.          | November 13-25. |
| 1906 | Minneapolis, Minn.       | November 12-24. |
| 1907 | Norfolk, Va.             | November 11-23. |
| 1908 | Denver, Colo.            | November 9-21.  |
| 1909 | Toronto, Ont., Can.      | November 8-20.  |
| 1910 | St. Louis, Mo.           | November 14-26. |
| 1911 | Atlanta, Ga.             | November 13-25. |
| 1912 | Rochester, N. Y.         | November 11-23. |
| 1913 | Seattle, Wash.           | November 10-22. |
| 1914 | Philadelphia, Pa.        | November 9-21.  |
| 1915 | San Francisco, Calif.    | November 8-22.  |
| 1916 | Baltimore, Md.           | November 13-25. |
| 1917 | Buffalo, N. Y.           | November 12-24. |
| 1918 | St. Paul, Minn.          | June 10-20.     |
| 1919 | Atlantic City, N. J.     | June 9-23.      |
| 1920 | Montreal, Que., Can.     | June 7-19.      |
| 1921 | Denver, Colo.            | June 13-25.     |
| 1922 | Cincinnati, Ohio         | June 12-24.     |
| 1923 | Portland, Oreg.          | October 1-12.   |
| 1924 | El Paso, Tex.            | November 17-25. |
| 1925 | Atlantic City, N. J.     | October 5-16.   |
| 1926 | Detroit, Michigan        | October 4-14.   |
| 1927 | Los Angeles, California  | October 3-14.   |
| 1928 | New Orleans, La.         | November 19-28. |
| 1929 | Toronto, Ont., Can.      | October 7-18.   |
| 1930 | Boston, Massachusetts    | October 6-17.   |
| 1931 | Vancouver, B. C., Canada | October 5-15.   |

# CONSTITUTION

## OF THE

# AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

1931

### PREAMBLE.

WHEREAS, A struggle is going on in all the nations of the civilized world between the oppressors and the oppressed of all countries, a struggle between the capitalist and the laborer, which grows in intensity from year to year, and will work disastrous results to the toiling millions if they are not combined for mutual protection and benefit.

It, therefore, behooves the representatives of the Trade and Labor Unions of America, in Convention assembled, to adopt such measures and disseminate such principles among the mechanics and laborers of our country as will permanently unite them to secure the recognition of rights to which they are justly entitled.

We, therefore, declare ourselves in favor of the formation of a thorough Federation, embracing every Trade and Labor Organization in America, organized under the Trade Union system.

### CONSTITUTION.

#### ARTICLE I.—NAME.

This Association shall be known as THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR, and shall consist of such Trade and Labor Unions as shall conform to its rules and regulations.

#### ARTICLE II.—OBJECTS.

SECTION 1.—The object of this Federation shall be the encouragement and formation of local Trade and Labor Unions, and the closer federation of such societies through the organization of Central Trade and Labor Unions in every city, and the further combination of such bodies into State, Territorial, or Provincial organizations to secure legislation in the interest of the working masses.

SEC. 2. The establishment of National and International Trade Unions, based upon a strict recognition of the autonomy of each trade, and the promotion and advancement of such bodies.

SEC. 3. The establishment of Departments composed of National or International Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, of the same industry, and which Departments shall be governed in conformity with the laws of the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 4. An American Federation of all National and International Trade Unions, to aid and assist each other; to aid and encourage the sale of union label goods, and to secure legislation in the interest of the working people, and influence public opinion, by peaceful and legal methods, in favor of organized labor.

SEC. 5. To aid and encourage the labor press of America.

#### ARTICLE III.—CONVENTION.

SECTION 1. The Convention of the Federation shall meet annually at 10 A. M., on the first Monday in October, at such place as the delegates have selected at the preceding Convention, except during the years when a presidential election occurs, when the Convention in those years shall be held beginning the third Monday of November. If the proper Convention arrangements or reasonable hotel accommodations can not be secured in that city, the Executive Council may change the place of meeting.

SEC. 2. At the opening of the Convention the President shall take the chair and call the Convention to order, and preside during its sessions.

SEC. 3. The following committees, consisting of fifteen members each, shall be appointed by the President: First, Rules and Order of Business; second, Report of Executive Council; third, Resolutions; fourth, Laws; fifth, Organization; sixth, Labels; seventh, Adjustment; eighth, Local and Federated Bodies; ninth, Education; tenth, State Organizations; eleventh, Industrial Relations; twelfth, Building Trades (to which shall be referred all grievances and other matters pertaining exclusively to the building trades); thirteenth, Legislation.

SEC. 4. The President shall direct the chief executive officers of three National or International Unions, at least ten days previous to the holding of the Annual Convention, to appoint one delegate each from their respective delegations-elect, who shall compose an Auditing Committee. The committee shall meet at such place as the President of the American Federation of Labor may direct, and at such time prior to the Convention as the President may determine is necessary for the proper performance of their duty; and they shall audit the accounts of the Federation for the preceding twelve months, and report upon credentials immediately upon the opening of the Convention. The expense of said committee shall be paid out of the funds of the Federation.

SEC. 5. Resolutions of any character or propositions for change in this Constitution can not be introduced after the second day's session, except by unanimous consent.

SEC. 6. The Convention shall have power to order an executive session at any time.

SEC. 7. None other than members of a bona fide Trade Union shall be permitted to address the Convention or to read papers therein, except by a two-thirds vote of the Convention.

SEC. 8. Party politics, whether they be Democratic, Republican, Socialistic, Populistic, Prohibition, or any other, shall have no place in the Conventions of the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 9. The rules and order of business governing the preceding Convention shall be

in force from the opening of any Convention of the American Federation of Labor until new rules have been adopted by action of the Convention.

SEC. 10. A quorum for the transaction of business shall consist of not less than one-fourth of the delegates attending a Convention.

SEC. 11. No grievance shall be considered by any Convention that has been decided by a previous Convention, except upon the recommendation of the Executive Council, nor shall any grievance be considered where the parties thereto have not previously held a conference and attempted to adjust the same themselves.

#### ARTICLE IV.—REPRESENTATION.

SECTION 1. The basis of representation in the Convention shall be: From National and International Unions, for less than four thousand members, one delegate; four thousand or more, two delegates; eight thousand or more, three delegates; sixteen thousand or more, four delegates; thirty-two thousand or more five delegates, and so on. From Central Bodies, State Federations, National Departments, Federal Labor Unions, and Local Unions having no National or International Union, one delegate; provided, however, that Local Unions and Federal Labor Unions herein referred to, located in one city, shall have the right to unite in sending a delegate to represent them unitedly. Only bona fide wage workers who are not members of, or eligible to membership in other Trade Unions, shall be eligible as delegates from Federal Labor Unions. Only those persons whose Local Unions are affiliated with Central Bodies or with State Branches and who are delegates to said Central Bodies or State Branches shall be eligible to represent City Central Bodies or State Branches in the Conventions of the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 2. The delegates shall be elected at least two weeks previous to the Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, and the names of such delegates shall be forwarded to the Secretary of this body immediately after their election.

SEC. 3. Questions may be decided by division or a show of hands, but if a call of the roll is demanded by one-tenth of the delegates present, each delegate shall cast one vote for every one hundred members or major fraction thereof which he represents, provided that the delegate's union has been affiliated with the Federation for the full fiscal year preceding the Convention. When affiliated for a period of less than one year, each delegate shall cast one-twelfth of one vote for each one hundred members or major fraction thereof which he represents for each month for which per capita tax has been paid upon the members of his union. No City or State Federation shall be allowed more than one vote.

SEC. 4. The Secretary shall prepare for use of the Convention printed poll lists, containing the number of votes the delegates from National and International Unions are entitled to, based upon the average membership during the year, from reports made to the office of the Federation not later than August 31, preceding the annual Convention.

SEC. 5. No organization or person that has seceded or has been suspended, or expelled, by the American Federation of Labor, or by any National or International organization connected with the Federation, shall, while under such penalty, be allowed representation

or recognition in this Federation, or in any Central Body or National or International Union connected with the American Federation of Labor, under the penalty of the suspension of the body violating this section.

SEC. 6. No organization shall be entitled to representation unless such organization has applied for and obtained a certificate of affiliation at least one month prior to the Convention, and no person shall be recognized as a delegate who is not a member in good standing of the organization he is elected to represent.

#### ARTICLE V.—OFFICERS.

SECTION 1. The officers of the Federation shall consist of a President, Eight Vice-Presidents, a Secretary and a Treasurer, to be elected by the convention on the last day of the session, unless otherwise determined by the convention, and these officers shall be the Executive Council.

SEC. 2. The President and Secretary shall be members of the succeeding Convention in case they are not delegates, but without vote.

SEC. 3. All elective officers shall be members of a local organization connected with the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 4. The terms of the officers of the American Federation of Labor shall expire on the thirty-first day of December succeeding the Convention.

SEC. 5. The President and Secretary shall engage suitable offices in the same building at Washington, D. C., for the transaction of the business of the organization.

SEC. 6. All books and financial accounts shall at all times be open to the inspection of the President and Executive Council.

#### ARTICLE VI.—DUTIES OF PRESIDENT.

SECTION 1. It shall be the duty of the President to preside at the Annual Convention; to exercise supervision of the Federation throughout its jurisdiction; to sign all official documents, and to travel, with the consent of the Executive Council, whenever required, in the interest of the Federation.

SEC. 2. The President shall submit to the Secretary, at the end of each month, an itemized account of all moneys, traveling and incidental, expended by him in the interest of the Federation; and shall report to the Annual Convention of the Federation through the report of the Executive Council.

SEC. 3. The President, if not a delegate shall have the casting vote in case of a tie but shall not vote at other times. He shall be required to devote all his time to the interest of the Federation.

SEC. 4. The President shall call meetings of the Executive Council, when necessary; and shall preside over their deliberations, and shall receive for his services \$12,000 per annum, payable weekly.

SEC. 5. In case of a vacancy in the office of President by death, resignation, or other cause, the Secretary shall perform the duties of the President until his successor is elected. In that event it shall be the duty of the Secretary to issue, within six days from the date of vacancy, a call for a meeting of the Executive Council at headquarters for the purpose of electing a President to fill said vacancy.

#### ARTICLE VII.—DUTIES OF SECRETARY.

SECTION 1. The duties of the Secretary shall be to take charge of all books, papers, and effects of the general office; to conduct the correspondence pertaining to his office; to

furnish the elective officers with the necessary stationery; to convene and act as Secretary at the Annual Convention, and to furnish the Committee on Credentials at the Convention a statement of the financial standing of each affiliated body; to forward on March 1st and September 1st of each year to the secretaries of all affiliated organizations a list of the names and addresses of secretaries and organizers.

Sec. 2. The Secretary shall keep all letters, documents, accounts, etc., in such manner as the Annual Convention may direct; he shall receive and collect all moneys due the Federation and pay them to the Treasurer, taking his receipt therefor; provided, that he may retain in his hands a sum not exceeding \$2,000 for current expenses, which money shall be paid out only on the approval of the President.

Sec. 3. The Secretary shall submit to the Auditing Committee, for their inspection vouchers for all moneys expended; close all accounts of the Federation on August 31 of each year, and all moneys received or disbursed after such date shall not be reported in the general balance account of the ensuing Convention. He shall print the financial statement quarterly as a separate document and forward copy to all affiliated National and International Unions, State Federations of Labor, City Central Bodies and directly affiliated local unions.

Sec. 4. The Secretary shall give a bond of \$2,000 for the faithful performance of his duties, and shall report to the Annual Convention of the Federation, through the report of the Executive Council, and for his services he shall receive \$10,000 per annum, payable weekly.

Sec. 5. The Secretary shall issue stamps to Local and Federal Labor Unions, which shall be used by such unions with which to receipt for members' dues.

Sec. 6. It shall be the duty of each International, National, Local Trade and Federal Labor Union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor to furnish to the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor a copy of all official reports issued by such affiliated organizations, containing a statement of their membership in good standing, and to furnish such additional statistical data as may be called for by the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor as may be in the possession of the respective unions.

#### ARTICLE VIII.—DUTIES OF TREASURER.

SECTION 1. The Treasurer shall receive and take charge of all moneys, property, and securities of the Federation delivered to him by the Secretary or other officers of the American Federation of Labor. The Executive Council shall appoint three of its members as a Finance Committee, and this Finance Committee, with the Treasurer shall be clothed with authority to invest the surplus funds of the Federation in sound securities or to deposit same in bank or banks in interest bearing certificates of deposit. All funds of the American Federation of Labor exceeding fifteen thousand dollars shall be invested in sound securities or shall be deposited by the Treasurer in bank, or banks, in interest-bearing certificates of deposit in the name of the American Federation of Labor, as directed by the Finance Committee and must be covered by insurance, and in order to be cashed shall require the signatures of the Treasurer, the President or his authorized agent, and Secretary of the Federation or his authorized agent. The Treas-

urer shall collect the interest on all such certificates, interest-bearing securities, or other deposit at the expiration of each interest payment period and pay the same over to the Secretary. The Treasurer shall deposit in open account in bank or banks, in the name of the American Federation of Labor as Treasurer, all amounts in his possession not in certificates of deposit, or invested in interest bearing securities, and before any money thus deposited can be drawn each check shall be signed by him as Treasurer. A copy of this section shall be forwarded by the President of the Federation to each bank upon which the Federation holds certificates of deposit.

Sec. 2. The Treasurer shall pay, through the Secretary, all warrants regularly drawn on him, signed by the President or his authorized agent, and countersigned by the Secretary or his authorized agent, as required by this Constitution, and none other.

Sec. 3. The Treasurer shall submit to the Annual Convention, through the report of the Executive Council, a complete statement of all receipts and disbursements during his term of office, and at the expiration of his term of office he shall deliver up to his successor all moneys, securities, books, and papers of the Federation under his control; and for the faithful performance of his duties he shall give a bond in such sum as the Executive Council may determine. The annual salary of the Treasurer shall be \$500.

#### ARTICLE IX.—EXECUTIVE COUNCIL.

SECTION 1. It shall be the duty of the Executive Council to watch legislative measures directly affecting the interests of working people, and to initiate, whenever necessary, such legislative action as the Convention may direct.

Sec. 2. The Executive Council shall use every possible means to organize new National or International Trade or Labor Unions, and to organize Local Trade and Labor Unions, and connect them with the Federation until such time as there is a sufficient number to form a National or International Union, when it shall be the duty of the President of the Federation to see that such organization is formed.

Sec. 3. When a National or International Union has been formed, the President shall notify all Local Unions of that trade to affiliate with such National or International Union, and unless said notification be complied with, within three months, their charters shall be revoked.

Sec. 4. The Executive Council shall also prepare and present to the Convention, in printed form, a concise statement of the details leading up to approved and pending boycotts (and all matters of interest to the convention), and no indorsement for a boycott shall be considered by the Convention except it has been so reported by the Executive Council.

Sec. 5. While we recognize the right of each trade to manage its own affairs, it shall be the duty of the Executive Council to secure the unification of all labor organizations, so far as to assist each other in any trade dispute.

Sec. 6. Whenever the revenue of the Federation shall warrant such action, the Executive Council shall authorize the sending out of Trade Union speakers from place to place in the interests of the Federation.

Sec. 7. The remuneration for organizers of the American Federation of Labor shall be

\$10.00 per day as salary, actual railroad fare, and hotel expenses of \$5.00 per day when traveling away from their home city. The remuneration for services of members of the Executive Council, fraternal delegates, interpreters and speakers, or other persons temporarily employed by the American Federation of Labor shall be determined by the Executive Council.

SEC. 8. The Executive Council shall have power to make the rules to govern matters not in conflict with this Constitution, or the constitution of affiliated unions, and shall report accordingly to the Federation.

SEC. 9. In the event of a vacancy in any member of the Executive Council, other than that of the President, by reason of death, resignation, or other cause, the President shall make such vacancy known to the Executive Council, and shall call for nominations. The names of all nominees shall be submitted to the Executive Council, and it shall require a majority vote of the Executive Council to elect. Upon each unsuccessful balloting the name of the candidate receiving the lowest number of votes shall be dropped.

SEC. 10. All Local Trade Unions and Federal Labor Unions holding charters direct from the American Federation of Labor, desiring the assistance of the American Federation of Labor in trade disputes, shall submit to the President of the American Federation of Labor for approval by the Executive Council the full statement of the grievance, and shall receive within twenty (20) days from the President an answer as to whether they will be sustained or not, and no benefits shall be paid where a strike takes place before the Local Union has received the approval of the Executive Council.

SEC. 11. No charter shall be granted by the American Federation of Labor to any National, International, Trade, or Federal Labor Union without a positive and clear definition of the trade jurisdiction claimed by the applicant, and the charter shall not be granted if the jurisdiction claimed is a trespass on the jurisdiction of existing affiliated unions, without the written consent of such unions; no affiliated International, National, or Local Union shall be permitted to change its title or name, if any trespass is made thereby on the jurisdiction of an affiliated organization, without having first obtained the consent and approval of a Convention of the American Federation of Labor; and it is further provided, that should any of the members of such National, International, Trade, or Federal Labor Union work at any other vocation, trade, or profession they shall join the union of such vocation, trade, or profession, provided such are organized and affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 12. The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor shall only have power to revoke the charter of an affiliated National or International Union when the revocation has been ordered by a two-thirds majority of a regular Convention of the American Federation of Labor by a roll-call vote.

#### ARTICLE X.—REVENUE.

SECTION 1. The revenue of the Federation shall be derived from a per capita tax to be paid upon the full paid-up membership of all affiliated bodies, as follows: From International or National Trade Unions, a per capita tax of one cent per member per month; from Local Trade Unions and Federal Labor Unions, thirty-five cents per member per month, twelve and one-half cents of which must be

set aside to be used only in the case of strike or lockout unless otherwise ordered by the Executive Council; the amount received by the American Federation of Labor on each initiation fee from all directly affiliated local unions shall be 25 per cent of the total initiation fee received by the local union from the individual, but in no case shall the amount received by the American Federation of Labor be less than \$1; from Central and state bodies, \$10 per year, payable quarterly.

SEC. 2. Delegates shall not be entitled to a seat in the Annual Convention unless the tax of their organization, as provided for in section 1, Article X, has been paid in full to August 31 preceding the Convention.

SEC. 3. Any organization affiliated with this Federation not paying its per capita tax on or before the 15th of each month shall be notified of the fact by the Secretary of the Federation, and if at the end of three months it is still in arrears it shall become suspended from membership by the Federation, and can be reinstated only by a vote of the Convention when such arrearages are paid in full, as provided in section 2 of this Article.

#### ARTICLE XI.—LOCAL CENTRAL BODIES.

SECTION 1. No Central Labor Union, or any other central body of delegates, shall admit to or retain in their councils delegates from any local organization that owes its allegiance to any other body, National or International, hostile to any affiliated organization, or that has been suspended or expelled by, or not connected with a National or International organization of their trade herein affiliated; nor are delegates to be seated from Locals of National or International organizations which are not affiliated to the American Federation of Labor, under penalty of having their charter revoked for violation of their charter, subject to appeal to the next Convention.

SEC. 2. It shall be the duty of all National and International Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor to instruct their Local Unions to join chartered Central Labor Bodies, Departments, and State Federations in their vicinity where such exist. Similar instructions shall be given by the American Federation of Labor to all Trade and Federal Labor Unions under its jurisdiction.

SEC. 3. Where there are five or more Local Unions in any city belonging to any National or International Union affiliated with this Federation they may organize a Central Labor Union, or shall join such body if already in existence.

SEC. 4. The Executive Council and Local Central Labor Unions shall use all possible means to organize and connect as Local Unions to National or International Unions the organizations in their vicinity to the formation of National or International Unions where none exist, and to organize Federal Labor Unions where the number of craftsmen precludes any other form of organization.

SEC. 5. No Central Labor Union, or other central body of delegates, shall have the authority or power to order any organization, affiliated with such Central Labor Union, or other central labor body, on strike, or to take a strike vote, where such organization has a national organization, until the proper authorities of such National or International organizations have been consulted and agreed to such action. A violation of this law shall be sufficient cause for the Executive Council to revoke the charter.

Sec. 6. Separate charters may be issued to Central Labor Unions, Local Unions, or Federal Labor Unions, composed exclusively of colored members, where, in the judgment of the Executive Council, it appears advisable and to the best interest of the Trade Union movement to do so.

Sec. 7. No Central Labor Union, or other central body of delegates, shall have authority or power to originate a boycott, nor shall such bodies indorse and order the placing of the name of any person, firm or corporation on an unfair list until the Local Union desiring the same has, before declaring the boycott, submitted the matter in dispute to the Central Body for investigation, and the best endeavors on its part to effect an amicable settlement. Violation of this section shall forfeit charter.

Sec. 8. No Central Body or Department affiliated with the American Federation of Labor shall reject credentials presented by a duly elected or appointed delegation of a Local Union chartered by a National or an International Union having affiliation with the American Federation of Labor; provided, however, that upon written charges, signed by at least three delegates, any delegate of an affiliated Union may, upon conviction after a fair trial, be expelled or suspended. Action of the Central Body under this section shall be subject to appeal to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, and no delegation representing Local Unions affiliated, as herein described, shall be suspended or expelled until like action is taken.

Sec. 9. No Central Body shall take part in the adjustment of wage contracts, wage disputes or working rules of Local Unions affiliated with a National or International Union, unless the laws of the National or International Union permit, except upon the request or consent of the executive officer of the National or International Union affected.

Sec. 10. Local Unions of National or International Unions affiliated with the Departments attached to the American Federation of Labor, in any city where a Local Department exists, shall not be eligible to membership in any Local Department unless they are connected with the chartered Central Body, nor shall they be eligible to membership in the Central Body unless they are affiliated with the Local Department.

Sec. 11. The representation of local unions entitled to affiliation in Central Labor Unions shall be as follows: Local unions having 50 members or less, 2 delegates; 100 members or less, 3 delegates; 250 members or less, 4 delegates; 500 members or less, 5 delegates; 1 additional delegate to be allowed for each additional 500 members or majority fraction thereof.

#### ARTICLE XII.—ASSESSMENT IN DEFENSE OF NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL UNIONS.

SECTION 1. The Executive Council shall have power to declare a levy of one cent per member per week on all affiliated unions for a period not exceeding ten weeks in any one year, to assist in the support of an affiliated National or International Union engaged in a protracted strike or lockout.

Sec. 2. Any Union, International, National, or Local, failing to pay within sixty days the levies declared in accordance with Section 1 shall be deprived of representation in Convention of the American Federation of Labor and in City Central Bodies affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

#### ARTICLE XIII.—DEFENSE FUND FOR LOCAL TRADE AND FEDERAL LABOR UNIONS.

SECTION 1. Unless otherwise ordered by the Executive Council the moneys of the defense fund shall be drawn only to sustain strikes or lockouts of Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions when such strikes or lockouts are authorized, indorsed, and conducted in conformity with the following provisions of this Article:

Sec. 2. In the event of a disagreement between a Local Union and an employer which, in the opinion of the Local Union, may result in a strike, such Union shall notify the President of the American Federation of Labor, who shall investigate, or cause an investigation to be made of the disagreement, and endeavor to adjust the difficulty. If his efforts should prove futile, he shall take such steps as he may deem necessary in notifying the Executive Council, and if the majority of said Council shall decide that a strike is necessary such Union shall be authorized to order a strike, but that under no circumstances shall a strike or lockout be deemed legal, or moneys expended from the defense fund on that account, unless the strike or lockout shall have been first authorized and approved by the President and Executive Council.

Sec. 3. When a strike has been authorized and approved by the President and Executive Council, the President of the Local Union interested shall, within twenty-four hours, call a meeting of said Union, of which every member shall be regularly notified, to take action thereon, and no member shall vote on such question unless he is in good standing. Should three-fourths of the members present decide, by secret ballot, on a strike, the president of the Local Union shall immediately notify the President of the American Federation of Labor of the cause of the matter in dispute, what the wages, hours, and conditions of labor then are; what advances, if any, are sought; what reductions are offered, if any; state the number employed and unemployed; the state of trade generally in the locality, and the number of persons involved, union and non-union; also the number of members who would become entitled to the benefits herein provided should the application be authorized and approved.

Sec. 4. No Local shall be entitled to benefit from the defense fund unless it has been in continuous good standing for one year; and no member shall be entitled to benefit from said defense fund unless he has been a member in good standing in the American Federation of Labor for at least one year.

Sec. 5. When a strike has been inaugurated under the provisions of Sections 2 and 3, the American Federation of Labor shall pay to the bonded officer of the Union involved, or his order, for a period of six weeks, an amount equal to seven (\$7) dollars per week for each member. Each Local Union shall require its treasurer to give proper bond for the safe-keeping and disbursement of all funds of the Local. No benefit shall be paid for the first two weeks of the strike. The Executive Council shall have the power to authorize the payment of strike benefits for an additional period.

Sec. 6. No member of a Local Union on strike shall be entitled to weekly benefits unless he reports daily to the proper officer of the Local Union while the strike continues, and no member who shall receive a week's work, three days to be a week, shall receive benefits. Any member refusing other work

while on strike (providing said work is not in conflict with labor's interests) shall not be entitled to any benefits.

Sec. 7. Any Union inaugurating a strike without the approval of the Executive Council shall not receive benefits on account of said strike.

Sec. 8. In case of lockout or the victimization of members, the Executive Council shall have power to pay benefits if, upon investigation, it is found that the Local Union whose members are involved did not by their actions or demands provoke the lockout by their employer.

Sec. 9. During the continuance of a strike the executive board of the Local Union shall make weekly reports to the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor, showing the amount of money distributed for benefits and to whom paid, furnishing individual receipts to the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor from all members to whom such benefits have been paid, and all other facts that may be required.

Sec. 10. Before a strike shall be declared off a special meeting of the Union shall be called for that purpose, and it shall require a majority vote of all members present to decide the question either way.

Sec. 11. In the event of the defense fund becoming dangerously low through protracted strike or lockout, the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor shall have the power to levy an assessment of ten cents on each member of Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions. Assessments to be restricted to not more than five per year; and further, that there shall always be a surplus of five thousand (\$5,000) dollars in the defense fund.

Sec. 12. No Local shall be entitled to any of the benefits of the defense fund unless it requires its members to pay not less than one dollar (\$1.00) per month. The financial secretaries and the treasurers of each Local Trade or Federal Labor Union directly affiliated to the American Federation of Labor shall, through the Secretary of the Federation, bond said financial officers in such sum as shall be adequate to protect its funds.

Sec. 13. Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions shall set aside for the maintenance of a local defense fund not less than five cents a month from each member.

Sec. 14. That initiation fees charged by directly affiliated Local Trade or Federal Labor Unions shall be not less than \$2.00 nor more than \$15.00, and that 25 per cent of the total initiation fee received by such Local Trade or Federal Labor Union from each individual shall be forwarded to the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor, but in no case shall the amount received by the American Federation of Labor be less than one (\$1.00) dollar, together with the per capita tax, accompanied by a monthly report giving the number of members paid for, and names of those initiated, reinstated, suspended and expelled, and number of members upon whom back per capita tax is being paid and months paid for, on blanks to be furnished by the Secretary of the Federation. When dues are paid, the Financial Secretary of the Local Union shall place a per capita tax stamp in the member's due book. These stamps must be used. Suspended members can be reinstated only by the payment of three months' back per capita tax, in addition to the tax for the current month, and a fee of one dollar (\$1.00) for reinstatement stamps.

Sec. 15. That traveling cards issued to members by Local Trade or Federal Labor Unions shall admit members presenting the same to membership in Local Trade or Federal Labor Unions directly affiliated to the American Federation of Labor.

Sec. 16. That Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions shall be prohibited from assessing their members or appropriating their funds for any purpose other than union or American Federation of Labor purposes. That each directly affiliated union shall forward monthly to the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor a complete statement of all funds received and expended.

Sec. 17. No Local Trade or Federal Labor Union, or central body or state branch, shall disband so long as seven members or five Local Unions desire to retain the charter. Upon the dissolution, the suspension or the revocation of the charter of any Local Trade or Federal Labor Union, or Central Body or State Branch, all funds and property of any character shall revert to the American Federation of Labor, to be held in trust until such time that the suspended or defunct organization may be reorganized and ready to confine its activities and actions to conform with recognized enforceable laws of the American Federation of Labor. It shall further be the duty of the officers of the Local Trade or Federal Labor Union or Central Body, or State Branch, which has been dissolved, or whose charter has been suspended or revoked, to deliver all funds and property to the President of the American Federation of Labor or a representative whom he may designate for that purpose.

#### ARTICLE XIV.—MISCELLANEOUS.

SECTION 1. Certificates of affiliation shall be granted by the President of the Federation, by and with the consent of the Executive Council, to all National and International Unions and local bodies affiliated with this Federation.

Sec. 2. The Executive Council is authorized and empowered to charter Local Trade Unions and Federal Labor Unions, to determine their respective jurisdictions not in conflict with National and International Unions, to determine the minimum number of members required, qualifications for membership and to make rules and regulations relating to their conduct, activities and affairs from time to time and as in its judgment is warranted or deemed advisable.

Sec. 3. The certificate fee for affiliated bodies shall be five (\$5) dollars, payable to the Secretary of the Federation, and the fee shall accompany the application.

Sec. 4. The American Federation of Labor shall refer all applications for certificates of affiliation from Local Unions or Federal Labor Unions from a vicinity where a chartered Central Labor Union exists to that body for investigation and approval.

Sec. 5. Certificates of affiliation shall not be granted by State Federations of Labor. That power is vested solely in the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and the executive officers of National and International Unions affiliated therewith.

Sec. 6. Fraternal delegates attending the Convention of the American Federation of Labor shall be entitled to all the rights of delegates from Central Bodies.

**ARTICLE XV.—GENERAL RULES GOVERNING DEPARTMENTS OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR.**

**SECTION 1.** For the greater development of the labor movement, departments subordinate to the American Federation of Labor are to be established from time to time as in the judgment of the American Federation of Labor, or of its Executive Council, may be deemed advisable. Each department is to manage and finance its own affairs.

**SEC. 2.** To be entitled to representation in any department, organizations eligible to join it must first be and remain in affiliation to the American Federation of Labor.

**SEC. 3.** To be entitled to representation in local councils, or railway system federations of departments, local unions are required to be part of affiliated National or International Unions affiliated to departments or directly affiliated to the American Federation of Labor. Said Local Unions shall first be and remain in affiliation to Central Labor Unions chartered by the American Federation of Labor.

**SEC. 4.** The fundamental laws and procedure of each department are to conform to, and be administered in the same manner as the laws and procedure governing the American Federation of Labor. No Department, Local Council or Railway System Federation of same shall enact laws, rules, or regulations in conflict with the laws and procedure of the American Federation of Labor, and in the event of change of laws and procedure of the latter, Department, local councils, and railway system federations are to change their laws and procedure to conform thereto.

**SEC. 5.** Each department to be considered the official method of the American Federation of Labor for transacting the portion of its business indicated by the name of the department in consequence of which affiliated and eligible organizations should be part of their respective departments and should comply with their actions and decisions, subject to appeal therefrom to the Executive Council and the conventions of the American Federation of Labor. When an organization has interests in departments other than the one of its principal affiliation, in which it shall pay per capita tax upon its entire membership, it is to be represented in and pay per capita tax to the other departments upon the number of members whose occupations come under such other departments, but this in no instance shall be less than 20 per cent of the membership upon which it pays per capita tax to the American Federation of Labor.

**SEC. 6.** Departments of the American Federation of Labor are to have their headquarters located in the city of Washington, D. C., and if possible in the same building with the headquarters of the American Federation of Labor, unless there are reasons to the contrary satisfactory to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor.

**SEC. 7.** Departments of the American Federation of Labor shall hold their conventions immediately before or after the Convention of the American Federation of Labor and in the same city where the Convention of the American Federation of Labor is held, at which time and place their laws and procedure shall be made to conform to the laws and procedure of the American Federation of Labor and to go into effect the first day of January immediately following, to conform to the date when the laws and procedure of the American Federation of Labor go into effect. For reasons of transportation, expediency and the methods of representation the Railway, Metal Trades and Mining Departments may hold conventions at other dates and places, and in that event said departments shall authorize their executive boards to have said departments laws conform to the preceding portion of this section.

**SEC. 8.** The Executive Council of each department shall consist of not more than seven members, including the executive officer or officers thereof. This not to apply to or interfere with the procedure on this subject found to be essential in the Railway Department.

**SEC. 9.** The officers of each department shall report to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor that the department has conformed to the laws, procedure and actions of the American Federation of Labor as they affect each department.

**SEC. 10.** In the Building Trades Department (on the basis of its law of 1913), organizations having seven or more delegates, each such delegate shall on roll-call be entitled to two votes. A roll-call shall be held upon the demand of one-fourth of all delegates whose credentials have been accepted and who have been seated in the conventions.

**SEC. 11.** The officers of the various departments shall submit a quarterly report to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor of the work done by their department, and its general conditions.

**SEC. 12.** At all regular meetings of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, there shall be present, during some period of the Council meeting, the executive officer or officers of each department, to take up with the Council matters that may be of mutual interest.

**SEC. 13.** A page of each issue of the *American Federationist* to be available to and to be used by each department for official report or for publication of some subject identified with the department, each department to designate its officer to submit the report.

**ARTICLE XVI.—AMENDMENTS.**

This Constitution can be amended or altered only at a regular session of the Convention and to do so it shall require a two-thirds vote.

# Fifty-first Annual Convention OF THE American Federation of Labor 1931

## RÉPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

### First Day — Monday Morning Session

Vancouver, B. C., Canada,  
October 5, 1931.

Pursuant to the law, the Fifty-first Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor was called to order at 10:00 o'clock in the Ballroom of the Vancouver Hotel, by Percy R. Bengough, Chairman of the Reception and Entertainment Committee of the Vancouver, New Westminster and District Trades and Labor Council, and Vice-president, Trades and Labor Congress of Canada.

During the half hour preceding the opening of the convention an orchestra composed of members of Musicians' Local Union, No. 145, American Federation of Musicians, entertained with a concert, and after the officers and speakers had been seated on the platform, the orchestra played the national anthems of the two countries.

Chairman Bengough: It is my pleasure to present first the Rev. Canon A. H. Sovereign, Bishop-elect of Yukon, who will give the invocation.

#### INVOCATION

(Rev. Canon A. H. Sovereign, Bishop-elect of Yukon)

Blessed are the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy. Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God. Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called the children of God.

Oh, Lord God, Who rulest the nations of the earth, we bless Thy holy name that Thou hast caused these two branches of the Anglo-Saxon race to live in peace for over a hundred years, and we pray Thee to continue this Thy mercy and bind us more closely together in concord and brotherly love. Foster the great work that these two nations have undertaken together, and help them to achieve and safeguard the freedom of the world. May their fellowship in suffering, in comradeship and in sacrifice issue in a friendship which nothing shall ever break.

Oh, Thou Prince of Peace, Who hast blessed the peacemakers and Who hast called them the children of God, give wisdom and courage to those who at this time are chosen to be counsellors for the making and establishing of peace, of security, and of the liberties of the nation, basing them on enduring foundations. Give them by Thy grace, Thy holy spirit and crown their labors with abundant fruits for the benefit of all mankind, through Christ our Lord.

Let us pray for the unemployed. Oh, God, remember with pain and pity the thousands of our brothers and sisters throughout the world who seek honest work and seek it in vain. We pray with sorrow and compassion for those who have been blessed with this world's goods and who forget their brothers and sisters in need. To all of the people on this continent do Thou grant wisdom and create a world in which none shall be forced to idle in want and none shall be able to idle in luxury, but a world in which all shall know the health of wholesome work and the sweetness of well-earned rest.

Bless, we pray Thee, the proceedings of this conference. Direct and guide the officers in their important tasks, that all things may be so ordered and settled by their endeavors upon the best and surest foundation; that peace and happiness, truth and justice, good-will and love may be established among us and all nations for generations to come, through Jesus Christ our Lord. And may the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ and the love of God and the fellowship of the Holy Spirit be upon this gathering, and with all that they represent throughout this continent, now and forever, Amen.

**MR. PERCY R. BENGOUGH**  
(Chairman, Reception and Entertainment Committee)

Ladies and gentlemen, visitors and guests at the Fifty-first Convention of the American Federation of Labor—It is a great honor that my colleagues have conferred on me today to represent them in the trade union movement of British Columbia in extending to you a welcome to our city. The City of Vancouver has not the historic background of many cities in which you have been accustomed to meet. Our city is a new city and one of the very latest models, and what we lose in age we hope we have made up in the very short space of time which has elapsed between the time that trees grew right on the site of the building you now occupy and this present time. We appreciate the great distance many of you have traveled to attend this convention and we accept the convention as a compliment to the trades and labor movement of this city and to the province as a compliment and recognition of the movement that we have built up.

Our problems, that we have, are similar to those you have left in your own home towns. The situation of this city on the shores of the Pacific Ocean is such that we look for a great deal of trade from the Orient in the building up of our city. We are all conversant with the fact that across that great ocean are many thousands who are starving and in famine stricken areas. In our country, the same as yours, we have a great deal of suffering in wealth stricken areas. I think the problem we have is a greater one than the problem they have on the other side of the ocean. These questions are questions that will be dealt with at this convention, and the world is waiting, I might say, anxiously waiting, for the pronouncement of this convention on that paramount question of unemployment.

I shall not take up a great deal of your time this morning, as we have very able speakers to address you. I want to say, in closing, that we hope your stay with us will be a pleasant one. We have arranged a series of entertainments for you, announcements of which will be made from day to day. We trust that your deliberations will be of benefit, not only to the people who sent you here and the people you represent, but to all our people resident on the North American Continent.

I will now introduce Mr. Clarence Herrett, Vice-president of the Vancouver, New Westminster and District Trades and Labor Council.

**MR. CLARENCE HERRETT**  
(Vice-president Vancouver, New Westminster and District Trades and Labor Council)

Mr. Chairman, fellow workers, friends and guests of the Fifty-first Convention of the American Federation of Labor—As Vice-president, on behalf of the Vancouver, New Westminster and District Trades and Labor Council, I consider it an honor and privilege to be given the opportunity of saying a few words of welcome to the American Federation of Labor Convention. We are pleased that this section of the North American Continent has been given an opportunity to see and understand the work of the American Federation of Labor. We are proud of the fact that the labor movement of this province and Canada is international, and that we are part of the American Federation of Labor.

The Trades and Labor Council was organized in this city in November, 1889. We now have a membership of 14,000. In 1920 an amalgamation took place between the Vancouver Trades and

Labor Council and the New Westminster Trades Council. Since that date the two councils have been known as the Vancouver, New Westminster and District Trades and Labor Council.

The Council owns and controls its own weekly paper, "The Labor Statesman," and maintains its offices in Labor Headquarters, 529 Beatty Street; the building being owned entirely by the Council and affiliated unions.

During the forty-one years of operation in Vancouver it has materially assisted in the building up of the city. Not only have the working people affiliated with this council, contributed their labor, craftsmanship and skill to the building up of our city, but the Council has always taken an active interest in questions of public improvements, both city and provincial; and we point with pride to social legislation that we now have on the statute books of our province, such as minimum wage and factory act for women workers, mother's pensions, workman's compensation act and old age pensions.

We are satisfied that meeting in convention in our wonderful city will not only mean added inspiration to your work, but will be also of an inspiring nature to the workers of this North American Continent.

We are proud to have you with us. We sincerely wish your stay to be most pleasant, and I express the hope that the work of this convention will outweigh all other conventions in the matter of bringing enlightenment, material progress, happiness and employment to the workers. I thank you.

Chairman Bengough: I will next introduce to you a very good friend of the trade union movement in this city, His Worship Alderman John Bennett, Acting Mayor of the City of Vancouver.

**HIS WORSHIP, ALDERMAN JOHN BENNETT**  
(Acting Mayor of the City of Vancouver)

Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen—I am very glad to greet the American Federation of Labor. In the absence of His Worship, who is a sick man at the present time, it has fallen to my lot and to my privilege to extend to this tremendous trade organization the welcome of the City of Vancouver. I can assure you it was a most congenial task to me. As one who has always belonged to the common people, it gives me double pleasure to welcome a convention such as this, which has for its aim the amelioration and the improvement of the lot of the common people.

I hope that the deliberations which your convention is about to consider will be of inestimable benefit to the workers, not only of the country from which you come, but to the workers throughout the civilized world.

We are met, at the present time, in the shadow of a great crisis. Distress and want and misery are side by side with greater concentration of wealth than has ever before been known in the history of the world. And it is for such a convention as yours, which has assembled this morning, by your endeavors, by your wise counsels to bring forth such sagacity, such welcome advice that will guide your leaders in the great republic from which you come in the deliberations of the coming year.

I can assure you that in this city today there are no greater well wishers than the City Council and myself, that your deliberations be crowned with success.

Your history down through the years has been one of quiet endeavor, one of wise consultation and

one that has always been conducted with propriety, and I think I can look forward with confidence to your deliberations at this convention during the coming two weeks.

Your nation and our country have lived side by side for over a hundred years in peace, and if, as a result of the endeavors of this conference of yours, you will set a pace in the disarmament, which is, I believe, one of the most brutal causes of the distress and misery which exists throughout the world today, this convention will not have been held in vain.

I hope that during the coming week you will find much of pleasure and much of interest to you in this charming city of ours. It is almost incredible to think that less than a half century ago this was a primeval forest, and it is due to the pioneer spirit of these early pioneers of the City of Vancouver that we are meeting in such a hall as this today. We never forget to mention their endeavors and the efforts which they have made to build up the city, and particularly on an occasion like this I think it is appropriate that they should be remembered.

Now, gentlemen, you have not come to listen to a lot of speeches, but I hope that every moment of your stay in this fair city of ours will not only be recorded in the journals and the records of your conference, but I hope it will be in your hearts and minds as a very pleasant memory down throughout the years to come. I therefore wish you every success in your deliberations in this council and also a most pleasant and enjoyable time in the City of Vancouver during the coming week.

Chairman Bengough: I will now call upon the Hon. W. A. Mackenzie, Minister of Labor and Mines.

**HON. W. A. MACKENZIE**  
(Minister of Labor and Mines)

Mr. Chairman, President Green, ladies and gentlemen—First of all, I wish to apologize for the Hon. Premier Tormie for his inability to be present with you this morning. It was his earnest wish and his desire to be here, but other matters of very great importance at the last moment prevented his being with you. I therefore wish to extend, on behalf of Premier Tormie, his very deep regrets at being unable to be with you.

Personally, Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, I consider it a very great honor to be here and wish to extend to you, on behalf of the people of the Province of British Columbia, a very hearty welcome to this, your Fifty-first Convention of the American Federation of Labor. Appreciating as I do, that you are composed of citizens of the two great countries who have maintained a record of peaceful rivalry in the business world for over a century, may the harmonious relations that have existed between the two great countries long continue.

The history of trade unionism on this continent may properly be said to have started in 1881, when your great organization was given birth, and through the intervening years, due in no small measure to your efforts, the lot of the working man on this continent has been vastly changed and vastly improved. From the seed sown in 1881, this Federation of Labor has grown, rising upon the foundations so securely laid by that great leader, the late Samuel Gompers, and at his passing, carried on so successfully and so energetically by your present President, Mr. William Green.

Is it any wonder that your organization has been a success when it has only had two presidents

since the year 1886? The fact that you have only had two leaders has insured a permanence of policy so essential to the carrying on of your work.

The labor legislation on the statute books of this Province of British Columbia, I may say, is a pattern for every province and state on this continent. British Columbia was the first province to pass the eight-hour law, as adopted at the session of the International Labor Conference, held in Washington, D. C., in 1919.

The worker is passing today through a serious phase in his history. Unemployment is rife everywhere, and almost every one has a reason for its cause. In this country we are of the opinion that the best solution that can be offered, if possible, is a job for every one, and the Dominion Government, in co-operation with this province, have embarked upon a program in an endeavor to give to every resident and to every one who is willing to work a job, and the remuneration to be such as we think the tax payers can afford to pay.

Just as your organization has exhibited throughout the last half century of its existence a cohesion, a co-ordination and a unity of ideals, so should all nations today demonstrate, by mutual co-operation and team play, a desire to create a condition which will insure every man and woman who is willing to work an opportunity to earn an honest living.

In closing let me express my sincere desire for the success of this convention. There are many important subjects on your agenda. Vexing problems confront every person today, whether he be a member of the Government, a member of your organization, or just one of the workers.

Labor must and will contribute its share in pointing a way out of the present economic conditions, and I feel sure that your suggestions and the suggestions of this convention, with its fifty years of achievement behind it, will give all phases of the great questions which will come before you fair and square consideration.

Chairman Bengough: The next speaker I have to introduce to you is one who received his early training in the trade union movement, and is now using that training to very good advantage, the public good, in the Municipality of Burnaby. I will now call on His Worship, Reeve W. A. Pritchard, Reeve of the Municipality of Burnaby.

**HIS WORSHIP, REEVE W. A. PRITCHARD**  
(Reeve of Burnaby)

Mr. Chairman, President Green, ladies and gentlemen—I am becoming a little used to flattery when I receive adulation from the press and then listen to the very kind remarks of your Chairman. I am wondering sometimes whether I altogether deserve it.

However, it seems to me that at a time like this and upon an occasion of this sort one is confronted with a task, not of deciding what one shall say, but what one might leave unsaid. Just for a few moments may I draw your attention to one or two things that have already been mentioned this morning. First of all, let me say that, as the Reeve of the neighboring Municipality of Burnaby, which, together with this city and the City of New Westminster, comes within the jurisdiction of the Trades and Labor Council of this district under the American Federation of Labor, that it may be possible that some of you from this city are not altogether aware of the position and importance of the Municipality of Burnaby. Between the two

cities we stand geographically—and I might say in passing in that respect, we are a kind of buffer state and act as a shock absorber to keep the wild spirit of Westminster at a decent distance from the similar spirit of Vancouver.

However, the problems in that little Municipality, which, by the way, is the third largest organized district in this province, are precisely the same as the problems in Vancouver and in every city of this country and every country under the sun.

Mention has been made of the present unemployment situation. I cannot see how it could be avoided. It is altogether too painfully obvious for any one to close his eyes to the situation and to say, "Well, we have unemployment, but these men won't go out to find work, they won't rustle for a job." I remember that kind of report that was used with some effect not very many years ago. But times have changed, and whatever one's political ideas and economic theories may be, the situation is one that undoubtedly must have a sobering effect upon every thinking person in this country.

I am pleased to say, Mr. Chairman, that your President at least agrees with me in this, if in nothing else, that whatever other people may at this time suggest as an immediate step toward the amelioration of the present situation, the one way in which it ought not be done is to commence an attack upon the standard of living of the working population of this or any other country. It may take a very wise man in his finest moments of sagacity, a lot of time and a lot of energy to suggest what should be done, but without any egotism I want to say that some time ago I suggested that the ruthless wage-cutting that was instituted some eighteen months ago in this country and in the country to the south of us, the Republic from which you come, was a very fine example at least of how not to do it.

If the locomotive of social progress, in its development under the given conditions of modern society, has grown a smoke stack of profits so high that the machine won't go through the tunnel of depression, it is precisely the wrong way to get it to move to take off the wheels of wages and expect the thing to roll along. I say that today, earnestly and solemnly, knowing very well that there are more people listening to me at this moment than are gathered here in this hall, and if we are all in earnest about this thing and want that machine to go forward, a much more satisfactory solution for the immediate future would be sought by taking a few inches or feet off that extended smoke stack of profits, instead of trying to put flat tires upon the wheels of wages. For with all the visions we may have of the return of industrial prosperity, we must not lose sight of the fact, that such prosperity as may come back to us under modern conditions can depend only upon a successful marketing of vendible goods, and with that return of prosperity for which we hope, how in the name of all that is good can you expect an increasing market for those vendible goods, of which there is now a glut, if the first thing you do is to cut off the purchasing power of those people who constitute that market?

You have a lot of things to do here today and during this important convention. I would like to be around amongst you during the week, but I have a lot of things to do myself.

I don't want to elaborate this point any further, but I want to state that not only do I feel seriously on this particular point, but I have noted with some degree of satisfaction, as I have already stated, that the President of the American Federation of Labor and his officers, are at one on that

matter, and I notice further that the President of the United States of America, himself, has expressed dissatisfaction upon the operations of modern industry in instituting these wage cuts at this time.

Oh, the day will come, perhaps, when old men shall dream dreams and the young men shall see visions of a society in which there will neither be idling in want or idling in luxury. That is the goal to be worked for; it is something every one of us, whatever our antecedents may be, can very well strive for.

In conclusion, I would like to say, that is a task that is imposed by history upon the labor movement of every country in the world. It is in the labor movement of every country in the world that we can see the germs today of a lasting peace between nation and nation and a lasting peace in the industrial field. Here we discover men and women from the soil, men and women from the factory, men and women who are able and willing to do some thinking and some working; so that the day may come, if not for us at least for our children, when peace and good will will cover the earth like the waters cover the great deep.

Chairman Bengough: Ladies and gentlemen, the next task I have is a very pleasant one. It was a custom in times gone by, with the Coast Indians of British Columbia, to present to their chief, on special occasions, a war club made from the yew tree. I may say in passing that the yew tree is a very tough and springy type of tree, and we thought it would be a very good thing on this occasion if we made a similar present to the great chief who is visiting us at this time.

However, in deference to the well being of many of the delegates, whose stay is entrusted to the Entertainment Committee, we thought it would be better to whittle down the size of the war club in case any of them should be called to order. We had the club made by union men and engraved by union engravers. The engraving says: "Presented to Mr. William Green, President of the American Federation of Labor, by the Fifty-first Annual Convention, Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada."

#### PRESIDENT WILLIAM GREEN

Chairman Bengough, Your Honor the Mayor of Vancouver, representatives of the Provincial Government and Municipalities, representatives of the organized labor movement of the city and of the province—I express to you all, on behalf of the officers and delegates in attendance at this convention, our deep appreciation for the very cordial welcome you have extended us this morning. We are looking forward in happy anticipation of a delightful visit with you. We know we shall go from here, when our labors are ended and our work completed, carrying with us most fond memories of a delightful stay. And we want you, our fellow workers in the Dominion of Canada, the representatives of all classes of people, to accept our visit here as more than a friendly gesture. We want you to accept and interpret our visit to Canada and to the

City of Vancouver as evidence of a sincere desire to promote and strengthen the bonds of friendship which exist between the people of the United States and the Dominion of Canada.

There is only an indistinct, invisible line separating the two nations, and as we travel its course from ocean to ocean we fall to observe a single gun or a single fort. Every step in this invisible line speaks the language of peace, of good will and of understanding, and I declare here, if I understand the aims and purposes of this great economic movement, the organization of the working people of the two countries, it is to maintain at any cost the friendly relations that have so long been established and that make this line a line of peace, to forever prevent the building of forts or the establishment of guns of warfare, and to show to the nations of the world how it is possible for two nations to live as neighbors and in perpetually peaceful relationships.

The American labor movement established here upon the American continent is a guaranty of peace, of friendship, of mutual understanding, co-operation and good will, for so long as this movement lives and is permitted to function, the men and women who compose it will see to it that no conflict resulting in the loss of human life shall ever occur between the Dominion of Canada and the United States of America.

We come as men interested in the common economic, social and industrial welfare of the peoples of the two nations. We deal with human values. We are endeavoring to promote those intangible values which make for a better civilization, a better day and a better life. We seek for a more equitable distribution of the wealth created by human hands, not for the purpose of enriching individuals or groups, but for the purpose of making life more tolerable and happy. This is one of the aims and purposes of our organized labor movement.

I cannot refrain from referring to the fact, upon this solemn occasion, that we are meeting in the midst of a great international emergency. Distress and suffering prevail throughout the world. The great Republic of the United States is affected seriously by reason of widespread unemployment. Our fraternal delegates, sitting on my left, who have made a journey from far across the sea, will tell us when they speak to us of the distressing economic situation which prevails in their home land. The fraternal delegate from the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress will supplement what these distinguished speakers have said this morning regarding economic conditions here. And before us as we deliberate, as we approach our solemn consideration of this great problem, will be the picture of world-wide

distress affecting the well being and the happiness of hundreds of millions of people.

Because of this dislocation of our economic structure, because there is suffering in a land where plenty exists in abundance, men and women who are the victims possess inquiring minds. They are asking questions that are difficult to answer. They are wondering whether the system itself set up by society in every nation has failed. Surely it is not to the credit of a social order when, on the one hand, we find the Creator of the Universe supplying us with food in abundance, and on the other, our millions standing starving and hungry. We may well ask the question, has capitalism failed? Surely it is not to its credit when we find a condition such as now exists in our beloved lands. Shall we live in an age and a time when wealth increases in the hands of a few and men decay? Shall those human values to which I refer be destroyed? What about a system that relegates a man in the prime of life to the human scrap heap, that knows no other remedy for economic depression than to reduce the standard of living, to depress the values already here, to reduce and impair the purchasing power to a much lower point?

There has come no collective voice from the management of industry, from the officers of corporations, from those who direct and control industry that could be accepted and construed as a practical remedy for our economic ills. Only labor, the men and women who toil, have developed a program, a plan, a remedy, and with all the vigor it possesses has asked the governments of these respective countries, the owners and managers of industry, economists and scientists, to accept our plan and apply it as a remedy in this distressing condition. The answer we have received thus far has been to reduce wages, to add to our misery and to our distress, to destroy the limited purchasing power of the masses of the people as it now exists, to make it possible for men and women to buy less and to use less and to consume less.

Is there any one with reason or judgment who can conscientiously believe that we can lift ourselves out of these depths of misery to which we have sunk by adding further to the depressing situation that has plunged us into these depths? Well, my friends, our remedy is a practical one. We propose that men and women shall be given the opportunity to work, that they shall share in the work available, that one man or one woman is as good as another, that there shall be no discrimination, but that all, just like a family, shall share in the work available. We hold that this can be done through an adjustment of the working time and in accordance with the economic and industrial re-

quirements of this day and age. Mechanical processes, science and invention, the substitution of mechanical forces for human service has made it absolutely impossible for industry to supply men work continually under the old six-day program, as we did years ago when hand labor characterized the personnel of the factory and the transportation lines of the nation.

Now the machine is doing the work that human hands formerly did. Notwithstanding that fact, the managers of industry still persist in their efforts to have men work six days per week and long hours while others are idle. We propose the immediate establishment of the five-day work week in both public and private industries. We propose further that the working day shall be so shortened as to meet the requirements of this unemployment situation, and work divided through an adjustment of the working time, so that the slack of employment may be taken up and all men and women given an opportunity to work.

We propose further that the wage structure erected through the efforts of organized labor and the working men and women of the different nations of the world, and particularly of our own country, shall not be destroyed and the wage standards shall not be lowered. If industry, through force and brutality, if industry, through the application of the law of the jungle, through the use of the primitive club of the Indians, forces men into subjection, then wage reductions will be established in spite of our protest and against our judgment.

But I warn these people who, through force and domination, and dictatorship and brutality, exploit the masses of the people, forcing them down and down to the lowest depths of despair, that they can only drive them so far, and then they will turn eventually and rend those who do it.

I feel very deeply upon this subject, very deeply indeed, and in expressing my feelings, tempered by my judgment, I know I am but reflecting the opinions and the feelings of the millions of working men and women whom we represent. There is a tremendous feeling of social unrest developing. It is apparent on every hand. Men who are regarded as careful in the use of language, in the use of words, are beginning to speak in most emphatic terms, and it is for that reason that I feel justified, as the spokesman of millions of people, to warn these men who are forcing unorganized workers to accept reductions in wages, that if they pursue that policy they will go too far.

Read the history of the nations of the world. Revolutions grow out of unrest and hunger, and the aristocracy of these nations never learn. They seem to assume the attitude of indifference,

of security, without taking into account the history of those nations where revolutions have overturned existing governments.

The standard of life and living among the masses of the people must be maintained upon a high level if domestic tranquility and social satisfaction are to prevail. Men and women must be conscious of the fact that they are receiving a square deal, that they are being treated fairly, that they are not the victims of injustice, oppression, or exploitation. The permanency of our institutions depends upon such a state of mind. With all the emphasis I possess I want to again warn these men against a continuation of this wage cutting, life-destroying policy that is being pursued by some of these heartless corporations.

It is my opinion that the time has arrived when the representatives of labor can take, with every feeling of justification, a most advanced position upon the question of human rights. You know we always regard the exercise of the enjoyment of the right of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness as most sacred indeed. The whole civilized world was inspired when that great, immortal document was published throughout the world, written by the immortal hand of Thomas Jefferson. He took a most advanced position then, setting forth to the world that men and women possessed certain inalienable rights, rights that could not be challenged, rights that were inherent, inalienable rights, the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. I think that that could be amended in the Republic of the United States by adding to that the right to work. I maintain that life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness means little to the masses of the people unless they possess the right to work.

Go into the home of a hungry man, with his hungry family suffering from unemployment, denied the right to work, and discuss with him the abstract principles of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. They mean little to him. What he is thinking about is work, the right to work, the creation of work opportunities, for he can only be made happy, he can only enjoy happiness when he is accorded the right to work and to earn a decent living. The position we must take is that this is an inalienable right, a sacred right, a right that any system of government let it be capitalism, private ownership of property, or any other form of government, must guarantee to the masses of the people. I do not mean by that that we should call upon these industrial representatives to do the impossible, but I do mean that we can demand that they, along with labor and those clothed with authority, adjust and readjust the

economic conditions and the working time, so that all may enjoy the right to work.

Behold a land where men are employed, behold a community where working men and women earn a decent living, and when you behold such a place, you behold a collective community of men and women who are living in a reasonable state of satisfaction, providing they are not conscious of the fact that they are being exploited.

So that, my friends, reasoning thus from every point of view, in my judgment we have arrived at the time when we can, and must, and will demand the right to work and to earn a decent living, because life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness depend upon the exercise of the right to work.

I cannot close these remarks without referring to a great evil that has grown constantly, one that is occupying the attention of working men and women and their friends everywhere, and that is this continually manifest, evident, inequitable distribution of the wealth of the nation. We hold that if these corporations, these owners of corporations who have accumulated great wealth had distributed that which it seems to me they do not justly possess to the masses of the people in the shape of wages, then these large fortunes would not have been accumulated. We believe that if they would distribute their wealth in the way of wages—because it is working men and women who create this wealth—that these periods of unemployment would be eliminated. And so we propose, first, that the wage standards shall be built up, that the earnings of industry shall be more equitably distributed, that instead of a corporation declaring 40 per cent. dividends to the stockholders and extra dividends in the shape of money payments, those values shall be equitably distributed among the working men and women who made this wealth possible. And we hold that if they turn a deaf ear to our proposals, if they refuse to listen, then we shall go to the sovereignty of the people, to the legislative bodies of the nations, we shall go to that instrumentality set up by society, the government itself, and there we shall call upon government to exercise its taxing powers by distributing these large fortunes back to the people through the government by the exercise of the taxing power of the nation.

Now we are deeply concerned over the existing situation. We are meeting now when it has become most acute. In the United States there are approximately seven million men out of work. There are thousands out of work in the Dominion of Canada. There are thousands, yes, millions, out of work in Great Britain and in other nations of Europe.

This great army of the unemployed stands as a menace to the security of governmental institutions. There is no urge quite so powerful as the urge of the hunger instinct. It moves men and women mightily. They don't draw the fine line of distinction between that which seems right or socially wrong when they seek to satisfy hunger. It is a mighty urge. It cannot be dealt with through the application of those rules and laws that society has set up.

Shall this continue indefinitely? In the United States we are approaching the third winter. That in itself presents a serious problem. The resources of working men who, in the beginning, had some funds, are now exhausted. Men who were able to tide themselves over last winter cannot do so now. They are dependent, and imagine a man, proud, maintaining his self-respect, resolute in purpose, being compelled by the sheer necessities of the occasion to accept charity or relief in any form! I ask you, my friends, shall we make paupers out of men, strong, able-bodied, willing to work, anxious to work, and begging to work? No such a condition as that should continue permanently.

Men are afraid, working men are filled with fear. They are afraid of the banks, because under our present system it seems they have broken down. They are afraid of the unemployment situation. They are afraid of the wage cutting policy pursued by many corporations, and, because they are afraid, their buying power is paralyzed and frozen. They will not spend their money as freely as they did or as they will when conditions are normal. Go to the postal savings centers of the nation and there find the increase in deposits. Go ask the bankers about the business now being done through their safety deposit boxes, and the answer is that it has already increased enormously. Why? Because of that unfavorable psychology established, the fear that exists in the hearts and minds of people, not only over the existing present conditions, but over the immediate future as well.

Forty million men working, eight million idle—eight million cannot buy; forty million will not buy because they are afraid that they, too, may become numbered among the army of the unemployed on the morrow.

How can they ever release this great purchasing power of the masses of the people so long as we continue this condition of unemployment and so long as we reduce wages? For industrialists, foolish as they are, are doing nothing more than destroying their own market when they reduce wages. And so they may as well understand now as to learn the lesson through a more costly experience, that prosperity and normal conditions can never return until the buying power of the masses of the people, until

the consuming market represented by the masses of the people is developed to its highest point. You can force wages down, but so long as you do misery will continue and the upgrade will never be reached until wages are restored.

In this convention we shall consider many problems affecting the economic and social well-being of the people. We shall outline a social justice program. We shall further the enactment of legislation providing for old age pension legislation. We shall demand of the Congress of the United States the enactment of an injunction relief bill that will make us free indeed, free to strike, free to organize, free to unite all the strength we possess in an effort to advance human values. We shall fight for legislation for the children. We shall fight for legislation for the women. We shall offer to support legislation having for its purpose the advancement of the highest and best interests of all those employed in the Government service. In addition to that we shall offer a concrete program here of temporary relief for the unemployed, and we shall supplement that by offering a program that we believe, if accepted and applied, will bring about a permanent solution of these distressing economic conditions.

What a great task! What a great work is before us in the atmosphere of this wonderful city, hewn out of the primeval forest! We shall work honestly and diligently, endeavoring to realize our objectives and our ideals.

And, lastly, we are thinking about our record, the record of this great movement. We are permitted here to survey a pathway made through fifty years of service, and as we survey it, weigh its accomplishments, appraise its failures and are inspired by its ideals and principles, we shall think about the pioneer and the crusader and the constructive trade unionist who helped make this great movement possible. It is in that spirit, the spirit of the crusader, the spirit of the pioneer, the spirit of the constructive trade unionist, that we approach the consideration of our questions and the solution of our problems. I thank you.

I now declare the Fifty-first Convention of the American Federation of Labor open for the transaction of business.

The rules and order of business which governed the last convention will apply to the deliberations of this session until the Rules and Order of Business Committee, appointed by the convention, submits its report.

The first order of business is the report of the Credentials Committee. The Chair recognizes Secretary Collins, of the Credentials Committee.

Secretary Collins read the following report:

#### REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada.

October 5, 1931.

To the Officers and Delegates to the Fifty-first Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

Your Committee on Credentials, consisting of three duly elected delegates, who, in accordance with our laws, were appointed by their respective International Presidents at the request of President Green, herewith submit the following partial report:

We have examined the credentials of 333 delegates representing 79 International and National Unions, 4 Departments, 23 State Branches, 46 Central Bodies, 15 Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions, and 4 Fraternal Delegates, and recommend that the following be seated:

Actors and Artistes of America, Associated—Frank Gilmore, Paul Dullzell, 83 votes.

Asbestos Workers, International Association of Heat and Frost Insulators and—Joseph A. Mullaney, 41 votes.

Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America—A. A. Myrup, Peter Beisel, Henry L. Koch, 201 votes.

Barbers' International Union, Journeymen—James C. Shanessy, Wm. C. Birthright, Charles T. Crane, Patrick H. Reagan, Anthony Merlino, 461 votes.

Bill Posters and Billers of America, International Alliance of—Leo Abernethy, 16 votes.

Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and Helpers, International Brotherhood of—Roy Horn, W. G. Powlesland, 50 votes.

Boiler Makers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America, International Brotherhood of—J. A. Franklin, William E. Walter, J. N. Davis, Harry Nacey, 170 votes.

Bookbinders, International Brotherhood of—John B. Haggerty, Mary McEnerney, 137 votes.

Boot and Shoe Workers' Union—E. W. A. O'Dell, Nora O'Connor, John H. Dillon, David Anderson, 203 votes.

Brewery, Flour, Cereal and Soft Drink Workers of America, International Union of the United—Joseph Obergfell, A. J. Kugler, Adam E. Zusl, 160 votes.

Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union of America—William J. Bowen, John J. Stretch, William J. Moran, Walter V. Price, 900 votes.

Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, International Association—P. J. Morrin, Edward Ryan, W. F. Bauers, George McTague, 175 votes.

Building Service Employes' International Union — Jerry Horan, William Quesse, Oscar F. Nelson, Robert McLoed, 180 votes.

Carmen of America, Brotherhood Railway—Martin F. Ryan, John O. Holmgren, L. A. Beaudry, F. H. Knight, 800 votes.

Carpenters and Joiners of America, United Brotherhood of—Wm. L. Hutcheson, Frank Duffy, H. C. Rogers, Charles W. Hanson, Thos. F. Flynn, W. Page, 3020 votes.

Cigarmakers' International Union of America—I. M. Ornburn, G. W. Perkins, William Collins, 155 votes.

Clerks, National Federation of Post Office—Leo E. George, Thos. F. Flaherty, Olie Allen, Robert Daney, Roy McIntosh, 360 votes.

Clerks, Brotherhood of Railway—Geo. M. Harrison, D. E. Pearsall, Frank H. Hall, 753 votes.

Clerks' International Protective Association, Retail—John B. Schulte, C. C. Coulter, 100 votes.

Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union—Max Zaritsky, 58 votes.

Conductors, Order of Sleeping Car—Myles S. Warfield, 23 votes.

Draftsmen's Unions, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and—C. L. Rosemund, 17 votes.

Electrical Workers of America, International Brotherhood of—H. H. Broach, G. M. Bugnizet, E. D. Bieretz, Chas. M. Paulson, Emil Preiss, D. F. Cleary, 1,420 votes.

Elevator Constructors, International Union of—Frank Feeney, J. C. MacDonald, Thomas O'Brien, 102 votes.

Engineers, International Union of Operating — John Posschl, F. A. Fitzgerald, William E. Maloney, Frank Demberger, Wm. P. Walsh, 340 votes.

Engravers' Union of North America, International Photo—Edward J. Volz, Matthew Woll, 90 votes.

Federal Employees, National Federation of—Luther C. Steward, Gertrude M. McNally, John Fitzgerald, 381 votes.

Fire Fighters, International Association of—Fred W. Baer, Niel Macdonald, 180 votes.

Firemen and Oilers, International Brotherhood of—John F. McNamara, Joseph W. Morton, James P. Holland, 91 votes.

Garment Workers of America, United —T. A. Rickert, J. L. Wines, F. Doyle, A. Adamski, D. A. Houck, 463 votes.

Glass Bottle Blowers' Association of the United States and Canada—James Maloney, William W. Campbell, 60 votes.

Glass Workers' Union, American Flint —William P. Clarke, Harvey H. Harshman, 46 votes.

Hatters of North America, United—Michael F. Greene, Martin Lawlor, Edward Gordon, 93 votes.

Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union of America, International—Joseph V. Moreschi, Joseph Marshall, Herbert Rivers, Joseph B. Etchison, Carl E. Berg, A. C. D'Andrea, 1,150 votes.

Hotel and Restaurant Employees and Beverage Dispensers' International Alliance—Edward Flore, Robt. B. Hesketh, Emanuel Koveleski, Agnes M. Quinn, Conrad Schott, 337 votes.

Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, Amalgamated Association of—M. F. Tighe, 58 votes.

Jewelry Workers' Union, International —David Levine, 8 votes.

Lathers, International Union of Wood, Wire and Metal—Wm. J. McSorley, Geo. T. Moore, Chas. J. Case, Harry J. Hagen, 165 votes.

Laundry Workers' International Union —James F. Brock, John O'Keefe, 55 votes.

Letter Carriers, National Association of — Edward J. Gainer, M. T. Finnan, Charles D. Duffy, John T. Mugavin, Luther E. Swartz, 550 votes.

Letter Carriers, National Federation of Rural—L. M. Onyett, 8 votes.

Lithographers' International Protective and Beneficial Association of the United States and Canada—Andrew J. Kennedy, Robert Bruck, 57 votes.

Machinists, International Association of—Arthur O. Wharton, Charles W. Fry, R. A. Henning, Daniel P. Haggerty, 776 votes.

Maintenance of Way Employees, Brotherhood of—F. H. Fljosdal, E. E. Milliman, A. McAndrew, Geo. H. Davis, 408 votes.

Marble, Slate and Stone Polishers, Rubber and Sawyers, Tile and Marble Setters' Helpers, and Terrazzo Helpers, International Association of—Stephen C. Hogan, Louis Rode, 77 votes.

Masters, Mates and Pilots of America, National Organization—John J. Scully, 30 votes.

Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, Amalgamated—Patrick E. Gorman, Dennis Lane, Michael J. Kelly, 113 votes.

Metal Workers' International Association, Sheet—John J. Hynes, James J. Ryan, John Reul, James Close, 250 votes.

Mine Workers of America, United—John L. Lewis, Philip Murray, Thomas Kennedy, William Green, Michael Hartneady, P. T. Fagan, John Boylan, Mart F. Brennan, 4,000 votes.

Molders' Union of North America, International—M. J. Keough, Robert T. McCoy, Henry Rosendale, 152 votes.

Musicians, American Federation of—Joseph N. Weber, Chauncey A. Weaver, John W. Parks, Chas. L. Bagley, Edward Canavan, W. Ralph Fetterman, 1,000 votes.

Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America, Brotherhood of—L. P. Lindelof, Clarence E. Swick, Christian M. Madsen, James P. Meehan, Harry Kaufman, Joseph P. Hunter, 964 votes.

Pattern Makers' League of North America—James Wilson, 70 votes.

Plasterers' International Association of the United States and Canada, Operative—M. J. Collieran, T. A. Scully, John E. Rooney, William A. O'Keefe, John A. Feeley, 377 votes.

Plumbers and Steam Fitters of the United States and Canada, United Association of—John Coe field, Thomas E. Burke, S. G. Smylie, Charles Anderson, 450 votes.

Polishers, Metal, International Union—W. W. Britton, 50 votes.

Potters, National Brotherhood of Operative—James M. Duffy, Frank Hull, 54 votes.

Printers, Die Stampers and Engravers' Union of North America, International Plate—James Windsor, 12 votes.

Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union of North America, International—S. B. Marks, Thos. S. Ezart, Harry F. Longley, Harry Listman, 400 votes.

Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers of the United States and Canada, International Brotherhood of—John P. Burke, H. W. Sullivan, 50 votes.

Quarry Workers, International Union of North America—Fred W. Suito, 30 votes.

Railway Employees of America, Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric—W. D. Mahon, Joseph J. Kehoe, Sidney Van Ness, Harry H. Jones, J. H. Cookman, 914 votes.

Railway Mail Association—William M. Collins, Henry W. Strickland, 198 votes.

Roofers, Damp and Waterproof Workers' Association, United Slate, Tile and Composition—J. M. Gavlak, Peter J. O'Brien, 40 votes.

Seamen's Union of America, International—Andrew Furuseth, Victor A. Olander, 150 votes.

Stage Employees and Moving Picture Machine Operators of the United States and Canada, International Alliance of Theatrical—William F. Canavan, Fred J. Dempsey, Thomas E. Maloy, James F. Burke, 240 votes.

Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Union of North America, International—Winfield T. Keegan, Chas. A. Sumner, 82 votes.

Stone Cutters' Association of North America, Journeymen—M. W. Mitchell, P. J. Cullen, 58 votes.

Stove Mounters' International Union—Edw. W. Kaiser, 8 votes.

Switchmen's Union of North America—Thomas C. Cashen, James B. Connors, 82 votes.

Tailors' Union of America, Journeymen—Gust Soderberg, 58 votes.

Teachers, American Federation of—Florence Curtis Hanson, 63 votes.

Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America, International Brotherhood of—Daniel J. Tobin, Thomas L. Hughes, John M. Gillespie, John P. McLaughlin, L. G. Goudie, J. J. McKenna, 920 votes.

Telegraphers, Order of Railroad—E. J. Manion, H. B. Perham, R. R. McInroy, R. M. Burr, F. J. Ellison, 410 votes.

Telegraphers' Union of North America, The Commercial—Frank B. Powers, 38 votes.

Textile Workers of America, United—Thomas F. McMahon, Francis J. Gorman, James Starr, William Smith, 300 votes.

- Tobacco Workers' International Union—E. Lewis Evans, 24 votes.
- Typographical Union, International—Charles P. Howard, Frank Morrison, William R. Trotter, William J. Robinson, Frank X. Martel, Walter E. Nail, 775 votes.
- Upholsterers' International Union of North America—James H. Hatch, George V. Fay, 101 votes.
- Building Trades Department—M. J. McDonough, 1 vote.
- Metal Trades Department—John P. Frey, 1 vote.
- Railroad Employes Department — E. M. Jewell, 1 vote.
- Union Label Trades Department—John J. Manning, 1 vote.
- Arizona State Federation of Labor—J. C. Provost, 1 vote.
- California State Federation of Labor—Edward McLaughlin, 1 vote.
- Colorado State Federation of Labor—John E. Gross, 1 vote.
- Georgia State Federation of Labor—O. E. Petry, 1 vote.
- Idaho State Federation of Labor—August Rosqvist, 1 vote.
- Illinois State Federation of Labor—Reuben G. Soderstrom, 1 vote.
- Indiana State Federation of Labor—T. N. Taylor, 1 vote.
- Kansas State Federation of Labor—Henry Allal, 1 vote.
- Kentucky State Federation of Labor—William C. Elliott, 1 vote.
- Maryland State and District of Columbia State Federation of Labor—Charles E. Young, 1 vote.
- Massachusetts State Federation of Labor—James T. Moriarty, 1 vote.
- Minnesota State Federation of Labor—E. G. Hall, 1 vote.
- Missouri State Federation of Labor—Lawrence M. Raftery, 1 vote.
- Montana State Federation of Labor—James D. Graham, 1 vote.
- Nevada State Federation of Labor—Lillie Barbour Clinedinst, 1 vote.
- New York State Federation of Labor—John Sullivan, 1 vote.
- Ohio State Federation of Labor—Thomas J. Donnelly, 1 vote.
- Oklahoma State Federation of Labor—Joe C. Campbell, 1 vote.
- Oregon State Federation of Labor—C. M. Rynerson, 1 vote.
- Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor—John Kmetz, 1 vote.
- Porto Rico Free Federation of Workmen—Santiago Iglesias, 1 vote.
- Texas State Federation of Labor—George H. Slater, 1 vote.
- Washington State Federation of Labor—James A. Taylor, 1 vote.
- Arkansas City, Kans., Central Labor Union—Abe Pool Garrison, 1 vote.
- Atlanta, Ga., Federation of Trades—A. S. Nance, 1 vote.
- Balboa, C. Z., Central Labor Union—Charles F. Wahl, 1 vote.
- Bremerton, Wash., Central Trades and Labor Council—Geo. W. Possee, 1 vote.
- Cambridge, Mass., Central Labor Union—Harry Joel, 1 vote.
- Chicago, Ill., Federation of Labor—Edward N. Nockels, 1 vote.
- Cincinnati, Ohio, Central Labor Council—O. Zoecklein, 1 vote.
- Cle-Elum-Roslyn, Wash., Central Labor Council—Andrew Hunter, 1 vote.
- Clinton, Ia., Tri-City Labor Congress of Clinton and Lyons, Iowa, and Fulton, Ill.—Geo. C. Campbell, 1 vote.
- Everett, Wash., Central Labor Council—Fred Michel, 1 vote.
- Fargo, N. D., Trades and Labor Assembly—D. J. Driscoll, 1 vote.
- Fitchburg, Mass., Central Labor Union—E. Percival Coleman, 1 vote.
- Hamilton, O., Co-Operative Trades and Labor Council—Milton Doll, 1 vote.
- Hannibal, Mo., Trades and Labor Assembly—W. F. Barger, 1 vote.
- Indianapolis, Ind., Central Labor Union—Adolph Fritz, 1 vote.
- Joliet, Ill., Central Trades and Labor Council of Will County—Anthony Augustino, 1 vote.
- Kansas City, Mo., Central Labor Union—Earl W. Cox, 1 vote.
- Kensington, Ill., Calumet Joint Labor Council—Steve Sumner, 1 vote.
- Klamath Falls, Oregon, Central Labor Union—A. L. Rice, 1 vote.

Las Vegas, Nev., Central Labor Union of Clark County—H. C. Juneman, 1 vote.

Los Angeles, Calif., Central Labor Council—J. W. Buzzell, 1 vote.

Milwaukee, Wis., Federated Trades Council—James P. Sheehan, 1 vote.

Montreal, Que., Can., Trades and Labor Council—John T. Foster, 1 vote.

Newport, Ky., Trades and Labor Assembly of Kenton and Campbell Counties—Charles Farrell, 1 vote.

New York, N. Y., Central Trades and Labor Council of Greater New York and Vicinity—James C. Quinn, 1 vote.

Olympia, Wash., Trades Council—J. L. Moore, 1 vote.

Pensacola, Fla., Central Labor Union—Philip Ickler, 1 vote.

Phoenix, Ariz., Central Labor Council—J. A. Sisson, 1 vote.

Portland, Ore., Central Labor Council—Gust Anderson, 1 vote.

Reading, Pa., Federated Trades Council—A. P. Bower, 1 vote.

Roundup, Mont., Central Trades and Labor Council—Walter Smethurst, 1 vote.

Sacramento, Calif., Federated Trades Council—J. L. R. Marsh, 1 vote.

Saint Joseph, Mo., Central Labor Council—Warren S. Welsh, 1 vote.

St. Louis, Mo., Central Trades and Labor Union—Samuel E. Snyder, 1 vote.

San Francisco, Calif., Labor Council—John A. O'Connell, 1 vote.

San Juan, P. R., Central Labor Union—Prudencio Rivera Martinez, 1 vote.

Santa Maria, Calif., Central Labor Council—D. Calvin Reed, 1 vote.

Seattle, Wash., Central Labor Council of Seattle and Vicinity—James A. Duncan, 1 vote.

Spokane, Wash., Central Labor Council—William J. Finn, 1 vote.

Springfield, Ill., Federation of Labor—Robert E. Woodmansee, 1 vote.

Springfield, Mo., Central Trades and Labor Assembly—R. T. Wood, 1 vote.

South Chicago, Ill., Trades and Labor Assembly—Frank E. Doyle, 1 vote.

Toronto, Ont., Can., District Labor Council—W. P. Covert, 1 vote.

Vancouver, B. C., Can., Trades and Labor Council—Percy R. Bengough, 1 vote.

Washington, D. C., Central Labor Union—Nelson P. Alifas, 1 vote.

Yakima, Wash., Central Labor Union—Henry C. Thomas, 1 vote.

Associated Assistant Directors' Local No. 18096, Los Angeles, Calif.—Dick L'Estrange, 1 vote.

Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants' Union No. 12646, New York, N. Y.—Ernest Bohm, 3 votes.

City and County Public Service Employees' Local No. 17212, Atlanta, Ga.—Fred K. Stephens, 1 vote.

Federal Labor Union No. 12985, Butte, Mont.—John H. Driscoll, 1 vote.

Motion Picture Costumers' Union, Associated, No. 18067, Los Angeles, Calif.—Joseph P. Tuohy, 1 vote.

Newspaper Writers' Union No. 17662, Boston, Mass.—Michael J. Flynn, 1 vote.

Rope Splicers and Repairmen's Union No. 16857, Chicago, Ill.—Robert McElligott, 1 vote.

Shingle Weavers' Union No. 17813, Vancouver, B. C., Can.—Fred Stevenson, 1 vote.

Sleeping Car Porters' Union No. 18068, New York, N. Y.—A. Philip Randolph, 1 vote.

Sleeping Car Porters' Union No. 18070, Chicago, Ill.—Milton P. Webster, 1 vote.

Sleeping Car Porters' Union No. 18089, Fort Worth, Tex.—L. Hampton, 1 vote.

Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 11773, Washington, D. C.—E. J. Tracy, 3 votes.

Stenographers, Typists, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 16821, Portland, Ore.—Catherine Galvin, 1 vote.

Stenographers, Typists, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 18177, Vancouver, B. C., Canada—Anne MacDonald, 1 vote.

Theatrical Agents and Managers' Association No. 18032, New York, N. Y.—Theodore Mitchell, 1 vote.

British Trades Union Congress — F. Wolstencroft, J. Beard, 2 votes.

Canadian Trades and Labor Congress—Colin McDonald, 1 vote.

Women's International Union Label League and Trade Union Auxiliary—Anna Fitzgerald.

Respectfully submitted,  
JOHN E. ROONEY, Chairman.  
JOHN REUL.  
WILLIAM M. COLLINS, Secretary.

Secretary Collins moved the adoption of the report of the committee. The motion was seconded by Delegate Rooney, a member of the committee, and unanimously adopted.

President Green: Those whose names have been read by the Credentials Committee as duly accredited delegates to this convention will be seated and the committee will be continued.

The Chair desires to announce the appointment of Mr. E. R. Bayley, member of Typographical Union No. 226, Vancouver, B. C., as Assistant Secretary.

Mr. Edward Smith, member of Painters' Union No. 138, Vancouver, B. C., as Sergeant-at-Arms, and

Mr. William Watt, member of Plumbers' and Steam Fitters' Union No. 170, Vancouver, B. C., as Messenger of the convention.

The next order of business is the appointment of a Committee on Rules

and Order of Business. The Secretary will read the names of the committee. Secretary Morrison read the following:

**Rules and Order of Business**—Joseph Morton, James Hatch, Daisy A. Houck, William J. Moran, W. F. Bauers, J. J. McKenna, E. Lewis Evans, Charles T. Crane, Thomas O'Brien, John A. Feeley, Frank Gilmore, M. F. Brennan, Edward Gordon, M. S. Warfield, H. W. Sullivan, E. E. Milliman.

Chairman Bengough, of the Entertainment Committee, announced that a theatre party had been arranged for the ladies at 2 o'clock p.m. and a civic banquet for the delegates and visitors in the convention hall at 7 o'clock.

Secretary Morrison announced that a post office had been established in the hall for the convenience of the delegates.

At 12 o'clock the convention recessed until 2:30 o'clock p.m.

## First Day — Monday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order at 2:30 o'clock by President Green.

**Absentees:** Dullzell, Powlesland, Bowen, Stretch, Schulte, Coulter, Zaritsky, Greene, Lawlor, Gordon, Levine, Onyett, Scully, Gorman (P. E.), Lane, Kelly, Lewis, Murray, Kennedy (T.), Hartneady, Fagan, Boylan, Brennan, Hannah, Britton, Burke (J. P.), Sullivan (H. W.), Soderberg, Gorman (F. J.), Starr, Smith, Hatch, Fay, Provost, Gross, Rosqvist, Clinedinst, Sullivan (J.), Kmetz, Garrison, Joel, Campbell (G. C.), Driscoll (D. J.), Coleman, Barger, Augustino, Long, Foster, Farrell, Quinn (J. C.), Sisson, Bower, Smethurst, Welsh, Martinez, Reed, Wood, Covert, Alifas, Thomas, Bohm, Stephens, McElligott, Randolph, Webster, Hampton, Galvin, Mitchell (T.), Elliott.

### REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RULES AND ORDER OF BUSINESS

Delegate William J. Moran, secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

Vancouver, B. C., Canada,  
October 5, 1931.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Fifty-first Convention of the A. F. of L.—Greeting:

In conformity with the instructions of your President and this convention,

we, your Committee on Rules and Order of Business, of the Fifty-first Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, convened in the City of Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada, October 5, 1931, beg leave to make the following report for your approval, correction or change, and adoption:

Rule 1. The Convention shall be called to order at 9:30 a.m. and remain in session until 12:30 p.m. Reconvene at 2:30 p.m. and remain in session until 5:30 p.m., on the following days: Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday and Friday. There shall be no session on Saturday.

Rule 2. If a delegate while speaking be called to order he shall at the request of the Chair take his seat until the question of order is decided.

Rule 3. Should two or more delegates rise to speak at the same time, the Chair shall decide who is entitled to the floor.

Rule 4. No delegate shall interrupt another in his remarks, except it be to raise a point of order.

Rule 5. A delegate shall not speak more than twice upon a question until all who wish to speak have had an opportunity to do so.

Rule 6. A delegate shall not speak more than twice on the same question without permission from the convention.

Rule 7. Speeches shall be limited to ten minutes, but the time of speaking may be extended by a vote of the convention.

Rule 8. A motion shall not be open for discussion until it has been seconded and stated from the Chair.

Rule 9. At the request of five members the mover of a motion shall be required to reduce it to writing.

Rule 10. When a question is pending before the convention, no motion shall be in order except to adjourn, to refer, for the previous question, to postpone indefinitely, to postpone for a certain time, to divide or amend, which motions shall have precedence in the order named.

Rule 11. Motion to lay on the table shall not be debatable, except as limited by Roberts Rules of Order.

Rule 12. Motion to reconsider shall not be entertained, unless made by a delegate who voted with the majority, and shall receive a majority vote.

Rule 13. The reports of committees shall be subject to amendments and substitutes from the floor of the convention, the same as other motions and resolutions.

Rule 14. Any delegate failing to present his card within 30 minutes after the convention is called to order shall be marked absent, but in the event of unavoidable absence, he may so report to the Secretary and be marked present.

Rule 15. It shall require at least 30 delegates to move the previous question.

Rule 16. All resolutions shall bear the signature of the introducer and the title of the organization he represents and shall be submitted in duplicate form.

Rule 17. No motion or resolution shall be voted upon until the mover or introducer has had a chance to speak on it if he or she so desires.

Rule 18. When a roll call has been taken and all delegates present have had an opportunity to record their votes, the ballot shall be declared closed.

Rule 19. When a roll call ballot has been ordered, no adjournment shall take place, until the result has been announced.

Rule 20. Roberts Rules of Order shall be the guide on all matters not herein provided for.

#### Order of Business.

1. Reading of Minutes of previous session shall be dispensed with unless called for.
2. Reports of Committee on Credentials.
3. Reports of officers.
4. Reports of regular committees.
5. Reports of special committees.
6. Unfinished business.
7. New business.

8. Election of officers.
9. Selection of next meeting place.
10. Good of the Federation.
11. Adjournment.

Respectfully submitted,

JOSEPH W. MORTON, Chairman.

JAMES HATCH.

DAISY A. HOUCK.

W. F. BAUERS.

J. J. MCKENNA.

E. LEWIS EVANS.

CHARLES T. CRANE.

THOMAS O'BRIEN.

JOHN A. FEELEY.

FRANK GILMORE.

M. F. BRENNAN.

EDWARD GORDON.

M. S. WARFIELD.

H. W. SULLIVAN.

E. E. MILLIMAN.

WM. J. MORAN, Secretary.

Committee on Rules and

Order of Business.

On motion of Delegate Moran, the report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### APPOINTMENT OF COMMITTEES

President Green: The chair begs leave to announce the appointment of the following committees. Secretary Morrison will read the list.

Secretary Morrison read the following:

**Committee on Executive Council Report**—James Wilson, William P. Clarke, Harry Listman, Thomas Kennedy, Charles W. Hanson, F. H. Knight, Edward Flore, J. J. Hynes, Andrew Furueth, James C. Shanessy, Martin Lawlor, John H. Dillon, James Windsor, John J. Stretch, Benjamin Schlesinger, Charles Sumner, Henry W. Strickland.

**Committee on Resolutions**—Matthew Woll, Victor A. Olander, George W. Perkins, A. A. Myrup, J. A. Franklin, John L. Lewis, E. W. A. O'Dell, Thomas L. Hughes, John Posschl, P. J. Morrin, J. L. Wines, Charles P. Howard, Clarence E. Swick, M. J. Coleran, W. V. Price, John P. Frey, Harvey H. Harshman.

**Committee on Laws**—Martin F. Ryan, Dennis Lane, Joseph Kehoe, A. J. Kugler, Thomas F. McMahon, Charles Anderson, Frank Doyle, Thomas C. Cashen, Edward McLaughlin, Charles W. Frey, Edward I. Hannah, Thomas Flynn, Wm. C. Birthright, James Close, Max Zaritsky, Henry Rosendale, John B. Schulte.

**Committee on Organization**—Frank Duffy, Gertrude McNally, E. J. Manion, John P. Burke, James Starr, Wm. E. Maloney, Patrick H. Reagan, Agnes Quinn, George M. Harrison, E. J. Volz, Oscar F. Nelson, D. F. Cleary, John W. Parks, Andrew J. Kennedy, W. A. O'Keefe, Gust Anderson, Carl E. Berg.

**Committee on Labels**—John J. Manning, C. A. Weaver, Gust Soderberg, Wm. J. Robinson, W. Page, Joseph Ober-

fell, Wm. Collins, Peter Beisel, Harry Kaufman, David Anderson, James F. Burke, Wm. Campbell, Anthony Merlino, Robert Bruck, Wm. Smith, Michael J. Kelly, Conrad Schott.

**Committee on Adjustment**—T. A. Rickert, James Maloney, Roy Horn, John F. McNamara, J. B. Etchison, Charles L. Bagley, H. B. Perham, Philip Murray, W. D. Mahon, F. H. Fljodal, M. E. Tighe, William F. Canavan, J. P. McLaughlin, M. F. Greene, H. H. Broach, R. M. Burr, Neil Macdonald.

**Committee on Local and Federated Bodies**—Joseph N. Weber, L. E. Swartz, J. O. Holmgren, Jos. M. Marshall, R. E. McInray, Adam Zusi, James B. Connors, Olie Allen, Edward Bieretz, A. Adamski, James C. Quinn, C. C. Coulter, Francis J. Gorman, R. E. Woodmansee, Frank Dernberger, Fred J. Dempsey, J. H. Cookman.

**Committee on Education**—A. O. Wharton, Florence Curtis Hanson, L. P. Lindelof, Thomas E. Burke, Wm. R. Trotter, M. T. Finnan, John B. Haggerty, D. E. Pearsell, Leo. E. George, David Levine, S. B. Marks, Paul Dulzell, P. T. Fagan, W. Ralph Fetterman, R. G. Soderstrom, Roy McIntosh, J. W. Buzzell.

**Committee on State Organizations**—G. M. Bugniazet, S. C. Hogan, John Boylan, Jerry Horan, J. M. Gillespie, Patrick Gorman, Herbert Rivers, John E. Mugavin, Wm. E. Walter, Thos. S. Ezart, E. G. Hall, C. M. Rynerson, Fred Baer, Frank X. Martel, Henry L. Koch, T. N. Taylor.

**Committee on Industrial Relations**—John Coefield, Charles D. Duffy, Wm. P. Walsh, Charles J. Case, Edw. Canavan, John C. MacDonald, Robert Daney, James F. Brock, L. G. Goudie, Sidney Van Ness, Frank H. Hall, R. A. Henning, Nora O'Connell, Harry Nacey, Edward Ackerly, Harry F. Longley, Frank Hull.

**Committee on Building Trades**—M. J. McDonough, Wm. J. McSorley, Jos. V. Moreschi, Frank Feeney, F. A. Fitzgerald, Joseph A. Mullaney, T. A. Scully, Edward Ryan, James J. Ryan, H. C. Rogers, S. G. Smylie, M. W. Mitchell, Christian M. Madsen, J. M. Gaviak, Emil Freiss.

**Committee on Shorter Workday**—M. J. Keough, E. J. Gainer, L. E. Beaudry, W. B. Nail, Michael Hartneady, Harry J. Hagen, Joseph W. Morton, James P. Mehan, George T. Moore, Frank B. Powers, Robert B. Hesketh, Daniel Haggerty, Charles M. Paulsen, Theodore Mitchell, John Fitzgerald, George H. Davis, Louis Rode.

**Committee on Legislation**—I. M. Ornburn, Thos. F. Flaherty, Luther Steward, Harry H. Jones, W. W. Britton, Emanuel Koveleski, B. M. Jewell, Winfield Keegan, C. L. Rosemund, Thos. J. Donnelly, D. J. Tobin, James M. Duffy, J. N. Davis, John E. Gross, James T. Moriarty, Robert McLeod, F. J. Ellison.

**Committee on International Labor Relations**—George W. Perkins, Matthew Woll, James Wilson, Andrew Furuseth, Martin Lawlor, D. J. Tobin, George L. Berry, W. D. Mahon, J. A. Franklin, J. J. Hynes, Wm. L. Hutcheson, John Coefield, Edward J. Gainer, Albert Adamski, Michael Greene, Benjamin Schlesinger, William P. Clarke, Wm. J. Bowen, John J. Manning, Thomas Maloy, Joseph V. Moreschi, Joseph P. Ryan, William Green.

President Green: If there are no objections, the committees as just announced will be considered as the convention committees.

Delegate Tighe, Iron, Steel and Tin Workers: I move that the name of the President of the American Federation of Labor be added to the Committee on International Labor Relations.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote, and the name of President Green was added to the committee.

Treasurer Ryan: Mr. President and fellow delegates—It seems to me it would be quite appropriate, after we have listened to the splendid, magnificent address delivered by our President this morning, that after he has had the opportunity of editing that address, this convention should authorize its publication and distribution to the organized labor movement of America. With that in mind I make a motion that the address delivered by President Green this morning be printed in full, published in pamphlet form, and made available for distribution among the International Unions, State Federations of Labor, city central bodies and Federal Labor Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

#### SUMMARY, EXECUTIVE COUNCIL'S REPORT

President Green: The report of the Executive Council will be distributed to the officers and delegates in attendance at the convention. While the distribution is taking place First Vice-president Duffy, of the American Federation of Labor, will submit a condensed report of the Report of the Executive Council. The Chair now recognizes Vice-President Duffy.

Vice-President Duffy read the following condensed report:

Our report for the past year summarizes the achievements of half a century of labor progress under the leadership of the American Federation of Labor. We point out that we are in the beginning of a new industrial age characterized by associated activity and the formulation of the rights and equities of the creators of wealth.

Secretary Morrison's report shows the total receipts for the year were \$932,827.20—of which \$569,105.82 was income and \$363,721.38 the balance on hand at the beginning of the fiscal year. Total expenses were \$561,985.13. The balance at the end of the past fiscal year was \$370,842.17—\$52,527.88 in the general fund and \$318,314.19 in the defense fund.

The total membership upon which affiliated unions paid per capita tax in the past year was 2,889,550.

The Treasurer's report summarizes income and expenses by months and indicates the investment of funds.

The report of the trustees of the American Federation of Labor Building shows a balance on hand of \$62,729.19.

#### Fifty Years of Service

Under this section we refer to the organization of the Federation of Trades and Labor Unions of the United States and Canada in 1881 and the merging of this organization with the American Federation of Labor formed in 1886.

A roster of organizations affiliated with the Federation during the past 50 years indicates which have continued membership and which have dropped out, and important organization changes in each union.

There has been a striking parallel between increases in trade union strength and gains in wages and decreases in hours of work—rapid increases in membership were accompanied by marked improvement in working conditions.

We summarize the development of collective bargaining which has been the instrumentality for giving workers status in industry, for progressively raising standards of work and broadening the functions of unions. The Federation has served as the medium for putting the support of all workers behind individual union undertakings.

Under Federation leadership unions have steadily extended their control over their time by promoting the eight-hour day; the shorter work week; first one-day rest in seven, and now the five-day week; Saturday half-holiday has been secured for many government workers.

Our trade union movement, by securing social sanction for definite work standards, has aided in the development and maintenance of ethical standards

governing relations between employers and workers. These ethical standards are the basis for legal and economic rights.

Trade unionism has contributed to industry the principles of functional representation for Labor—the work contract, the importance of time economies, the high wage principle, specific needs for greater efficiency and regulation of work. Most fundamental of all, it has supplied a constructive agency for securing the co-operation of workers in the processes and problems of production.

We summarize the contributions which the Federation has made for improving our public school system which earlier unions took a leading part in establishing.

We enumerate specific political measures through which the Federation has helped to extend the practices of democracy.

We refer to types of legislation by which we have helped protect wage-earner incomes — including mechanics' liens, assignment of wages, time and method of payment, compensation for accidents.

We have advocated the principle of protective legislation for women and report types and extent of legislation secured.

The social service of the Federation includes higher standards of living for the masses on this continent, the development of labor statistics for guiding further progress, organizing the labor market, regulation of immigration. We have created the tools for further progress and established constructive policies for the advancement of labor progress as an integrated part of national progress.

Our fifty years of service have helped to give this country upstanding workers with the highest wage levels in the world and the highest standards of living. We have ahead of us the problem of extending these gains to backward areas while steadily advancing the standards for those in the front ranks of progress.

#### Unemployment

As the first step toward the solution of this problem is to discover the facts about it, the Federation has been contributing a real service in supplying the only monthly unemployment statistics available for the United States. We summarize by graphs trade union unemployment in the United States and Canada from 1926 through the first half of 1931.

We review the extent of unemployment discovered by the unemployment census of 1930, the federal survey of 1931, the estimate of the Department of

Commence for January, 1931, and the Federation estimates.

We submit an emergency unemployment program which includes (1) maintain wages; (2) shorten work hours; (3) assure employment to minimum work forces; (4) each employer to take on additional workers; (5) create work through public building; (6) strengthen employment agencies; (7) keep young persons in school to prevent their taking jobs from older men and women; (8) preference for workers with dependents; (9) financial relief from public and private funds.

Our long-time program recommended for dealing with the unemployment problem includes:

(1) National planning based upon extension of organization throughout functional groups and co-ordination of information and plans.

(2) Public accounting so that the facts of all business enterprises shall be public property.

(3) A federal labor board to collect the facts of labor progress and to advise as to steps necessary to balance Labor's progress with that of other groups.

(4) Organization of workers in trade unions essential to balanced progress of society and industry.

(5) An employment service adequate to organize and serve the labor market.

(6) Vocational guidance and retraining to enable workers to adjust themselves to industrial changes.

(7) To balance work time and wages against increases in productivity so that workers shall share in industrial progress by advances in real wages and greater leisure. Unequal distribution of national income has thrown our industrial mechanism out of balance. Failure to shorten the work week has created unemployment.

(8) Recognition of workers' equities in their jobs.

Under the captions "High Wage Philosophy" and "Bankers and Wages" we report progress in maintaining the high wage principle and bankers' advocacy of wage reductions.

We report progress in planning for more adequate labor statistics by the Department of Labor and the Federation's participation in this work.

Under the subject "International Economic Situation" we summarize the economic difficulties of Great Britain and Germany, other European countries, South America, and Australasia, setting forth the conditions leading to the present moratorium. We summarize the most recent figures on unemployment in industrial countries. Business depression in the United States is definitely related to this world situation.

Under "Jurisdictional Problems" we report efforts to secure compliance with the decisions of the Executive Council

and the conventions of the American Federation of Labor in the controversy between the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America and the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks; to adjust jurisdictional difficulties between the International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employes and Moving Picture Machine Operators of the U. S. and Canada and the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers of America and other organizations in the Building Trades Department.

We report an agreement between the National Federation of Federal Employes and the International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and Draftsmen's Unions.

We have continued our efforts to secure a merger between the Cigarmakers' Union and the Tobacco Workers; to adjust differences between the Flint Glass Workers and the Machinists; between the Flint Glass Workers and the Glass Bottle Blowers; to adjust the jurisdictional claims of the Engineers and the Firemen.

Our decision to extend the title of the International Union of Pavers, Rammermen, Flag Layers, Bridge and Stone Curb Setters to include jurisdiction over Asphalt Workers was protested by the International Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union of America, who gave formal notice of appeal to this convention.

We approved the change of title of the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen and Oilers to International Brotherhood of Firemen and Oilers without change of jurisdiction.

#### **Benefit Services of National and International Unions**

Our survey of union benefits shows a large increase over the preceding year in the benefits paid by unions to their members. An improvement is noted in reporting results from reports of benefits paid by local unions, in addition to those paid by national and international headquarters. A comparison of the benefits paid in the past three years shows a sharp increase in unemployment benefits.

The information compiled is striking proof of the value of union membership as a business investment.

#### **Five-day Week.**

Our report of progress in extending the five-day week shows the distribution of change which is illustrated by map.

#### **National Legislation.**

Our report of legislative achievements includes the following of outstanding

general interest: The enactment of laws to provide prevailing rates of wages on public buildings in the United States and the District of Columbia; Saturday half-holiday for 600,000 government employes without reduction of wages or salaries; advance planning of public works to be constructed during depressions; appropriations for better labor statistics, and federal employment service; a number of measures bringing betterment for specific crafts or callings.

Under the section "Injunction Legislation" we report progress in our efforts to secure necessary injunction legislation. Under various guises, the doctrine of conspiracy as applied to union functions and the doctrine of "protection of property" has been the basis for injunctions limiting union activities. The Sherman Anti-Trust Law has been interpreted to afford a basis for restraining alleged interference with interstate commerce. The Clayton Anti-Trust Law has been perverted to multiply injunctions against unions.

To correct such abuses of the injunction Labor has drafted a bill to be introduced in the next session of Congress. We urge upon all unions co-operation in passing legislation that will stand the test of Supreme Court examination.

#### **Taxation.**

We call attention to continued attempts to enact sales tax legislation which would place a disproportionate burden upon those with smaller incomes.

We believe income and inheritance taxes are more equitable methods. Forty-five states have inheritance taxes. We believe that the Federal Estate tax measure should be returned and that the Federal Gift tax should not have been repealed. Corporation dividends and profits are another fertile field for income tax.

We believe the tax burden should be placed on those most able to pay.

#### **State Labor Laws.**

In the field of state labor legislation, our report includes the following:

The decision of the National Convention of Insurance Commissioners to increase the rate for private insurance affords an opportunity to urge the adoption of state insurance funds, under which the costs of administration are materially reduced.

Five states have declared the yellow dog contract illegal. The Senate discussion of the nomination of Judge Parker to the United States Supreme Court has helped to educate public opinion against this practice.

Since the passage of the Hawes-Copper Act, five states have passed laws prohibiting the sale of goods produced

by convict labor in other states. Several states are planning to establish the state-use system.

Unusual need for new federal penitentiary buildings has disclosed that a 1925 law to use prison labor as much as possible brings convict labor into competition with the building trades.

We report that seventeen states have adopted old age pension laws. We have studied these laws, and believe they should be considered as old-age securities. We have proposed a model bill which would achieve this purpose.

#### **Non-Partisan Political Activity.**

Due to the importance of the forthcoming presidential campaign, we urge all unions to get ready to advance Labor's interests, by questioning candidates upon fundamental principles and to "get out the vote."

We report upon a number of issues of broad social and political consequence as follows:

Modification of the Volstead Act to legalize beer containing 2.75 per cent. alcohol.

The activities of the War Policies Commission, which has considered industrial conscription.

An aggressive campaign for the adoption of the Child Labor amendment.

A proposal for a personnel classification board, which would repeal laws secured by federal employes to protect their interests.

Elimination of the "lowest bidder" policy.

To correct prevailing misunderstandings and set forth the salient facts as to procedure in the Hoover Dam construction.

We call attention to a notable decision for free press by the U. S. Supreme Court.

We recommend to this convention that a clear and definite declaration be made against maximum age limits for appointment to government service.

We recommend further study of patent law in relation to consequences to labor.

We report the results of a survey of military training in high schools.

#### **U. S. Employment Service.**

We summarize changes in the U. S. Employment Service to make its work more effective.

#### **Problems of Railway Workers and Bituminous Coal Miners**

Under this title we present the facts of changes taking place in the transport-

tation industry due to motor bus, pipe carriers, aviation, and revival of water transports. These changes profoundly affect workers.

We set forth the chaotic conditions in the bituminous coal industry and urge stabilization of industry by the restoration of collective bargaining.

#### **Federal Commissions.**

We report on two important federal commissions: Child Welfare, which has completed its work; and Home Building and Ownership, which convenes in November.

#### **Legal Information Bureau.**

Under this section we summarize important legal decisions of special interest to Labor.

#### **Educational Work.**

Under this heading we report upon the following educational publications and undertakings, including the "American Federationist," the "A. F. of L. Weekly News Service", "Notes for Speakers", "Legal Information Bulletin", "Monthly Survey of Business", reprints and pamphlets, the American Federation of Labor Library, the Workers' Education Bureau.

We report on organizing work, celebration of special Labor days, the Samuel Gompers memorial, the 200th Anniversary of the birth of George Washington.

The section on Porto Rico reports the creation of a Department of Labor for the Island and discusses special problems. This is followed by a report on Pan-American labor relations.

#### **Unemployment Insurance.**

Under this section we outline the unemployment insurance laws and experience of Great Britain and Germany. We point out that such laws would be unsuited to our country but that failure of employers to provide work for workers will contribute to public opinion favorable to such legislation.

In conclusion we state "The problems that lie ahead require co-ordination of effort and the application of the principles of balanced progress toward prosperity nationally and internationally. Upon each group constituting the whole of any joint enterprise or problem, rests responsibility for organizing to take part in meeting the situation upon a basis of mutual interests. Every group must organize not for exploitation or selfish interests but for advancement as a part of the whole undertaking. Labor will seek to fulfill its obligation to organize and will stand ready to co-operate.

President Green: We have sitting on the platform with us the fraternal delegates representing the British Trades Union Congress and the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada. I wish to introduce them to you just briefly, so that you may know who they are, and so that you may extend to them every courtesy and every consideration, because I want them to feel that they are really among friends.

President Green then formally introduced to the convention Mr. F. Wolstencroft and Mr. J. Beard, fraternal delegates from the British Trades Union Congress, and Mr. Colin McDonald, fraternal delegate from the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada.

Commencing on the next page is the full report of the Executive Council.



# REPORT OF EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

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VANCOUVER, B. C., October 5, 1931.

*To the Officers and Delegates of the Fifty-First Annual Convention of the  
American Federation of Labor, Greetings:*

Our report for this year features an account of the Federation's stewardship after fifty years of service. The purpose for which the Federation was organized was to coordinate the policy making of trade unions and to promote the organization of workers in trade unions, in order that those human beings employed in the production processes of industry, commerce, and services, might be in a position to have opportunities for better living.

The purpose and activities of the Federation affect directly the lives and opportunities of over 2,500,000 wage earners and their dependents and indirectly progress for 29,500,000 of the citizenry of our nation. This large group of citizens, even when not identified with the organized labor movement, very largely follows the leadership of the Federation in work problems, and in emergencies looks to us for counsel.

Our record for fifty years shows that we have made progress in our efforts to secure recognition of wage earners' rights and in incorporating into public policy principles leading toward acceptance of workers' right to an opportunity to work.

We are in the formative period of a new age in which associated activity is the essential method of our various undertakings. In the preceding period, when our primary need was to conquer the resources of our continent, property claims had a priority accorded by social sanction; in this period we are to define the rights and equities of the producers and to advance coordinated claims with priorities to none. The spirit of coordinated activity is cooperation—progress with the cooperation of all groups instead of progress against or at the expense of one or more groups; cooperation in economics and management instead of price cutting and disorganization of the market; coordinated efforts of all groups instead of specially privileged groups.

In our report on unemployment and the program we outline for dealing with it, we have been guided by basic principles that should underlie balanced progress. We have further shown that these same principles underlie international relations. The method of approaching all these various areas of relationships is the same—voluntary organization to conserve the value of individual initiative and to develop ordered control for groups and associations of groups, and to provide them with the necessary economic and political tools and opportunities.

We believe constructive progress can be made by facing the momentous problems before our nation with understanding of the changes taking place, guided by principles and not by formulas.

The central problem is how to produce goods adequate to supply the needs of all and distribute the income from production equitably among all engaged in its production, so that all shall have the use of the products of industries as the means for a good life in accordance with steadily progressing standards.

## SECRETARY MORRISON'S REPORT

*To the Officers and Delegates to the Fifty-first Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor.*

GREETINGS: I have the honor to submit the report of the receipts and expenses for the past twelve months, beginning September 1, 1930, and ending August 31, 1931.

At the close of the fiscal year there was a balance on hand of \$370,842.07. Of this total, \$318,314.19 is in the defense fund for the local trade and federal labor unions, to be used only to pay benefits in case of a strike or lockout of the members of these local unions and the balance, \$52,527.88, is in the general fund.

The total receipts from all sources, \$569,105.82, the total expenses, \$561,985.13, amount of receipts over expenses, \$7,120.69.

The following are the receipts and expenses for the twelve months ending August 31, 1931:

| RECEIPTS   |                     |
|--|---------------------|
| Balance on hand, August 31, 1930.....  | \$363,721.38        |
| Per Capita Tax.....  | \$357,201.17        |
| American Federationist.....  | 128,257.42          |
| Defense Fund for local trade and federal labor unions:   |                     |
| Per capita tax from locals.....  | 21,793.39           |
| Initiation fees.....   | 5,165.49            |
| Reinstatement fees.....  | 428.00              |
| Supplies.....  | 4,553.59            |
| Interest.....  | 13,454.09           |
| Profit on sale of \$165,000.00 in Liberty Bonds.....   | 7,785.94            |
| Refund from Treasurer Ryan of amount advanced to pay accrued interest on Federal Land Bank Bonds.....  | 901.47              |
| Amount received from Treasurer and received for as difference between par value and purchase price of Federal Land Bank Bonds.....           | 19,570.00           |
| Premiums on bonds of officers of unions bonded through A. F. of L.....   | 4,734.75            |
| Disbanded and suspended unions and miscellaneous receipts.....   | 5,260.51            |
| <b>Total receipts.....</b>   | <b>569,105.82</b>   |
| <b>Grand total.....</b>  | <b>\$932,827.20</b> |
| EXPENSES   |                     |
| General.....   | \$444,999.07        |
| American Federationist.....  | 86,807.69           |
| Defense Fund:  |                     |
| Strike benefits to local trade and federal labor unions.....   | 5,726.00            |
| Premiums on bonds of officers of affiliated unions.....  | 3,980.90            |
| Amount advanced to Treasurer Ryan to pay accrued interest on Federal Land Bank Bonds.....  | 901.47              |
| Return of amount received from Treasurer and received for as difference between par value and purchase price of Federal Land Bank Bonds..... | 19,570.00           |
| <b>Total expenses.....</b>   | <b>561,985.13</b>   |
| <b>Balance of funds on hand, August 31, 1931.....</b>  | <b>\$370,842.07</b> |
| RECAPITULATION   |                     |
| <b>In General Fund.....</b>  | <b>\$52,527.88</b>  |
| <b>In Defense Fund for local trade and federal labor unions.....</b>   | <b>318,314.19</b>   |
| <b>Balance on hand, August 31, 1931.....</b>   | <b>\$370,842.07</b> |

## EXPENSES GROUPED

The following is the grouping under their respective heads of the detailed monthly expenses for the twelve months ending August 31, 1931:

|  |             |
|--|-------------|
| Rent.....  | \$15,237.00 |
| Refund, in part of return of amount in Treasury C. D. S. & P. 18009.....   | 62.89       |
| Premiums:  |             |
| Bonds, local unions.....   | 3,980.90    |
| Secretary's bond.....  | 10.00       |
| Treasurer's bond.....  | 125.00      |
| Insurance.....   | 547.83      |
| Expressage, freight and drayage.....   | 350.76      |
| Legislative expenses, including salaries and traveling expenses of legislative committeemen.....                 | 11,058.27   |
| Postage stamps.....  | 11,721.92   |
| Newspapers, Magazines and Books (Library).....   | 4,679.10    |
| Printing Bound Proceedings of Boston convention.....   | 2,065.51    |
| Supplies and Printing.....   | 25,702.25   |
| Supplies for Resale.....   | 1,772.58    |
| Miscellaneous expenses.....  | 5,894.65    |
| Paper supply for addressograph and envelopes (Mailing Department).....   | 3,124.19    |
| Mailing Equipment.....   | 435.23      |
| Office furniture and fixtures.....   | 907.29      |
| Official stenographers, Boston convention.....   | 1,558.25    |
| Telegrams and telephones.....  | 5,528.61    |
| Expenses entertaining fraternal delegates from Great Britain and Canada.....                                     | 650.76      |
| Expenses of fraternal delegates to British Trades and Union Congress and Canadian Trades and Labor Congress..... | 2,829.76    |
| Boston Convention:   |             |
| Messengers, sergeant-at-arms and assistant secretary.....  | 440.00      |
| Printing roll-call.....  | 119.60      |
| Printing Daily Proceedings.....  | 2,944.67    |
| Printing, envelopes and supplies.....  | 115.11      |
| Stenographers.....   | 3,226.11    |
| Rental of office furniture.....  | 110.00      |
| Telegrams, telephone, stamps, porters, sending out Daily Proceedings.....  | 557.44      |
| Auditing and Credential Committee.....   | 533.75      |
| Salaries:  |             |
| President.....   | 12,000.00   |
| Secretary.....   | 10,000.00   |
| Treasurer.....   | 500.00      |
| Office employes.....   | 117,672.33  |
| Expenses:  |             |
| Executive Council meetings.....  | 18,841.08   |
| Committee rooms, baggage, telegrams, typewriter rental, etc., E. C. Meetings.....                                | 350.93      |
| Stenographers' expenses attending E. C. Meetings.....  | 1,990.19    |
| President, traveling.....  | 7,226.75    |
| Secretary, traveling.....  | 1,329.96    |
| Defense Fund:  |             |
| Strike and lockout benefits.....   | 5,726.00    |
| Per capita tax for directly affiliated local unions:   |             |
| Metal Trades Department.....   | 23.45       |
| Union Label Trades Department.....   | 48.41       |
| Per capita tax for directly affiliated unions to Trades and Labor Congress of Canada.....                        | 21.38       |
| Organizers' salaries and expenses.....   | 139,526.91  |
| Printing and publishing <i>American Federationist</i> .....  | 86,807.69   |

|   |                     |
|---|---------------------|
| Printing, publishing and editing A. F. of L. Weekly News Letter.....                                      | 8,621.75            |
| Pan-American Federation of Labor.....   | 5,000.00            |
| Delegates, guest, committee and officers' badges, Boston convention.....                                  | 625.68              |
| Expenses, special committees and conferences.....   | 3,291.78            |
| Legal Expenses.....   | 440.00              |
| Expenses, Southern Organizing Campaign, Headquarters Office.....  | 14,768.99           |
| Reimbursement of premium paid on purchase of Liberty Bonds.....   | 410.95              |
| Reimbursement of accrued interest paid on purchase of Federal Land Bank Bonds                             | 901.47              |
| Return of amount received from Treasurer and receipted for on purchase of Federal<br>Land Bank Bonds..... | 19,570.00           |
| <b>Total.....</b>   | <b>\$561,985.13</b> |

#### DIRECTLY CHARTERED LOCAL TRADE AND FEDERAL LABOR UNIONS

On August 31, 1931, we had 334 local trade and federal labor unions with an average membership for the fiscal year of 14,531, and a defense fund of \$318,314.19, to protect the members of the 334 local trade and federal labor unions in case of strike or lockout.

The Federation has 1,526 general and district organizers, as well as 22 paid organizers and the officers of the 728 city central bodies that are ready at all times to respond to a call to assist the members of directly affiliated unions in the case of strike or lockout.

There was received a total per capita tax for defense fund purposes from the local unions during the year of \$21,793.39, initiation fees, \$5,165.49, and reinstatement fees, \$428.00.

#### Defense Fund for Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions

The following is a statement of the amounts received from and paid to our local trade and federal labor unions, giving average membership, number of weeks benefit and the amount received for the past twelve months, beginning September 1, 1930, and ending August 31, 1931:

| RECEIPTS   |                       |       |  |                     |
|--|-----------------------|-------|--|---------------------|
| Receipts from Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions for the Defense Fund.....                 |                       |       |  | \$21,793.39         |
| EXPENSES   |                       |       |  |                     |
| Union and Location   | Average<br>Membership | Weeks |  | Amount              |
| Slate Workers No. 15159, Granville, N. Y.....  | 30+                   | 23    |  | \$4,970.00          |
| Wholesale Cleaners, Dyers, Pressers & Spotters No.<br>18005, Minneapolis, Minn.....          | 13+                   | 8     |  | 756.00              |
| <b>Total expenses.....</b>   |                       |       |  | <b>\$5,726.00</b>   |
| RECAPITULATION   |                       |       |  |                     |
| Balance in defense fund for local trade and federal labor unions, August 31, 1930            |                       |       |  | \$302,246.80        |
| Receipts for twelve months ending August 31, 1931.....                                       |                       |       |  | 21,793.39           |
| <b>Total.....</b>  |                       |       |  | <b>\$324,040.19</b> |
| Paid out of defense fund.....  |                       |       |  | 5,726.00            |
| <b>Balance in defense fund for local trade and federal labor unions, August 31, 1931....</b> |                       |       |  | <b>\$318,314.19</b> |

#### CHARTERS REVOKED, SUSPENDED, SURRENDERED, DISBANDED, MERGED, AMALGAMATED, JOINED INTERNATIONAL UNIONS AND REINSTATED

CENTRAL BODIES: Disbanded, 15; Suspended, 67; reinstated, 18.

LOCAL TRADE UNIONS: Disbanded, 17; suspended, 37; joined national and international organizations, 1; reinstated, 5.

FEDERAL LABOR UNIONS: Disbanded, 3; suspended, 6; reinstated, 3.

**WOODROW WILSON MEMORIAL BUILDING FUND**

On August 1, 1925, an appeal was issued in accordance with instructions of the El Paso convention, to all affiliated organizations for financial contributions to be used for the construction of a suitable building on the grounds of the Woodrow Wilson Memorial College to be used for such educational developments as may be determined upon by the President and the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, and that the same shall be in memory of the late President of the United States, Woodrow Wilson.

|  |                   |
|--|-------------------|
| Contributions received from August 12, 1925, to August 31, 1931, amount to.. | \$1,558.91        |
| Interest receipts.....   | 174.42            |
| <b>Balance on hand August 31, 1931.....</b>                                  | <b>\$1,733.33</b> |

An itemized statement of the moneys received and to whom paid will be mailed to each contributor when this fund is closed.

**FLAG FUND**

|   |          |
|---|----------|
| Receipts from June 10, 1918, to and including January 30, 1931..... | \$605.06 |
| Transferred to General Fund, January 30, 1931.....                  | \$605.06 |

**GOMPERS MEMORIAL FUND**

|   |              |
|---|--------------|
| Receipts from December 20, 1924 to and including August 31, 1931..... | \$115,378.73 |
| Interest on fund investments.....                                     | 9,328.93     |
| Total receipts.....   | \$124,707.66 |
| Expenses, January 12, 1929 to and including August 31, 1931.....      | 1,277.50     |
| Balance on hand August 31, 1931.....                                  | \$123,430.16 |

Funds deposited and invested as follows:

|   |              |
|---|--------------|
| *Mt. Vernon Savings Bank (3½% Interest Bearing Certificates)..... | \$20,000.00  |
| U. S. Treasury Bonds, 3½%.....                                    | \$95,000.00  |
| Premium on U. S. Treasury Bonds.....                              | 1,425.00     |
| Accrued interest on U. S. Treasury Bonds.....                     | 585.50       |
| Total of investment in U. S. Treasury Bonds.....                  | 97,010.50    |
| Mt. Vernon Savings Bank checking account.....                     | 6,419.66     |
| Balance on hand August 31, 1931.....                              | \$123,430.16 |

\* Certificates of Deposit guaranteed by Surety Bonds.

**TEXTILE WORKERS' FUND**

Contributions in response to the appeal issued May 11, 1929, by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor for financial assistance for the striking Textile Workers of the South.

|  |             |
|--|-------------|
| Total receipts May 15, 1929, to August 31, 1931..... | \$41,530.81 |
| Total checks May 17, 1929, to August 31, 1931.....   | 41,530.81   |

An itemized statement of the moneys received and to whom paid has been mailed to each contributor.

**DANVILLE, VIRGINIA TEXTILE WORKERS' FUND**

Contributions in response to action of Convention and in response to the appeal issued October 24, 1930, by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor for financial assistance for the striking Textile Workers of Danville, Virginia.

|  |             |
|--|-------------|
| Total receipts October 18, 1930, to August 31, 1931..... | \$28,725.62 |
| Total checks October 18, 1930, to August 31, 1931.....   | 28,725.62   |

An itemized statement of the moneys received and to whom paid has been mailed to each contributor.

## BOND STATEMENT 1902 TO 1931, INCLUSIVE

The following statement shows the amounts received for premiums and the amounts paid to the Surety Company for bonds of affiliated organizations:

| Year         | Receipts | Expenses | Year         | Receipts     | Expenses     |
|--------------|----------|----------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| 1902-3.....  | \$529.00 | \$309.60 | 1917-18..... | \$3,544.91   | \$3,055.26   |
| 1903-4.....  | 398.75   | 402.60   | 1918-19..... | 9,626.78     | 8,067.33     |
| 1904-5.....  | 406.75   | 285.65   | 1919-20..... | 13,285.93    | 11,121.06    |
| 1905-6.....  | 736.35   | 591.16   | 1920-21..... | 9,490.68     | 7,816.14     |
| 1906-7.....  | 1,128.79 | 817.76   | 1921-22..... | 5,979.90     | 4,963.00     |
| 1907-8.....  | 1,261.51 | 1,021.96 | 1922-23..... | 6,368.76     | 5,310.10     |
| 1908-09..... | 1,692.35 | 1,226.03 | 1923-24..... | 6,593.44     | 5,523.52     |
| 1909-10..... | 2,874.75 | 2,392.75 | 1924-25..... | 7,101.75     | 6,021.58     |
| 1910-11..... | 2,988.55 | 1,448.38 | 1925-26..... | 7,896.98     | 6,781.52     |
| 1911-12..... | 2,710.07 | 2,089.15 | 1926-27..... | 7,374.30     | 6,215.84     |
| 1912-13..... | 3,225.55 | 3,868.18 | 1927-28..... | 5,057.53     | 4,208.75     |
| 1913-14..... | 3,221.75 | 1,898.55 | 1928-29..... | 4,884.32     | 4,294.18     |
| 1914-15..... | 5,190.74 | 5,052.66 | 1929-30..... | 4,843.13     | 4,030.64     |
| 1915-16..... | 5,092.79 | 4,428.19 | 1930-31..... | 4,734.75     | 3,980.90     |
| 1916-17..... | 5,906.61 | 4,970.68 |              |              |              |
|              |          |          | Total.....   | \$134,147.47 | \$112,188.12 |

## RECAPITULATION

|  |              |
|--|--------------|
| Total receipts from 1902 to August 31, 1931..... | \$134,147.47 |
| Total expenses from 1902 to August 31, 1931..... | 112,188.12   |
| Excess from 1902 to August 31, 1931.....         | \$21,959.35  |

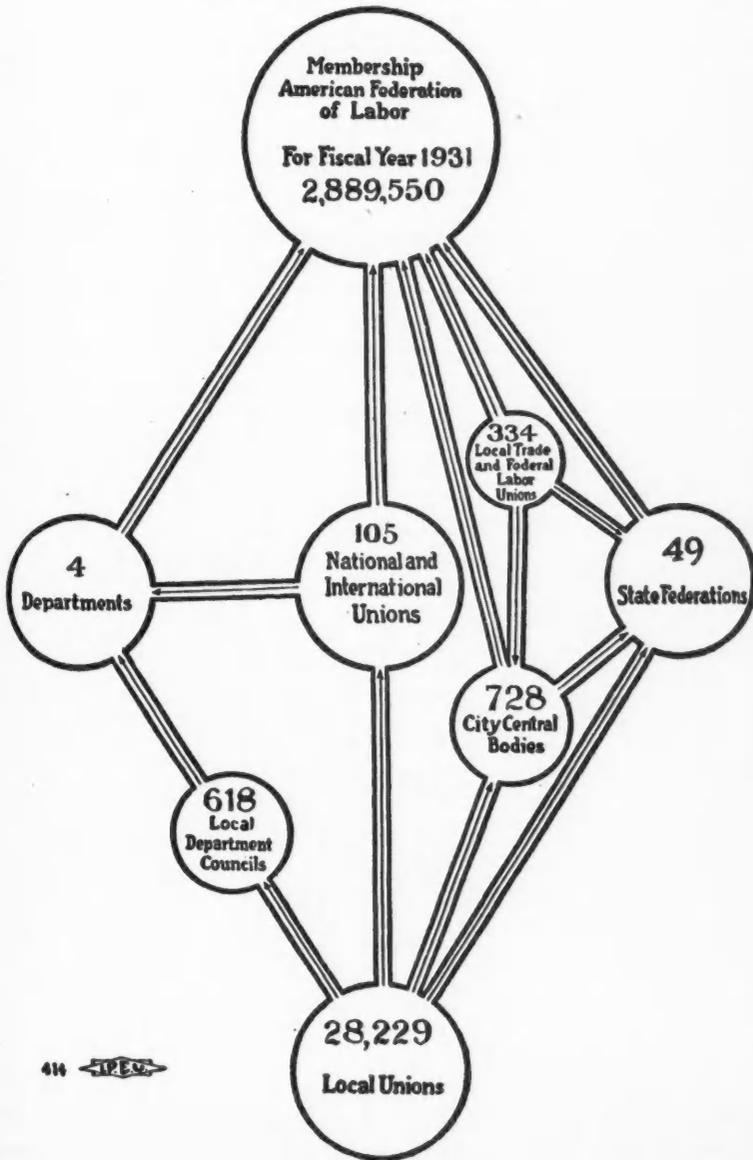
## TOTAL MEMBERSHIP OF AFFILIATED UNIONS

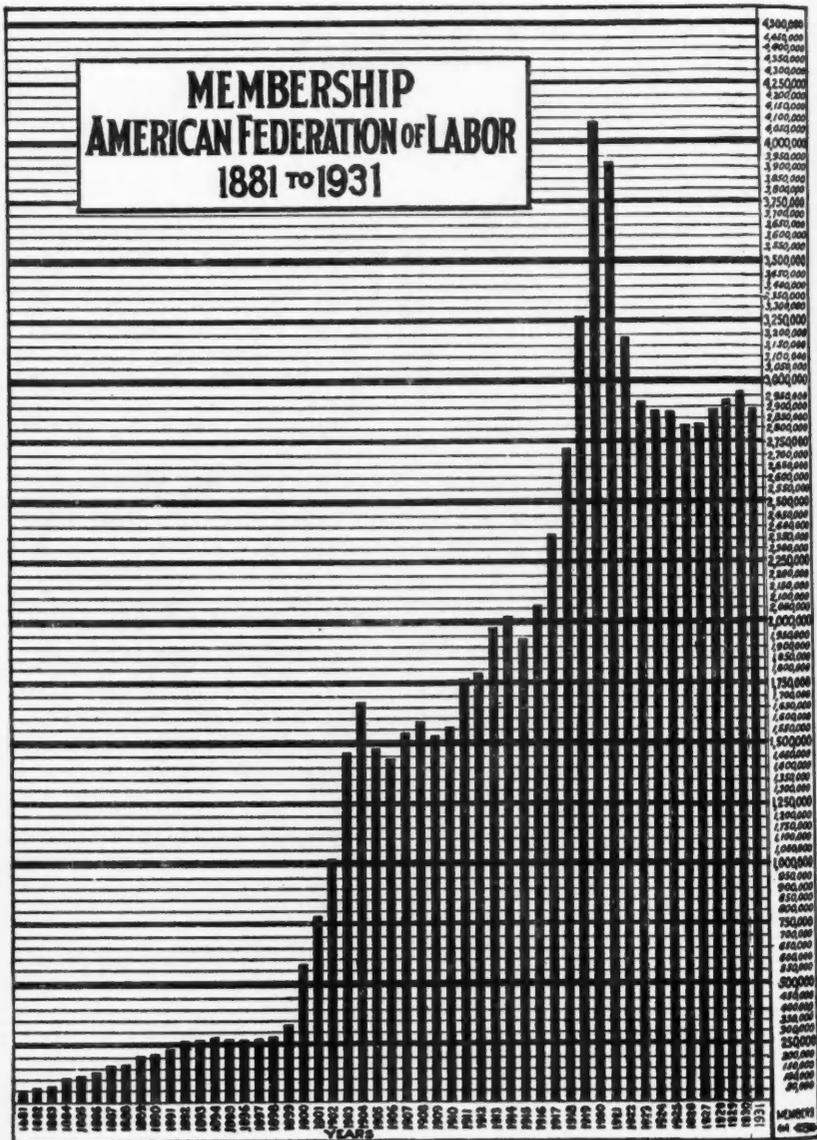
The membership of affiliated unions for the year ending August 31, 1931, is 2,889,550, a decrease of 71,546 members over the membership last year. National and International organizations are required to pay the per capita tax upon their full paid-up membership, and therefore, the membership does not include all the members who were unemployed during the fiscal year.

A survey of the membership of the national and international organizations and the unions directly affiliated with the A. F. of L. indicates that because of unemployment there were thousands of members for whom per capita tax was not paid by the affiliated unions to the American Federation of Labor. The following is the membership for the past thirty-five years:

| Year      | Membership | Year      | Membership | Year      | Membership | Year      | Membership |
|-----------|------------|-----------|------------|-----------|------------|-----------|------------|
| 1897..... | 264,825    | 1906..... | 1,454,200  | 1915..... | 1,946,347  | 1924..... | 2,865,799  |
| 1898..... | 278,016    | 1907..... | 1,538,970  | 1916..... | 2,072,702  | 1925..... | 2,877,297  |
| 1899..... | 349,422    | 1908..... | 1,586,885  | 1917..... | 2,371,434  | 1926..... | 2,803,966  |
| 1900..... | 548,321    | 1909..... | 1,482,872  | 1918..... | 2,726,478  | 1927..... | 2,812,526  |
| 1901..... | 787,537    | 1910..... | 1,562,112  | 1919..... | 3,260,068  | 1928..... | 2,896,063  |
| 1902..... | 1,024,399  | 1911..... | 1,761,835  | 1920..... | 4,078,740  | 1929..... | 2,933,545  |
| 1903..... | 1,465,800  | 1912..... | 1,770,145  | 1921..... | 3,906,528  | 1930..... | 2,961,096  |
| 1904..... | 1,676,200  | 1913..... | 1,996,004  | 1922..... | 3,195,635  | 1931..... | 2,889,550  |
| 1905..... | 1,494,300  | 1914..... | 2,020,671  | 1923..... | 2,926,468  |           |            |

So that the delegates and membership at large may at a glance note the total membership of the organizations affiliated to the American Federation of Labor, a chart follows on the next page indicating the membership for each year since 1881, up to and including 1931—fifty-one years. In addition, another chart has been prepared showing clearly the manner in which the American Federation of Labor is organized, commencing with the local unions of the international organization as the source from which all funds are secured to carry on every activity in the labor movement. Local unions of the national and international organizations and the local unions affiliated direct with the American Federation of Labor, constitute the state and city central bodies as well as department councils. The chart shows that there are 28,229 local unions in the 105 national and international unions with a membership of 2,875,019 and 334 local trade and federal labor unions directly affiliated to the American federation of Labor with a membership of 14,531.





VOTING STRENGTH

The following table shows the voting strength of the affiliated unions of the American Federation of Labor for the years 1923 up to and including 1931. This table is based upon the average membership reported or paid upon to the American Federation of Labor.

| ORGANIZATIONS  | 1923  | 1924  | 1925  | 1926  | 1927  | 1928  | 1929  | 1930  | 1931  |
|--|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| Actors, Associated, & Artistes of A.....                           | 77    | 74    | 101   | 104   | 103   | 103   | 115   | 112   | 83    |
| Asbestos Workers' Intl. Asso. of Heat and<br>Frost Insulators..... | 20    | 22    | 24    | 25    | 26    | 27    | 29    | 33    | 41    |
| Bakery & Confectionery Wkrs. I. U. of A.....                       | 229   | 222   | 218   | 218   | 219   | 216   | 212   | 200   | 201   |
| Barkers' International Union, Jour.....                            | 432   | 453   | 480   | 512   | 545   | 541   | 522   | 512   | 461   |
| Bill Posters.....  | 16    | 16    | 16    | 16    | 16    | 16    | 16    | 16    | 16    |
| Blacksmiths, Intl. Brotherhood of.....                             | 50    | 50    | 50    | 50    | 50    | 50    | 50    | 50    | 50    |
| Boilermakers and Iron Shipbuilders.....                            | 194   | 175   | 171   | 145   | 148   | 171   | 172   | 193   | 170   |
| Boot and Shoe Workers' Union.....                                  | 399   | 372   | 362   | 369   | 350   | 326   | 324   | 322   | 275   |
| Bookbinders, Intl. Brotherhood of.....                             | 129   | 134   | 136   | 129   | 138   | 138   | 136   | 139   | 137   |
| Brewery Workmen, International Union.....                          | 166   | 160   | 160   | 160   | 160   | 160   | 160   | 160   | 160   |
| Bricklayers, Masons & Plasterers I. U. A.....                      | 700   | 700   | 700   | 700   | 837   | 900   | 900   | 900   | 900   |
| Bridge & Struc. Iron Wkrs. Intl. Asso.....                         | 146   | 177   | 163   | 191   | 213   | 207   | 204   | 209   | 175   |
| Broom and Whisk Makers' Union, Intl.....                           | 7     | 7     | 7     | 6     | 5     | 5     | 5     | 5     | 4     |
| Building Service Employes' Intl. Union.....                        | 78    | 62    | 62    | 62    | 62    | 69    | 92    | 162   | 180   |
| Carpenters and Joiners, United Bro. of.....                        | 3,150 | 3,155 | 3,170 | 3,197 | 5,220 | 3,220 | 3,220 | 3,032 | 3,020 |
| Carmen of A., Bro. Railway.....                                    | 1,600 | 1,375 | 1,250 | 887   | 800   | 800   | 800   | 800   | 800   |
| Carvers' Union, International Wood.....                            | 9     | 10    | 10    | 11    | 12    | 13    | 12    | 12    | 11    |
| Cigarmakers' International Union.....                              | 309   | 277   | 235   | 200   | 183   | 175   | 170   | 155   | 155   |
| **Clerks, Bro. of Railway.....                                     | 961   | 884   | 912   | w     | w     | 320   | 969   | 970   | 753   |
| Clerks, Intl. Protective Assn. Retail.....                         | 103   | 100   | 100   | 100   | 100   | 100   | 100   | 100   | 100   |
| *Cloth Hat, Cap & Millinery Workers<br>International Union.....    | m     | m     | 78    | 87    | 102   | 82    | 69    | 60    | 58    |
| Conductors, Order of Sleeping Car.....                             | 23    | 23    | 23    | 23    | 23    | 23    | 23    | 23    | 23    |
| Coopers' International Union.....                                  | 17    | 15    | 13    | 11    | 10    | 9     | 8     | 7     | 7     |
| Diamond Workers' Prot. Union of A.....                             | 5     | 5     | 4     | 4     | 4     | 4     | 4     | 4     | 4     |
| Draftsmen's Union, Intl.....                                       | 6     | 6     | 6     | 7     | 16    | 19    | 15    | 12    | 17    |
| Electrical Workers, International Bro.....                         | 1,420 | 1,420 | 1,420 | 1,420 | 1,420 | 1,420 | 1,420 | 1,420 | 1,420 |
| Elevator Constructors.....   | 52    | 81    | 81    | 95    | 102   | 102   | 102   | 102   | 102   |
| Engineers, Intl. Union of Operating.....                           | 271   | 250   | 253   | 270   | 302   | 320   | 330   | 340   | 340   |
| Engravers, Steel and Copper Plate.....                             | 2     | 1     | e     | e     | e     | e     | e     | e     | e     |
| Engravers Intl. Union, Metal.....                                  | 1     | 1     | 1     | 1     | 1     | 1     | 1     | 1     | 5     |
| Engravers' Union of N. A., Intl. Photo.....                        | 65    | 68    | 72    | 77    | 79    | 83    | 86    | 89    | 90    |
| Federal Employes, National Fed. of.....                            | 212   | 208   | 202   | 179   | 200   | 226   | 305   | 335   | 381   |
| Fire Fighters, International Assn. of.....                         | 160   | 150   | 160   | 160   | 160   | 160   | 168   | 180   | 180   |
| Firemen, Intl. Bro. of Stationary.....                             | 125   | 90    | 100   | 80    | 90    | 83    | 95    | 90    | 91    |
| Foundry Employes, Intl. Bro. of.....                               | 40    | 36    | 35    | 35    | 35    | 35    | 35    | 28    | 10    |
| Fur Workers' Union of U. S. & C., Intl.....                        | 92    | 89    | 114   | 78    | 72    | 42    | 28    | 70    | 80    |
| Garment Workers of America, United.....                            | 476   | 475   | 475   | 475   | 475   | 475   | 475   | 472   | 463   |
| Glass Cutters League of A., Window.....                            |       |       |       |       |       | 3     | 9     | 9     | 10    |
| Glass Bottle Blowers' Assn. of U. S. & C.....                      | 70    | 60    | 60    | 60    | 60    | 60    | 60    | 60    | 60    |
| Glass Cutters and Flatteners Assn. of<br>A. Window.....            |       |       |       | 3     | 4     | 3     | 3     | b     | b     |
| Glass Workers, American Flint.....                                 | 81    | 61    | 53    | 53    | 52    | 51    | 52    | 49    | 46    |
| Glass Workers, National Window.....                                | 50    | 40    | 20    | 20    | 20    | 11    | 11    | 11    | 11    |
| Glove Workers.....   | 2     | 2     | 3     | 5     | 6     | 7     | 8     | 8     | 5     |
| Granite Cutters, Intl. Assn. of A., The.....                       | 95    | 86    | 85    | 85    | 85    | 85    | 85    | 85    | 85    |
| Hatters of North America, United.....                              | 115   | 115   | 115   | 115   | 115   | 115   | 115   | 115   | 93    |
| Hodcarriers and Common Laborers.....                               | 475   | 490   | 615   | 665   | 700   | 753   | 917   | 1,027 | 1,150 |
| Horseshoers of United States and Canada.....                       | 20    | 20    | 20    | 15    | 12    | 9     | 9     | 7     | 4     |
| Hotel and Restaurant Employes, etc.....                            | 384   | 385   | 385   | 386   | 398   | 385   | 378   | 365   | 337   |
| Iron, Steel and Tin Workers' Amal. Asso.....                       | 117   | 111   | 114   | 100   | 99    | 90    | 89    | 79    | 58    |
| Jewelry Workers' International.....                                | 22    | 12    | 8     | 7     | 6     | 9     | 8     | 8     | 8     |
| Ladies' Garment Workers, International.....                        | 912   | 910   | 900   | 801   | 800   | 303   | 323   | 508   | 475   |
| Lathers, Intl. Union of W. W. & Metal.....                         | 80    | 80    | 89    | 160   | 175   | 165   | 165   | 165   | 165   |
| Laundry Workers, International Union.....                          | 55    | 55    | 55    | 55    | 55    | 55    | 55    | 55    | 55    |
| Leather Workers' Intl. Union, United.....                          | 20    | 20    | 20    | 17    | 10    | 10    | 50    | 50    | 50    |
| Letter Carriers, National Assn. of.....                            | 325   | 325   | 325   | 400   | 400   | 404   | 450   | 508   | 550   |
| Letter Carriers, Nat. Fed. of Rural.....                           | 6     | 3     | 3     | 5     | 6     | 8     | 8     | 8     | 8     |
| Lithographers' Intl. P. & B. Assn.....                             | 63    | 55    | 53    | 54    | 57    | 61    | 58    | 56    | 57    |
| Longshoremen's Association, Intl.....                              | 343   | 305   | 318   | 301   | 347   | 371   | 377   | 347   | 299   |
| Machinists, International Association of.....                      | 973   | 779   | 714   | 714   | 723   | 745   | 770   | 780   | 776   |
| Maintenance of Way Employes, I. B. of.....                         | 377   | 383   | 374   | 291   | 282   | 350   | 322   | 401   | 408   |
| Marble, etc., International Assn. of.....                          | 23    | 30    | 32    | 42    | 49    | 56    | 64    | 77    | 77    |
| Masters, Mates and Pilots.....                                     | 41    | 41    | 39    | 34    | 31    | 31    | 30    | 30    | 30    |

## VOTING STRENGTH—Continued

| ORGANIZATIONS   | 1923   | 1924   | 1925   | 1926   | 1927   | 1928   | 1929   | 1930   | 1931   |
|---|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|
| Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen.....   | 104    | 115    | 122    | 122    | 117    | 118    | 118    | 125    | 113    |
| Metal Workers' Intl. Association, Sheet.....                                      | 250    | 250    | 250    | 250    | 250    | 250    | 250    | 250    | 250    |
| Mine Workers of America, United.....  | 4,049  | 4,027  | 4,000  | 4,000  | 4,000  | 4,000  | 4,000  | 4,000  | 4,000  |
| Mine, Mill and Smelter Wkrs., I. U. of.....                                       | 81     | 91     | 85     | 81     | 40     | 45     | 40     | 40     | 40     |
| Molders' Union of North America, Intl.....  | 321    | 336    | 275    | 284    | 265    | 232    | 237    | 218    | 152    |
| Musicians, American Federation of.....  | 750    | 771    | 800    | 800    | 800    | 967    | 1,000  | 1,000  | 1,000  |
| Oil Field, etc., Workers.....   | 25     | 22     | 12     | 7      | 10     | 10     | 16     | 11     | 9      |
| Painters of America, Brotherhood of.....  | 928    | 1,033  | 1,076  | 1,114  | 1,129  | 1,103  | 1,081  | 1,062  | 964    |
| Papermakers, United Brotherhood of.....   | 70     | 62     | 50     | 46     | 40     | 40     | 40     | 40     | 40     |
| Patternmakers' League of N. A.....  | 80     | 70     | 70     | 70     | 70     | 70     | 70     | 70     | 70     |
| Pavers & Rammermen, Intl. Union of.....   | 20     | 20     | 20     | 20     | 20     | 20     | 20     | 20     | 20     |
| Paving Cutters' Union of U. S. of A. & C.....                                     | 24     | 24     | 24     | 24     | 24     | 23     | 23     | 24     | 24     |
| Piano & Organ Wkrs. Union of A., Intl.....  | 7      | 6      | 6      | 6      | 5      | 5      | 5      | 5      | 4      |
| Plots Assn., Air Line, (Intl.).....   |        |        |        |        |        |        |        |        | 1      |
| Plasterers' Intl. Assn. of U. S. & C., Oper.....                                  | 252    | 300    | 300    | 322    | 390    | 392    | 392    | 382    | 377    |
| Plumbers, Steamfitters, etc.....  | 350    | 350    | 392    | 450    | 450    | 450    | 450    | 450    | 450    |
| Polishers, Intl. Union Metal.....   | 67     | 60     | 60     | 60     | 60     | 60     | 60     | 60     | 58     |
| Post Office Clerks, Natl. Federation of.....                                      | 180    | 200    | 237    | 279    | 300    | 300    | 320    | 352    | 360    |
| Potters, National Bro. of Operative.....  | 91     | 83     | 81     | 78     | 72     | 69     | 66     | 58     | 54     |
| Powder and High Explosive Workers.....  | 3      | 2      | 2      | 2      | 2      | 2      | 2      | 2      | 1      |
| Printing Pressmen, International.....   | 370    | 387    | 400    | 400    | 400    | 400    | 400    | 400    | 400    |
| Printers', Die Stammers' & Engravers'<br>Union of N. A., Intl. Plate.....         | 12     | 12     | 12     | 12     | 12     | 12     | 12     | 11     | 12     |
| Pulp, Sulphite, and Paper Mill Wkrs.....  | 46     | 50     | 50     | 50     | 50     | 50     | 50     | 50     | 50     |
| Quarry Workers, International.....  | 24     | 29     | 30     | 30     | 30     | 30     | 30     | 30     | 30     |
| Railway Employes' Amal. Asso., S. & E.....  | 1,000  | 1,000  | 1,010  | 1,010  | 1,012  | 1,013  | 997    | 972    | 914    |
| Railway Mail Association.....   | 167    | 179    | 191    | 195    | 194    | 197    | 198    | 198    | 198    |
| Roofers, Damp & Waterproof Wkrs. Assn.<br>United Slate, Tile and Composition..... | 30     | 30     | 30     | 30     | 40     | 40     | 40     | 40     | 40     |
| Sawsmiths' National Union.....  | 1      | †      | †      | †      | †      | †      | †      | †      | †      |
| Seamen's Union of America, Intl.....  | 179    | 180    | 160    | 150    | 150    | 150    | 150    | 150    | 150    |
| Sideographers, Intl. Assn. of.....  | 1      | 1      | 1      | 1      | 1      | 1      | 1      | 1      | 1      |
| Signalmen, Bro. R. R.....   | 89     | 80     | 80     | 80     | 80     | 80     | †      | †      | †      |
| Stage Employes, Intl. Alliance Theatrical.....                                    | 196    | 200    | 200    | 220    | 231    | 232    | 233    | 240    | 240    |
| Stereotypers & Electrotypers' U. of A.....  | 62     | 65     | 68     | 69     | 73     | 74     | 77     | 78     | 82     |
| Stonecutters' Association, Journeymen.....  | 49     | 50     | 51     | 57     | 58     | 58     | 58     | 58     | 58     |
| Sove Mounters' International Union.....   | 18     | 16     | 16     | 16     | 16     | 14     | 10     | 8      | 8      |
| Switchmen's Union of North America.....   | 87     | 93     | 89     | 87     | 89     | 91     | 93     | 92     | 82     |
| Tailors' Union of America, Journeymen.....  | 119    | 100    | 93     | 83     | 77     | 72     | 68     | 67     | 58     |
| Teachers, Am. Fed. of.....  | 46     | 37     | 35     | 35     | 35     | 38     | 42     | 52     | 63     |
| Teamsters, Chauffeurs, etc., Intl. Bro. of.....                                   | 727    | 750    | 789    | 820    | 865    | 894    | 955    | 988    | 920    |
| Telegraphers, Commercial.....   | 26     | 37     | 41     | 42     | 39     | 38     | 38     | 38     | 38     |
| Telegraphers, Order of Railroad.....  | 500    | 433    | 392    | 350    | 350    | 350    | 390    | 410    | 410    |
| Textile Workers of America, United.....   | 300    | 300    | 300    | 300    | 300    | 300    | 300    | 300    | 300    |
| Tobacco Workers' Intl. Union of America.....                                      | 19     | 15     | 14     | 14     | 14     | 32     | 42     | 24     | 24     |
| Tunnel & Subway Constructors, I. U.....   | 30     | 30     | 30     | 37     | 40     | 40     | 4      | 4      | 4      |
| Typographical Union, International.....   | 681    | 688    | 710    | 733    | 749    | 758    | 764    | 776    | 775    |
| Upholsterers, International Union of.....   | 73     | 75     | 76     | 86     | 102    | 107    | 107    | 107    | 101    |
| United Wall Paper Crafts of N. A.....   | 7      | 6      | 6      | 6      | 6      | 6      | 6      | 6      | 6      |
| Weavers, Elastic Goring.....  | 1      | 1      | 1      | 1      | ††     | ††     | ††     | ††     | ††     |
| Wire Weavers' Protective, American.....   | 4      | 4      | 4      | 4      | 4      | 4      | 4      | 4      | 4      |
| Centrals.....   | 901    | 855    | 850    | 833    | 794    | 792    | 803    | 804    | 728    |
| State Branches.....   | 49     | 49     | 49     | 49     | 49     | 49     | 49     | 49     | 49     |
| Directly affiliated local unions.....   | 581    | 514    | 504    | 455    | 467    | 485    | 468    | 397    | 376    |
| Total vote of Unions.....   | 30,486 | 29,847 | 29,958 | 28,790 | 29,191 | 29,385 | 30,406 | 30,678 | 29,906 |

†Suspended. ††Disbanded. mSuspended for failure to comply with decision of convention. ‡Amalgamation of National Association of Machine Printers and Color Mixers of the U. S. with National Print Cutters Association of America, and change of title to United Wall Paper Crafts of N. A. ¶Merged with International Plate Printers and Die Stammers. \*Reinstated Oct. 14, 1924. †Suspended for failure to comply with decision of Atlantic City Convention. \*\*Reinstated May 17, 1928. †Amalgamated with Hod Carriers. †Amalgamated with Window Glass Cutters League of America.

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

31

ORGANIZERS' EXPENSES

The following list of organizers, who were engaged in various States under salaries from the American Federation of Labor, shows that there has been expended from the general fund for organizing work during the past twelve months \$139,526.91. Of this amount \$558.96 was paid to district or volunteer organizers, in sums ranging from \$10 to \$100 for organizing central bodies and local trade and federal labor unions, and adjusting strikes and grievances of local unions affiliated directly with the American Federation of Labor.

| NAME                | STATES WHEREIN WORK WAS DONE  | AMOUNT RECEIVED |
|---------------------|---|-----------------|
| 1. Hugh Frayne      | New York  | \$11,216.37     |
| 2. P. J. Smith      | Alabama, Illinois, Washington, D. C., Minnesota, Montana, Colorado, Indiana, Wisconsin  | 7,077.10        |
| 3. Wm. Collins      | New York, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Vermont, Maryland   | 6,861.50        |
| 4. C. O. Young      | Washington, Oregon, Idaho, California   | 6,657.25        |
| 5. G. L. Googe      | Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, South Carolina, North Carolina, Tennessee, Florida, Kentucky   | 6,434.59        |
| 6. O. E. Woodbury   | Virginia, North Carolina  | 6,407.03        |
| 7. Edw. F. McGrady  | Washington, D. C., Alabama, New York, West Virginia, Tennessee, North Carolina, Kentucky, Massachusetts, South Carolina, Florida, Connecticut, Pennsylvania | 6,327.50        |
| 8. P. F. Duffy      | Ohio, Pennsylvania, Indiana   | 6,261.80        |
| 9. A. Bastien       | Canada  | 6,225.51        |
| 10. J. M. Casey     | California, Nevada  | 6,105.31        |
| 11. C. N. Idar      | Texas, Colorado   | 5,820.84        |
| 12. P. J. Aymon     | Tennessee, Louisiana, Georgia, Alabama, Virginia, North Carolina, Kentucky, Florida   | 5,475.59        |
| 13. T. J. Conboy    | Missouri, Indiana, Illinois   | 5,461.28        |
| 14. H. L. Hilfers   | New Jersey, California  | 5,083.42        |
| 15. J. M. Richie    | Pennsylvania, Delaware, New Jersey  | 4,800.12        |
| 16. Holt Ross       | Mississippi, Louisiana, Virginia, Illinois, Alabama, New York   | 4,636.46        |
| 17. C. J. Jennings  | New Jersey, New York  | 4,479.00        |
| 18. F. H. McCarthy  | Massachusetts, Vermont, Rhode Island, New Hampshire, Maine, Connecticut   | 4,318.40        |
| 19. A. Marks        | New York  | 3,910.93        |
| 20. C. M. Gaskill   | North Carolina, South Carolina  | 3,751.93        |
| 21. R. R. Lawrence  | North Carolina  | 3,413.85        |
| 22. A. Neary        | Maryland, Pennsylvania, New York, New Jersey, Washington, D. C.   | 3,303.31        |
| 23. W. C. Hushing   | Washington, D. C., Indiana, Kansas, Missouri, New York  | 3,269.91        |
| 24. J. E. Roach     | New York  | 3,180.00        |
| 25. J. H. Adams     | North Carolina, South Carolina, West Virginia, Georgia  | 2,047.97        |
| 26. W. B. Plemmons  | North Carolina, South Carolina  | 1,059.75        |
| 27. A. Chernefski   | Pennsylvania  | 896.10          |
| 28. G. W. Reed      | Alabama   | 851.26          |
| 29. O. W. Jones     | New York, Vermont   | 600.00          |
| 30. D. E. Patterson | South Carolina  | 396.86          |
| 31. G. E. Blakely   | Kansas  | 391.88          |
| 32. E. W. Peyroux   | Louisiana   | 385.50          |
| 33. J. Fitzpatrick  | Illinois  | 359.00          |
| 34. R. Hinshaw      | California  | 300.00          |
| 35. J. C. Harris    | Georgia   | 250.00          |
| 36. H. L. Haicht    | Texas   | 210.00          |
| 37. H. Pereaault    | Minnesota   | 176.34          |
| 38. A. P. Randolph  | Ohio  | 169.96          |
| 39. K. R. Elam      | Georgia   | 140.00          |
| 40. C. M. Goshorn   | Michigan, Illinois  | 134.33          |
| 41. F. Paz Granela  | Porto Rico  | 120.00          |
|                     | Paid to District Organizers in amounts less than \$100  | 558.96          |
|                     | Total   | \$139,526.91    |

\* Includes \$5,068.37 paid for rent of office, office expenses, incidental expenses and salary of stenographer.

## REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

## CHARTERS ISSUED

During the twelve months ending August 31, 1931, there have been issued 55 charters to International, Central, Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions. Of this number, one was granted to the following international: Air Line Pilots Association (International). Five Central Bodies as follows:

|             |              |               |
|-------------|--------------|---------------|
| California: | Mississippi: | Louisiana:    |
| Santa Maria | Gulfport     | Baton Rouge   |
| New Mexico: |              | North Dakota: |
| Santa Fe    |              | Minot         |

The following is a statement showing the number of charters issued during the twelve months of this fiscal year.

|                           | 1930-1931 |
|---------------------------|-----------|
| Internationals.....       | 1         |
| Central Labor Unions..... | 5         |
| Local Trade Unions.....   | 36        |
| Federal Labor Unions..... | 13        |
| Total.....                | 55        |

## UNION LABELS

There are now 51 labels and 10 cards issued by the following organizations which have been indorsed by the American Federation of Labor:

## ORGANIZATIONS USING LABELS

|                              |                         |                           |
|------------------------------|-------------------------|---------------------------|
| American Federation of Labor | Electrical Workers      | Molders                   |
| Bakers and Confectioners     | Fur Workers             | Painters                  |
| Bill Posters and Billers     | Garment Workers, United | Papermakers               |
| Boilermakers                 | Garment Workers, Ladies | Photo-Engravers           |
| Blacksmiths                  | Glass Bottle Blowers    | Piano and Organ Workers   |
| Bookbinders                  | Glove Workers           | Plate Printers            |
| Boot and Shoe Workers        | Hatters                 | Powder Workers            |
| Brewery Workmen              | Horseshoers             | Pressmen, Printing        |
| Brick and Clay Workers       | Iron and Steel Workers  | Stereotypers and Electro- |
| Broommakers                  | Jewelry Workers         | typers                    |
| Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery | Lathers                 | Stove Mounters            |
| Workers                      | Laundry Workers         | Tailors                   |
| Carpenters and Joiners       | Leather Workers         | Textile Workers           |
| Brotherhood                  | Lithographers           | Tobacco Workers           |
| Carvers, Wood                | Machinists              | Typographical             |
| Cigarmakers                  | Marble Workers          | Upholsters                |
| Coopers                      | Metal Polishers         | United Wall Paper Crafts  |
| Draftsmen's Unions           | Metal Workers, Sheet    | Weavers, Wire             |

## ORGANIZATIONS USING CARDS, BUTTONS, EMBLEMS

|                      |                          |                            |
|----------------------|--------------------------|----------------------------|
| Actors               | Firemen, Stationary      | Musicians                  |
| Barbers              | Hotel and Restaurant     | Stage Employes, Theatrical |
| Clerks, Retail       | Employes                 | Teamsters                  |
| Engineers, Operating | Meat Cutters and Butcher |                            |
|                      | Workmen                  |                            |

The following crafts and callings are using the American Federation of Labor labels: Coffee, Spice and Baking Powder Workers; Horse Nail Workers; Neckwear Cutters and Makers; Suspender Makers; and Fountain Pen Workers.

## CONCLUSION

I desire to express my sincere appreciation of the cooperation and assistance extended to me in the performance of my duties by the officers of the national and international unions and of all our affiliated bodies and by my colleagues of the Executive Council.

Respectfully submitted,

*Frank Morrison.*

Secretary, American Federation of Labor.

## TREASURER RYAN'S REPORT

To the Officers and Delegates of the Fifty-first Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor.

FELLOW UNIONISTS: I herewith submit report upon the funds of the American Federation of Labor for the twelve months from September 1, 1930, to August 31, 1931. The financial statement is as follows:

| INCOME  | EXPENSES  |
|---|---|
| Received of Secretary Morrison:                     | Warrants Paid:                                      |
| 1930  | 1930  |
| September 30..... \$29,369.17                       | September 30..... \$43,018.48                       |
| October 31..... 44,628.53                           | October 31..... 65,899.17                           |
| November 30..... 42,085.42                          | November 30..... 43,057.76                          |
| December 31..... 53,309.85                          | December 31..... 53,211.59                          |
| 1931  | 1931  |
| January 31..... 41,849.65                           | January 31..... 46,483.47                           |
| February 28..... 43,358.27                          | February 28..... 40,155.17                          |
| March 31..... 45,517.48                             | March 31..... 41,520.16                             |
| April 30..... 41,381.40                             | April 30..... 37,375.13                             |
| May 31..... 49,417.39                               | May 31..... 43,876.80                               |
| June 30..... 38,271.16                              | June 30..... 41,288.76                              |
| July 31..... 57,108.03                              | July 31..... 44,788.50                              |
| August 31..... 82,809.47                            | August 31..... 61,310.09                            |
| <b>Total income for 12 months..... \$569,105.82</b> | <b>Total expenses for 12 months... \$561,985.13</b> |
| Balance in hands of Treasurer                       |   |
| August 31, 1930..... \$361,721.38                   |   |
| <b>Grand total..... \$930,827.20</b>                |   |

### RECAPITULATION

|   |                     |
|---|---------------------|
| Total (balance and income).....                               | \$930,827.20        |
| Total expenses.....   | 561,985.13          |
| August 31, 1931—Balance in hands of Treasurer.....            | \$368,842.07        |
| August 31, 1931—Balance in hands of Secretary.....            | 2,000.00            |
| <b>Total balance on hand, August 31, 1931.....</b>            | <b>\$370,842.07</b> |
| Treasurer's balance, where deposited and invested:            |                     |
| U. S. Treasury Bonds (3½%).....                               | \$125,000.00        |
| Premium on U. S. Treasury Bonds.....                          | 1,289.07            |
| Accrued interest on U. S. Treasury Bonds.....                 | 824.65              |
| <b>Total of Investment in U. S. Treasury Bonds.....</b>       | <b>\$127,113.72</b> |
| \$102,000.00 Federal Land Bank Bonds (4½%)                    |                     |
| Par value \$100.00 @ 86½.....                                 | \$88,230.00         |
| Accrued interest.....   | 251.47              |
| <b>Investment in Federal Land Bank Bonds at 86½.....</b>      | <b>\$88,481.47</b>  |
| \$80,000 Federal Land Bank Bonds (4½%)                        |                     |
| Par Value \$100.00 @ 92½.....                                 | \$74,200.00         |
| Accrued interest.....   | 650.00              |
| <b>Investment in Federal Land Bank Bonds at 92½.....</b>      | <b>\$74,850.00</b>  |
| First National Bank, Kansas City, Mo. (subject to check)..... | \$63,396.88         |
| Union Labor Life Insurance Co., (Stock).....                  | \$15,000.00         |
| <b>Treasurer's balance August 31, 1931.....</b>               | <b>\$368,842.07</b> |

Respectfully submitted,

MARTIN F. RYAN,

Treasurer, American Federation of Labor

KANSAS CITY, Mo., September 3, 1931.

## REPORT OF TRUSTEES OF A. F. OF L. BUILDING

To the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor:

The following is a report of the receipts and expenses for the twelve months ending August 31, 1931.

| RECEIPTS  |                    |
|---|--------------------|
| Balance on hand, August 31, 1930.....                                     | \$55,070.58        |
| Receipts from rents, Sept. 1, 1930, to and including August 31, 1931..... | \$31,149.00        |
| Receipts from interest on Certificates of Deposit.....                    | 2,064.37           |
| Receipts from waste paper.....  | 12.88              |
| Receipts from interest on checking account.....                           | 85.56              |
| <b>Total receipts.....</b>  | <b>33,311.81</b>   |
| <b>Receipts and balance.....</b>  | <b>\$88,382.39</b> |
| EXPENSES  |                    |
| <i>Maintenance:</i>   |                    |
| Pay roll (building employees).....  | \$13,220.30        |
| Taxes.....  | 3,214.64           |
| Electricity.....  | 1,442.25           |
| Fuel (coal).....  | 1,027.55           |
| Supplies.....   | 1,013.38           |
| Upkeep and repairs.....   | 130.65             |
| Plastering and painting.....  | 2,718.13           |
| Cleaning windows.....   | 480.00             |
| Insurance (liability).....  | 331.90             |
| Insurance (fire).....   | 600.00             |
| Water rent.....   | 349.63             |
| Hauling ashes and trash.....  | 155.00             |
| Upkeep of rest room (laundry, etc.).....                                  | 155.64             |
| Upkeep and repairs of elevators.....                                      | 811.63             |
| Rent of safe deposit box.....   | 2.50               |
| <b>Total expenses.....</b>  | <b>25,653.20</b>   |
| <b>Balance on hand August 31, 1931.....</b>                               | <b>\$62,729.19</b> |

| RECAPITULATION   |                    |
|--|--------------------|
| Receipts and balance.....  | \$88,382.39        |
| Expenses.....  | 25,653.20          |
| <b>Balance on hand August 31, 1931.....</b>                                | <b>\$62,729.19</b> |
| Moneys deposited and invested as follows:                                  |                    |
| Mt Vernon Bank, subject to check.....                                      | \$7,710.44         |
| *Mt. Vernon Bank, interest bearing certificates of deposit (3½%).....      | 40,000.00          |
| \$18,000.00 Federal Land Bank Bonds, (4½%)<br>par value \$100.00 @ 82..... | \$14,760.00        |
| Accrued interest.....  | 258.75             |
| <b>Investment in Federal Land Bank Bonds.....</b>                          | <b>15,018.75</b>   |
| <b>Balance on hand August 31, 1931.....</b>                                | <b>\$62,729.19</b> |

\*Certificates of deposit guaranteed by Surety Bond.

This report of the trustees of the A. F. of L. Building is submitted to you, the Executive Council and through you to the convention and the rank and file of the A. F. of L. We have performed the duty assigned to us with the best interest of the Federation in view.

Fraternally submitted,

WILLIAM GREEN,  
FRANK MORRISON,  
JAMES O'CONNELL,  
Trustees, A. F. of L. Building.

## FIFTY YEARS OF SERVICE

Fifty years last August there met in Terre Haute, Indiana, a committee of ardent trade unionists who had been zealously working for a general labor organization that would unite all unions in a common movement for the protection and advancement of wage earners. The conference authorized a committee to call a national congress for the purpose of organizing a national labor organization. This committee consisted of L. A. Brandt, W. C. Pollner, P. J. McGuire, Mark L. Moore.

The Terre Haute conference made preliminary arrangements for the Congress held in Pittsburg, November 15, which resulted in the formation of the Federation of Trades and Labor Unions. There were 107 delegates to the Congress—the majority representing local organizations in Pittsburg. Officers of national and international unions constituted the policy-making group and the following congresses were constituted practically entirely of these responsible representatives of organized crafts.

The first Federation was modeled after the British Trade Union Congress, with an emphasis on legislative activity. It was not until its reorganization in 1886 that our Federation started along a development which relied upon economic organization and progress to lay the foundations for lasting progress. The reorganization in 1886 came at a crisis in trade union development. The new Federation, designed to strengthen trade unionism, sponsored a development which has given wage earners the highest wages and standards of living ever achieved by producing workers.

The continuity of the Federation's leadership and policies has made possible sustained progress along approved lines. By determined efforts the Federation has been kept distinctively American. We have repeatedly refused to follow policies of other national labor movements that were practical for other countries when such policies did not lend themselves to our conditions and institutions.

Since 1886 the Federation has grown from representing approximately 100,000 workers to 2,889,550. Disregarding the war-time boom, we have a record of steadily increasing membership. Our policies of one union to a jurisdiction, and autonomy for trade union organizations, have barred from affiliation organizations not willing to conform to amalgamation principles determined by the central movement.

The organized labor movement in America wields a wide influence, affecting the unorganized as well as the organized. It has been in effect a flying wedge of shock workers who have raised standards and forced betterment for all workers.

The American Federation of Labor was entrusted with responsibility for promoting trade union principles and for serving as the coordinating agency for all union activity.

The end of fifty years of service is a most fitting time to make a survey of achievement. We, therefore, submit an inventory summarizing the results of activity.

### ORGANIZATIONS AFFILIATED.

The following list of organizations affiliated to the American Federation of Labor since 1881, is based upon the records of this office and additional information supplied by organizations. Between the years 1881 to 1886, The Federation of Trades and Labor Unions had no paid officials and no headquarters. In 1886 the Federation of Trades and Labor Unions was merged with the American Federation of Labor, when the President became a paid executive and established an office in New York City. In 1889 it was voted to consider the Federation as continuous from 1881. Our first book-

keepers ledger dates from 1887; the charter record book begins in 1891; our correspondence files date from 1891, though copy books begin with the early eighties.

Because our early records are incomplete, we submit this membership record as tentative, subject to still further correction by the organizations concerned. Suggested changes and dates of organization of unions will be most welcome so that the statement in our bound proceedings may be accurate.

Organizations printed in capital letters are affiliated with the American Federation of Labor at the present time.

#### **ACTORS AND ARTISTES OF AMERICA, ASSOCIATED.**

Actors' National Protective Union—January 4, 1896.

Actors' International Union—New charter—July 10, 1909.

Actors' Union of America, White Rats—New charter—December 7, 1910.

Present title given in charter of August 28, 1919.

#### **Agents' International Union, American.**

Chartered—August 23, 1895.

Revoked—1900.

#### **AIR LINE PILOTS' ASSOCIATION.**

Chartered—August 10, 1931.

#### **ASBESTOS WORKERS, INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF HEAT AND FROST INSULATORS AND,**

Asbestos Workers of America, National Association of Heat, Frost, General Insulators and—Chartered—September 22, 1904.

"International" placed in title—July 9, 1910.

Present title taken—October 31, 1910.

#### **BAKERY AND CONFECTIONERY WORKERS' INTERNATIONAL UNION OF AMERICA.**

Bakers' National Union of the United States, Journeymen—Chartered—February 23, 1887.

Present title issued April 13, 1904.

#### **BARBERS' INTERNATIONAL UNION, JOURNEYMEN.**

Chartered—April 10, 1888.

Duplicate Charter—October 30, 1891.

#### **Bicycle Workers, International Union of—1897.**

Change of title adding "Allied Mechanics," January 27, 1899.

Change of title—Allied Metal Mechanics, International Association of—November 9, 1900.

Allied Metal Mechanics merged with and became part of International Association of Machinists—October 31, 1904.

#### **BILL POSTERS AND BILLERS OF AMERICA, INTERNATIONAL ALLIANCE OF**

Bill Posters and Billers of America, National Alliance of—Chartered—January 5, 1903.

New Charter—Present title—January 7, 1908.

Duplicate Charter—October 24, 1929.

**BLACKSMITHS, DROP FORGERS AND HELPERS, INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD OF**

Blacksmiths, International Brotherhood of—October 30, 1897.

Amalgamated with directly affiliated local of blacksmiths—helpers and title changed to International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths and Helpers—1903.

Amalgamated with independent unaffiliated organization Drop Forgers and title changed to read as at present—October 16, 1919.

**Blast Furnace Workers and Smelters of America, International Association of**

Chartered—October 25, 1901.

Dropped—December 9, 1905.

**BOILER MAKERS, IRON SHIP BUILDERS AND HELPERS OF AMERICA, INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD OF**

International Brotherhood of Boiler Makers—Chartered—August 1, 1887.

Withdrew—October 31, 1893.

Boiler Makers and Iron Ship Builders of America, Brotherhood of—Chartered—June 29, 1896.

Title changed to read as present—April 25, 1918.

**BOOKBINDERS, INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD OF**

Chartered—March 24, 1898.

International Brotherhood of Tip Printers amalgamated—December 31, 1918.

**BOOT AND SHOE WORKERS' UNION.**

Chartered—April 13, 1889.

First local of lasters organized December, 1879.

New England Lasters Protective Union—Chartered—December 13, 1887.

Merged in formation of present Boot and Shoe Workers' Union—April, 1895.

Boot and Shoe Workers' International Union was split from K. of L. and chartered by American Federation of Labor—November 9, 1895. Merged with Boot and Shoe Workers' Union—April, 1895.

**BREWERY, FLOUR, CEREAL AND SOFT DRINK WORKERS OF AMERICA, INTERNATIONAL UNION OF THE UNITED**

Brewers National Union—Chartered—March 4, 1887.

Changed name to National Union of United Brewery Workers of America—1891.

Changed title to National Union of United Brewery Workmen—issued—September 22, 1902.

Charter revoked—June 1, 1907. Reinstated—February 25, 1908.

Changed title to International Union of United Brewery and Soft Drink Workers of America—December 29, 1917.

Gained jurisdiction over International Union of Flour and Cereal Mill Workers in 1918.

Changed to present title—November 29, 1918.

**Brass and Composition Metal Workers, Polishers and Buffers, United Brotherhood of**

United Brotherhood of Brass Workers—Chartered—September 6, 1892.

Brass, Composition and Metal Workers—1895.

Change of title to above—January 4, 1896.

Amalgamated with Metal Polishers—July 5, 1896.

**BRICKLAYERS', MASONS' AND PLASTERERS' INTERNATIONAL UNION OF AMERICA.**

Chartered—October 12, 1916.

**BRICK AND CLAY WORKERS OF AMERICA, THE UNITED**

National Brickmakers' Alliance (Chicago organization). Chartered—February 18, 1896.

Several locals in the east amalgamated with alliance and title changed to "The Brick, Tile and Terra Cotta Workers"—October 17, 1901.

Organization split in 1913 and functioned separately until December 28, 1917—then amalgamated and changed title to present one.

**BRIDGE AND STRUCTURAL IRON WORKERS, INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION**

International Association Bridge and Structural Iron Workers of America—Chartered June 19, 1901.

New charter—present title—October 6, 1903.

Suspended—April 2, 1917 (for failure to comply with instructions 1916 convention.)

Reinstated—November 1917.

**BROOM AND WHISK MAKERS' UNION, INTERNATIONAL**

International Broom Makers' Union—Chartered—June 21, 1893.

New charter issued under present title—April 14, 1905.

**Brushmakers' Union, International**

Chartered—December 9, 1887.

Charter surrendered—June 30, 1888.

Brushmakers' International Union—Chartered—April 5, 1904.

Disbanded—May 22, 1918.

**Building Employees of America, International**

Chartered—March 10, 1904.

Charter revoked—September 20, 1905.

Building Laborers, International Protective Union of America—Chartered June 18, 1900.

**BUILDING SERVICE EMPLOYEES' INTERNATIONAL UNION.**

Chartered—April 23, 1921.

**BUILDING TRADES DEPARTMENT.**

Chartered—March 20, 1908.

**CARMEN OF AMERICA, BROTHERHOOD RAILWAY**

Chartered—August 9, 1910.

**Car Workers, International Association**

Chartered—September 30, 1901.

Charter surrendered—November 28, 1911.

**CARPENTERS AND JOINERS OF AMERICA, UNITED BROTHERHOOD OF**

Organized—August 8-12, 1881.

Participated in Organization of Federation of Trades and Labor Unions—November 15, 1881.

Woodworkers International Union of America, Amalgamated—joined carpenters—March 11, 1912.

Carpenters and Joiners, Amalgamated Society of—Joined Carpenters—1924.

**Carpenters and Joiners, Amalgamated Society of**

Chartered—November 15, 1890.  
 Charter revoked—August 1, 1912.  
 Joined United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners—1924.

**Carriage and Wagon Makers' International Union of North America.**

Chartered—August 31, 1891.  
 Carriage, Wagon and Automobile Workers—1913.  
 Suspended—April 1, 1918.

**CARVERS' ASSOCIATION OF NORTH AMERICA, INTERNATIONAL WOOD**

Chartered—April 12, 1898.

**Case Makers' Union, International Watch**

Chartered—April 10, 1903.  
 Merged with Jewelry Workers—September 5, 1903.

**Cement Workers, American Brotherhood of**

Chartered—September 22, 1903.  
 Merged with Operative Plasterers—September 9, 1915.

**Chainmakers' National Union of United States of America.**

Chartered—September 25, 1900.  
 Charter surrendered—March 30, 1911.

**CIGARMAKERS' INTERNATIONAL UNION OF AMERICA.**

Participated in organization of Federation of Trades and Labor Unions—  
 November 15, 1881.

**CLERKS, NATIONAL FEDERATION OF POST OFFICE**

Chartered—December 4, 1906.  
 Merged with Brotherhood of Railway Postal Clerks and formed "National  
 Federation of Postal Employees,"—Chartered—April 25, 1917.  
 Changed title to present—November 7, 1919.

**CLERKS, BROTHERHOOD OF RAILWAY**

Order of Railway Clerks of America—Chartered—October 21, 1900.  
 Suspended—1902.  
 Brotherhood of Railway Clerks—Chartered—November 17, 1908.  
 Amalgamated—Brotherhood Railroad Freight Handlers and Brotherhood of  
 Railway Clerks—January 20, 1915.  
 Suspended—January 25, 1926.  
 Reinstated—January 19, 1928.

**Clerks of America, Order of Railway**

Chartered—October 21, 1900.  
 Suspended—1902.

**Clerks, Brotherhood of Railway Postal**

Chartered—June 1, 1914.  
 Merged with National Federation Post Office Clerks to form "National Federa-  
 tion of Postal Employees"—April 25, 1917.

**Clerks, International Association of Railway**

Chartered—April 29, 1903.

**CLERKS' INTERNATIONAL PROTECTIVE ASSOCIATION, RETAIL**

Clerks' National Protective Association of America, Retail—Chartered—December 24, 1890.

Clerks' National Protective Association of the United States, Retail—Duplicate charter—January 20, 1898.

Duplicate charter, present title—August 22, 1899.

**CLOTH HAT, CAP AND MILLINERY WORKERS' INTERNATIONAL UNION.**

Chartered—June 17, 1902 as United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers of North America. Jurisdiction extended in 1902 to include straw hat workers and ladies' felt hat workers.

Suspended for non-compliance with instructions of Executive Council, April 1, 1918. Reinstated October 14, 1924 by action 1924 El Paso Convention.

Change of title to include millinery workers granted and new charter issued January 12, 1925, present title.

**Clothing Makers' Union of America, Special Order**

Chartered—April 17, 1902.

Suspended—February 20, 1903.

**Clothing Operatives' National Union.**

Chartered—November 15, 1890.

Surrendered charter—September 18, 1891.

**Coal Miners and Mine Laborers, National Progressive Union of**

Chartered—January 4, 1889.

Last tax paid for—October, 1889.

**Compressed Air and Foundation Workers Union.**

Chartered—March 29, 1904.

Compressed Air and Foundation Workers of the U. S. and Canada, International New Charter—January 19, 1910.

Merged with Hod Carriers—January 1, 1918.

**CONDUCTORS, ORDER OF SLEEPING CAR**

Chartered—November 5, 1919.

**COOPERS' INTERNATIONAL UNION OF NORTH AMERICA.**

Participated in organization of Federation of Trades and Labor Unions—November 15, 1881.

New charter—October 3, 1891.

Duplicate charter—January 20, 1899.

**Coremakers' International Union.**

Chartered—December 29, 1896.

Merged with Iron Molders—May 21, 1903.

**Curtain Operatives, Amalgamated Lace**

Chartered—November 28, 1894.

Changed title to "The Chartered Society of Amalgamated Lace Operatives of America"—August 31, 1912.

Suspended—December 31, 1919.

**Cutting Die and Cutter Makers, International Union of**

Chartered—October 1, 1904.

Duplicate charter—April 2, 1920.

Disbanded—October 3, 1922.

**DIAMOND WORKERS' PROTECTIVE UNION OF AMERICA.**

Chartered—April 12, 1912.

**DRAFTSMEN'S UNIONS, INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OF TECHNICAL ENGINEERS, ARCHITECTS AND**

International Federation of Draftsmen's Union—Chartered—July 1, 1918.

New charter, present title—August 4, 1919.

**ELECTRICAL WORKERS OF AMERICA, INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD OF**

Electrical Workers, National Brotherhood of

Chartered—December 7, 1891.

New charter giving title as at present issued—April 12, 1905.

**ELEVATOR CONSTRUCTORS, INTERNATIONAL UNION OF**

Chartered—April 17, 1902.

**ENGINEERS, INTERNATIONAL UNION OF OPERATING**

Engineers, National Union of Steam

Chartered—May 7, 1897.

Engineers, International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers—February 11, 1913.

Name changed to present—May 16, 1928.

**Engineers, Amalgamated Society of**

Chartered—June 30, 1898.

Charter revoked—October 11, 1902.

**Engineers, National Brotherhood of Coal Hoisting**

Chartered—October 13, 1899.

Charter revoked—December 16, 1903.

**Engineers' Beneficial Association of the United States of America, National Marine**

Chartered—July 12, 1916.

Chartered—December 7, 1917.

Withdrew—February 28, 1923.

**ENGRAVERS' UNION, INTERNATIONAL METAL**

Chartered—August 9, 1921.

**ENGRAVERS' UNION OF NORTH AMERICA, INTERNATIONAL PHOTO**

Chartered—May 19, 1904.

**Engravers League, Steel and Copper Plate International**

Chartered—July 17, 1918.

Joined International Plate Printers and Die Stampers—March 25, 1925.

**Engravers Watchcase, International Association**

Chartered—February 1, 1900.

Charter returned—September 16, 1912.

**Express Messengers of America, Brotherhood of Railway**

Chartered—June 15, 1912.

Disbanded—December 15, 1913.

**Expressmen of America, Brotherhood of Railway**

Chartered—May 14, 1903.

Disbanded—1904.

**FEDERAL EMPLOYEES, NATIONAL FEDERATION OF**

Chartered—September 24, 1917.

**FIRE FIGHTERS, INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF**

Chartered—February 28, 1918.

Duplicate charter—November 8, 1923.

**FIREMEN AND OILERS, INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD OF**

International Brotherhood of Stationery Firemen—Chartered—July 11, 1899.

New charter adding "and Oilers"—May 10, 1919.

New charter, present title—June 24, 1931.

**Fishermen's International Protective Association, Lobster**

Chartered—February 6, 1907.

Suspended—June 3, 1909.

**Flour and Cereal Mill Employees, International Union of**

Chartered—October 4, 1902.

Charter revoked—March 30, 1911.

Jurisdiction given to Brewery, Flour, Cereal and Soft Drink Workers of America—1918.

**FOUNDRY EMPLOYEES, INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD OF**

Chartered—March 26, 1904.

Duplicate charter—July 12, 1921.

**Brotherhood of Railroad Freight Handlers.**

Interior Freight Handlers and Warehousemen's Union of America—Chartered—January 13, 1903.

Change of title and new charter—Brotherhood of Railroad Freight Handlers—October 4, 1909.

Amalgamated with Brotherhood of Railway Clerks—January 20, 1915.

**Fruit and Vegetable Workers of North America, International Union of**

Chartered—July 1, 1921.

Disbanded—July 27, 1922.

**FUR WORKERS' UNION OF UNITED STATES AND CANADA, INTERNATIONAL**

Furriers' Union of United States and Canada—Chartered—May 3, 1892.

Withdrawn—August 8, 1896.

Fur Workers' Union of United States and Canada, International Association of  
Chartered—May 19, 1904.

Charter surrendered—March 31, 1911.

Chartered as present title—July 2, 1913.

**Furniture Workers' Union, International**

Chartered—June 11, 1887.

Merged with Amalgamated Wood Workers—January 1, 1896.

**GARMENT WORKERS OF AMERICA, UNITED**

Chartered—May 1, 1891.

**GARMENT WORKERS, INTERNATIONAL LADIES**

Chartered—June 23, 1900.

**GLASS BOTTLE BLOWERS' ASSOCIATION OF UNITED STATES AND CANADA.**

Chartered—August 9, 1899.

**Glass Employees' Association of America.**

Chartered—July 25, 1890.

Dropped—1896.

**Glass House Employees' International Association of**

Chartered—January 7, 1903.

Charter surrendered—September 6, 1907.

**GLASS CUTTERS' LEAGUE OF AMERICA, WINDOW**

Chartered—May 24, 1898.

Amalgamated with other glass workers—December 18, 1900.

Re-chartered—April 14, 1928.

Amalgamated with Window Glass Cutters' League of America—April 22, 1930.

**GLASS WORKERS' UNION, AMERICAN FLINT**

United Flint Glass Workers.

Chartered—July 27, 1887.

Withdrawn—January 30, 1903.

Present charter issued October 22, 1912.

**Glass Flatteners' Association of North America, Window**

Chartered—April 27, 1898.

Suspended—1902.

Window Glass Cutters' and Flatteners' Association of America.

Chartered—November 6, 1925.

Amalgamated with Window Glass Cutters' League of America—April 22, 1930.

**Glass Snappers' National Protective Association of America, Window**

Chartered—September 19, 1902.

Suspended—March 4, 1908.

**Glass Workers' International Association of America, Amalgamated**

Chartered—September 25, 1900.

Joined Painters International—October 1, 1915.

**Glass Workers, National Window**

Chartered—April 13, 1918.

Disbanded—July 1, 1928.

**Glass Workers of America, Amalgamated Window**

Chartered—May 10, 1906.

Dropped—February 18, 1908.

**GLOVE WORKERS' UNION OF AMERICA, INTERNATIONAL**

Chartered—December 23, 1902.

**Gold Beaters' Protective Union, National**

Chartered—October 20, 1897.

Gold Beaters' National Protective Union of America, United—New charter—  
August 21, 1902.

New charter issued—February 28, 1906.

Suspended—June 3, 1909.

- GRANITE CUTTERS INTERNATIONAL UNION OF AMERICA, THE**  
 Granite Cutters' National Union.  
 Participated in organization of Federation of Trades and Labor Unions—  
 November 15, 1881.  
 Change of title and new charter—October 26, 1895.  
 New charter—present title—September 8, 1905.
- Grinders and Finishers' National Union, Pocket Knife Blade**  
 Chartered—August 1, 1905.  
 Suspended—September 29, 1917.
- Grinders' National Union, Table Knife.**  
 Chartered—October 14, 1889.  
 Suspended—August 1, 1911.
- HATTERS OF NORTH AMERICA, UNITED.**  
 Chartered—September 21, 1896.  
 New charter—June 27, 1903.
- HOD CARRIERS', BUILDING AND COMMON LABORERS' UNION OF AMERICA, INTERNATIONAL**  
 Hod Carriers' and Building Laborers' Union of America, International—Chartered—April 28, 1903.  
 Duplicate charter—July 29, 1904.  
 International Hod Carriers' and Common Laborers' Union of America—New charter—October 4, 1912.  
 New charter issued same as present title—December 5, 1912.  
 Compressed Air and Foundation Workers' Union, Merged—January 1, 1918.  
 Tunnel and Subway Constructors International Union—Merged—May 7, 1929.
- Horse Collar Makers' National Union.**  
 Chartered—April 18, 1888.  
 Last tax paid for February, 1893.
- HORSE SHOERS OF UNITED STATES AND CANADA, INTERNATIONAL UNION OF JOURNEYMEN**  
 Chartered—July 1, 1893.  
 Change of title—adding "and Canada"—December 30, 1910.
- HOTEL AND RESTAURANT EMPLOYEES' AND BEVERAGE DISPENSERS' INTERNATIONAL ALLIANCE**  
 Waiters and Bartenders National Union—Chartered—April 24, 1891.  
 Hotel and Restaurant Employees National Alliance—Change of title— March 11, 1892.  
 Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America—Chartered—May 7, 1898.  
 Duplicate charter—May 13, 1901.  
 Duplicate charter—October 5, 1928.  
 Change of title to present—November 18, 1929.
- IRON, STEEL AND TIN WORKERS, AMALGAMATED ASSOCIATION OF**  
 Organized—August 4, 1876.  
 Participated in organization of Federation of Trades and Labor Unions—  
 November 15, 1881.

Withdrew until 1887—because of difference over policies.

Chartered—December 13, 1887.

Amalgamated with International Tin Plate Workers' Protective Association of North America—August 1, 1913.

#### **JEWELRY WORKERS' UNION, INTERNATIONAL**

International Jewelry Workers' Union of America—Chartered—September 17, 1900.

Disbanded—March 17, 1913.

International Jewelry Workers Union—Chartered—September 28, 1916.

Suspended—September 19, 1920.

Reinstated—May 11, 1922.

International Watch Casemakers—Chartered—April 10, 1903 (merged with International Jewelry Workers—September 15, 1903).

#### **Lace Operatives of America, The Chartered Society of Amalgamated**

Lace Curtain Operatives of America, Amalgamated—Chartered—November 28, 1894.

Duplicate charter—August 31, 1912.

Suspended—December 31, 1919.

#### **Lasters' Protective Union of America.**

Chartered—December 7, 1887.

Withdrawn—1895.

#### **Lasters' Protective Union, New England**

Chartered—December 17, 1887.

Merged with Boot and Shoe Workers' Union—April, 1895.

#### **LATHERS' INTERNATIONAL UNION OF WOOD, WIRE AND METAL.**

Chartered—January 15, 1900.

#### **LAUNDRY WORKERS' INTERNATIONAL UNION.**

Shirt Waist and Laundry Workers' International Union—Chartered November 19, 1900.

Present International Charter Issued—November 1, 1909.

#### **LEATHER WORKERS, UNITED, INTERNATIONAL UNION**

Leather Workers of America, Amalgamated.

Chartered—July 18, 1901 (composed exclusively of tannery workers—at no time affiliated with present organization).

Charter surrendered—September 6, 1913.

National Association of Saddle and Harness Makers of America.

Chartered—August 12, 1889.

Changed title to United Brotherhood of Harness and Saddle Makers of America—January 1, 1896.

Changed title to United Brotherhood of Leather Workers on Horse Goods—December 3, 1896.

Amalgamated with "Travelers' Goods and Leather Novelty Workers' International Union of America" forming new international under present title—July 24, 1917.

**LETTER CARRIERS, NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF**

Chartered—September 20, 1917.

**LETTER CARRIERS, NATIONAL FEDERATION OF RURAL**

Chartered—January 9, 1920.

**LITHOGRAPHERS', INTERNATIONAL PROTECTIVE AND BENEFICIAL ASSOCIATION OF THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA.**

Chartered—April 14, 1906.

**Lithographic Press Feeders of United States and Canada, International Protective Association of**

Chartered—July 27, 1909.

Suspended—March 17, 1914.

**LONGSHOREMEN'S INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION.**

Longshoremen's National Association of the United States—Chartered—July 25, 1893.

Change of title and new charter—November 9, 1896.

**Machine Printers and Color Mixers of the United States, National Association of.**

Chartered—August 4, 1902.

Amalgamated with National Print Cutters' Association and changed title to—United Wall Paper Crafts—June 29, 1923.

**MACHINISTS, INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF.**

Chartered—June 5, 1895.

Merged with Allied Metal Mechanics—October 31, 1904.

(Allied Metal Mechanics originally chartered as Bicycle Workers.)

**Machinists' International Union of America.**

Chartered—June 27, 1891.

Last tax paid for January, 1896 (no connection with present organization).

**MAINTENANCE OF WAY EMPLOYEES, BROTHERHOOD OF**

Order Railway Trackmen formed—August, 1887.

Changed title to The International Brotherhood of Railway Track Foremen of America—1891.

Changed title to Brotherhood of Railway Trackmen of America—January 1, 1897.

Chartered by American Federation of Labor—February 5, 1900, as Brotherhood of Railway Trackmen of America.

Change of title and new charter—International Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees—March 13, 1903.

Amalgamated with rival organization and extended scope of organization to include Railway Shop Laborers. Change of title to the United Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees and Railway Shop Laborers—September 4, 1918.

Suspended—December 31, 1919.

Reinstated—July 1, 1922.

Change of title to present one—November 9, 1925.

Note—Changes in title due to enlargement of scope of organization, absorption of rival organizations and extension to international organization.

**MARBLE, SLATE AND STONE POLISHERS, RUBBERS AND SAWYERS, TILE AND MARBLE SETTERS HELPERS AND TERRAZZO HELPERS, INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF**

International Association of Marble Workers—Chartered—January 11, 1902.

International Association of Marble, Slate and Stone Polishers, Rubbers and Sawyers—New charter—February 2, 1917.

New Charter—July 21, 1921, adding Tile and Marble Setters' Helpers.

Present title—May 25, 1931.

**Marine Water Tenders, Oilers and Firemen of America, Amalgamated Association of**

Chartered—March 12, 1894.

Last tax paid for—March, 1896.

**MASTERS, MATES AND PILOTS OF AMERICA, NATIONAL ORGANIZATION.**

Masters, Mates and Pilots, American Association of—Chartered—February 26, 1916.

New charter, present title—July 27, 1921.

**Mattress, Spring and Bedding Workers, International Union.**

Chartered—May 18, 1904.

Dropped—December 9, 1905.

**MEAT CUTTERS AND BUTCHER WORKMEN OF NORTH AMERICA, THE AMALGAMATED**

Chartered—January 26, 1897.

**Metal Mechanics, International Association of Allied**

International Union of Bicycle Workers—Chartered—December 30, 1896.

Change of title adding "Allied Mechanics"—January 27, 1899.

Change of title—November 9, 1900 (New charter).

Merged with International Association of Machinists—May 9, 1905.

**METAL TRADES DEPARTMENT.**

Chartered—July 2, 1908.

**Metal Workers' Union of North America.**

Chartered—July 5, 1887.

Disbanded—December 31, 1889.

**Metal Workers, International Union of United**

Chartered—September 24, 1900.

Suspended—March 29, 1905.

**METAL WORKERS INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION, SHEET**

Tin, Sheet Iron and Cornice Workers—Chartered—April 23, 1889.

Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers' International Association—Changed title—March 23, 1899.

Duplicate charter—March 7, 1910.

Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers International Alliance—New charter—March 7, 1910.

New charter, present title—January 12, 1925.

**Mine Managers' and Assistants' Mutual Aid Association, National.**

Chartered—May 1, 1902.

Suspended—February 26, 1907.

**MINE WORKERS OF AMERICA, UNITED**

Chartered—January 25, 1890.

**Mineral Mineworkers' Progressive Union of America, Northern**

Chartered—December 3, 1895.

Change of title to United Mineral Mine Workers of North America.

New charter—February 28, 1903.

Joined Western Federation of Miners—May 7, 1904.

**Miners, Western Federation of**

Formed from Butte Miners' Union and reorganized—May 15, 1893.

Chartered by American Federation of Labor—July 7, 1896.

Last tax paid for December, 1896.

Re-chartered—May 9, 1911.

Changed title and became International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers—December 15, 1916.

**MINE, MILL AND SMELTER WORKERS, INTERNATIONAL UNION OF**

Changed title from Western Federation of Miners—December 15, 1916.

**Miners and Mine Laborers, National Progressive Union of**

Chartered—January 4, 1889.

Last tax paid for October, 1889.

**Mining Department.**

Chartered—January 8, 1912.

Disbanded—July 25, 1922.

**MOLDERS' UNION OF NORTH AMERICA, INTERNATIONAL**

Iron Molders' Union of North America.

Participated in organization of Federation of Trades and Labor Unions—November 15, 1881.

(Merged with Coremakers' International Union—May 21, 1903.)

New charter and change of title—July 20, 1908.

**MUSICIANS, AMERICAN FEDERATION OF**

Chartered—November 6, 1896.

**OIL FIELD, GAS WELL AND REFINERY WORKERS OF AMERICA.**

Chartered—June 21, 1918.

**Oil and Gas Well Workers, International Brotherhood of**

Chartered—December 29, 1899.

Dropped—December 9, 1905.

**PAINTERS, DECORATORS AND PAPERHANGERS OF AMERICA, BROTHERHOOD OF**

Brotherhood of Painters and Decorators.

Chartered—December 1, 1887.

Withdrew—February 28, 1891.

Reinstated—January 1, 1892.

Suspended—1900.

Chartered—August 22, 1900 as present title.

Took over Amalgamated Glass Workers' International Association—October 1, 1915.

**Paper Box, Bag and Novelty Workers, International Union of**

Paper Box Workers International Union.—Chartered—January 19, 1904.

New title and charter—April 20, 1905.

Suspended—August 29, 1907.

**PAPER MAKERS, INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD OF**

Paper Makers, United Brotherhood of—Chartered—May 19, 1893.

United Brotherhood of Paper Makers of America—July 10, 1897.

Title changed to present one—June 17, 1902.

**Patrolmen, Brotherhood of Railroad**

Chartered—August 19, 1919.

Suspended—February 24, 1923 non payment per capita tax.

**PATTERN MAKERS' LEAGUE OF NORTH AMERICA.**

Chartered—September 4, 1894.

**PAVERS, RAMMERMEN, FLAG LAYERS, BRIDGE AND STONE CURB SETTERS AND SHEET ASPHALT PAVERS, INTERNATIONAL UNION OF**

Pavers and Rammermen, International Union of—Chartered—August 28, 1905

Title changed to International Union of Pavers, Rammermen, Flag Layers,

Bridge and Stone Curb Setters—April 21, 1908.

Present title—February 9, 1931.

**PAVING CUTTERS' UNION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND CANADA.**

Paving Cutters of the United States of America—Chartered—August 3, 1901.

New charter, title as at present—March 8, 1904.

**PIANO AND ORGAN WORKERS' INTERNATIONAL UNION OF AMERICA.**

Chartered—December 28, 1901.

**Pilots' Association, International**

Chartered—September 16, 1903.

Charter revoked—September 15, 1904.

**Lake Pilots' Protective Association of the Great Lakes.**

Chartered—January 17, 1906.

Suspended—March 29, 1907.

**PLASTERERS' INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA, OPERATIVE**

Chartered—November 14, 1908.

American Brotherhood of Cement Workers, Merged—July 19, 1915.

**Plate Transferrers' Association of America, The Steel**

Chartered—June 22, 1906.

Became International Association of Siderographers—New charter—July 20 1922.

**PLUMBERS AND STEAM FITTERS OF THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA, UNITED ASSOCIATION OF**

United Association of Journeymen Plumbers, Gas Fitters, Steam Fitters and Steam Fitters Helpers of the United States and Canada—Chartered—

October 30, 1897.

New charter—present title—September 29, 1913.

**POLISHERS, METAL, INTERNATIONAL UNION.**

Formed from three organizations—

International Brotherhood of Brass Workers; Brass and Composition Metal Workers, Polishers and Buffers; and Metal Polishers' International Union.

The two brass workers' organizations were brought about by a split in K. of L. organization known as National Trades Assembly No. 252—August 7, 1890.

United Brotherhood of Brass Workers—Chartered—September 6, 1892.

Metal Polishers International Union—Chartered—March 8, 1892.

United Brotherhood of Brass and Composition Metal Workers—January 4, 1896.

Amalgamation effected between Metal Polishers' International Union and United Brotherhood of Brass and Composition Metal Workers, Polishers and Buffers—July 5, 1896—Charter issued—September 12, 1896—Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers and Brass Workers.

New charter—August 13, 1912—Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers, Brass and Silver Workers Union of North America.

New charter—present title—October 29, 1917.

**POTTERS, NATIONAL BROTHERHOOD OF OPERATIVE**

Potters' National Union of America—Chartered—March 23, 1895.

Potters, Stoneware No. 8302—chartered—April 12, 1900.

Suspended—1900.

Potters, National Brotherhood of Operative

Chartered—March 14, 1899.

**POWDER AND HIGH EXPLOSIVE WORKERS OF AMERICA, UNITED**

Chartered—December 16, 1901.

**PRINTERS', DIE STAMPERS' AND ENGRAVERS' UNION OF NORTH AMERICA, INTERNATIONAL PLATE**

Printers of the United States of America, National Steel and Copper—Chartered—July 2, 1898.

International Steel and Copper Plate Printers of North America—New charter—July 27, 1901.

Plate Printers' and Die Stampers' Union of North America, International—New charter—March 7, 1921.

Steel and Copper Plate Engravers merged with Plate Printers—March 25, 1925.

Present title given in charter—August 22, 1930.

**Print Cutters' Association of America, National**

Chartered—September 25, 1902.

Amalgamated with Machine Printers and Color Mixers of the United States.

National Association of, and formed United Wall Paper Crafts—June 29, 1923.

**Printers and Color Mixers of the United States and Canada, International Brotherhood of Machine—Chartered—August 13, 1902.**

Amalgamation of "National Print Cutters' Association of America" and "National Association of Machine Printers and Color Mixers of the United States" and changed title to United Wall Paper Crafts of North America—June 29, 1923.

**Printers, Machine Textile, Association of America.**

Chartered—March 10, 1903.

Charter returned—March 13, 1907.

**PRINTING PRESSMEN'S AND ASSISTANTS' UNION OF NORTH AMERICA, INTERNATIONAL**

Printing Pressmen's Union of North America, International

Chartered—November 3, 1895.

Changed title—New charter—January 15, 1916.

**PULP, SULPHITE AND PAPER MILL WORKERS OF THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA, INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD OF**

Organized—January 12, 1906.

Chartered by American Federation of Labor—July 2, 1909.

**Quarrymen's National Union of the United States of America.**

Chartered—August 21, 1890.

Suspended—1900.

**Quarrymen's Union, National**

Chartered—November 15, 1895.

Disbanded—1898.

**QUARRY WORKERS, INTERNATIONAL UNION OF NORTH AMERICA**

Chartered—September 8, 1903.

**RAILROAD EMPLOYEES' DEPARTMENT**

Chartered—February 19, 1909.

**RAILWAY EMPLOYEES OF AMERICA, AMALGAMATED ASSOCIATION OF STREET AND ELECTRIC**

Railway Employees, Amalgamated Association of Street

Chartered—November 8, 1893.

Change of title—present title—July 15, 1903.

**RAILWAY MAIL ASSOCIATION.**

Chartered—December 22, 1917.

**ROOFERS, DAMP AND WATERPROOF WORKERS' ASSOCIATION, UNITED SLATE, TILE AND COMPOSITION**

Roofers' Union of America, International Slate and Tile—Organized—February 4, 1902.

Chartered by American Federation of Labor—June 5, 1903.

Roofers, Damp and Waterproof Workers of the United States and Canada, International Brotherhood of Composition—Chartered—November 6, 1906.

Amalgamation of two above organizations and change of title—September 8, 1919.

New charter issued—December 17, 1919.

**Roofers, Damp and Waterproof Workers of the United States and Canada, Composition**

Chartered—November 6, 1906.

Amalgamated with International Slate and Tile Roofers of America—September 8, 1919.

Change of title to United Slate, Tile and Composition Roofers, Damp and Waterproof Workers' Association—December 17, 1919.

**Roofers' Union of America, International Slate and Tile**

Chartered—June 5, 1903.

Amalgamated with Composition Roofers, Damp and Waterproof Workers of the United States and Canada, International Brotherhood of and changed title to Roofers Damp and Waterproof Workers' Association, United Slate, Tile and Composition.

Amalgamated—September 8, 1919.

New charter issued—December 17, 1919.

**Rubber Workers' Amalgamated Union of America.**

Chartered—November 10, 1902.

Dropped—December 9, 1905.

**Sailors and Firemen, International Amalgamated Association of**

Chartered—November 12, 1889.

Last tax paid for April, 1891.

**Saw Makers of North America—1889.****Sawsmiths' National Union.**

Chartered—June 18, 1902.

Suspended—August 22, 1924.

**Seamen's Union, Lake**

Participated in organization of Federation of Trades and Labor Unions—November 15, 1881.

Merged with National Seamen's Union—1892.

**SEAMEN'S UNION OF AMERICA, INTERNATIONAL**

Atlantic Coast Seamen's Union.

Chartered—May 26, 1891.

National Seamen's Union formed April 22, 1892.

Chartered by American Federation of Labor—September 8, 1893.

(embracing "Atlantic Coast Seamen's Union," "Sailors Union of Pacific," "Lake Seamen's Union," and other seamen's organizations then in existence.)

Changed title to "International"—March 3, 1896.

New charter, present title—January 5, 1903.

**Shingle Weavers of America, International**

Chartered—March 6, 1903.

Change of title to Weavers, Sawmill Workers and Woodsmen—January 31, 1913.

Change of title to International Union of Timber Workers—January 1, 1914 to;

International Shingle Weavers of America—January 10, 1916.

Amalgamated with International Union of Timber Workers and disbanded—March 22, 1923.

**Shipwrights, Joiners and Caulkers National Union of America.**

Chartered—October 25, 1902.

New charter—Shipwrights, Joiners and Caulkers of America, International Union—May 23, 1907.

Suspended—March 30, 1911.

**SIDEROGRAPHERS, INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF**

Steel Plate Transferrers' Association of America, The—Chartered—June 22, 1906.

Change of title and new charter—July 20, 1922.

**Signalmen of America, Brotherhood Railroad**

Chartered—March 11, 1914.

Suspended—October 23, 1928.

**Silk Workers, National Federation of**

Chartered—May 16, 1889.

Last tax paid for April, 1892.

**Slate Workers, American Brotherhood of**

International Union of Slate Quarrymen, Splitters and Cutters—Chartered July 1, 1903.

International Union of Slate Workers—New charter—January 13, 1905.

New charter—American Brotherhood of Slate Workers—February 28, 1911.

Disbanded—May 30, 1916.

**Spinners (International) Union.**

Cotton Mule Spinners Association.

Chartered—January 9, 1889.

New charter—January 2, 1907.

Suspended—December 31, 1919.

**Spinners' Association, National Mule—**

Participated in organization of Federation of Trades and Labor Unions—November 15, 1881.

**STAGE EMPLOYEES AND MOVING PICTURE MACHINE OPERATORS OF THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA, INTERNATIONAL ALLIANCE OF THEATRICAL**

National Alliance of Stage Employees—Chartered—July 20, 1894.

Theatrical Stage Employees of America, International Alliance—New charter—September 25, 1902.

Duplicate charter—October 2, 1912.

New charter—present title—November 12, 1929.

**Steam and Hot Water Fitters and Helpers, National Association of**

Chartered—November 6, 1899.

Charter revoked—June 16, 1903.

**Steam and Hot Water Fitters and Helpers of America, International Association of**

Chartered—June 25, 1906.

Last tax paid—September, 1911.

**Steam Shovel and Dredgemen, International Brotherhood of**

Chartered—January 13, 1915.

Suspended—March 1, 1919.

Merged with Operating Engineers—April 1, 1927.

**STEREOTYPERS' AND ELECTROTYPERS' UNION OF NORTH AMERICA, INTERNATIONAL**

Formerly part of International Typographical Union—jurisdiction relinquished

by referendum vote of that body. Affiliated with American Federation of Labor immediately thereafter.

Chartered by American Federation of Labor—January 23, 1902.

**STONECUTTERS' ASSOCIATION OF NORTH AMERICA, JOURNEYMEN**

Chartered—August 20, 1907.

**STOVE MOUNTERS' INTERNATIONAL UNION.**

Organized—December 27, 1892.

Chartered by American Federation of Labor—January 6, 1894.

Duplicate charter—December 9, 1908.

**SWITCHMEN'S UNION OF NORTH AMERICA.**

Chartered—July 12, 1906.

**Tackmakers' International Union.**

Tackmakers' Protective Union—1890.

Tackmakers' International Union—Chartered—October 3, 1903.

Dropped—December 9, 1905.

**Tailors' National Union, Custom—1887.**

**TAILORS' UNION OF AMERICA, JOURNEYMEN**

Chartered—October 15, 1887.

**Tailors' National Progressive Union.**

Chartered—October 28, 1887.

Last tax paid for February, 1890.

**Tanners and Curriers of America, United Brotherhood of**

Chartered—August 19, 1891.

Last tax paid for December, 1895.

**TEACHERS, AMERICAN FEDERATION OF**

Chartered—May 9, 1916.

**TEAMSTERS, CHAUFFEURS, STABLEMEN AND HELPERS OF AMERICA, INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD OF**

Team Drivers Union, International—Chartered—January 27, 1899.

Amalgamated with Teamsters National Union of America (an independent organization) taking new charter—August 22, 1903—title: "International Brotherhood of Teamsters."

Change of title to present one and new charter—December 22, 1910.

**TELEGRAPHERS' UNION OF NORTH AMERICA, THE COMMERCIAL**

Order of Commercial Telegraphers.

Chartered—December 6, 1902.

March 17, 1903—charter issued "The Commercial Telegraphers Union of America." being an amalgamation of "Order Commercial Telegraphers" and "International Union of Commercial Telegraphers."

Change of title—present one—July 22, 1929.

**TELEGRAPHERS, THE ORDER OF RAILROAD**

Chartered—October 31, 1899.

New charter—September 18, 1901.

**TEXTILE WORKERS OF AMERICA, UNITED**

National Union of Textile Workers of America—Chartered—June 4, 1896.  
 Amalgamation of "National Union of Textile Workers of America," and  
 "American Federation of Textile Operatives."  
 New charter, present title—November 22, 1901.

**Textile Workers' Progressive Union, National**

Chartered—September 22, 1888.  
 Withdrew to join national body.

**Tile Layers' and Helpers' International Union, Ceramic Mosaic and Encaustic**

Mosaic and Encaustic Tile Layers and Trade National Unions.  
 Chartered—February 4, 1890.  
 Tile Layers and Helpers International Union, Mosaic and Encaustic.  
 Chartered—January 3, 1898.  
 Ceramic Mosaic and Encaustic Tile Layers' and Helpers' International Union.  
 Chartered—February 4, 1902.  
 Suspended—September 20, 1918.

**Timber Workers, International Union of**

Chartered—August 7, 1917.  
 Amalgamated with International Shingle Weavers of America—April 12, 1918.  
 Disbanded—March 22, 1923.

**Tin, Sheet Iron and Cornice Workers.**

Chartered—April 23, 1889.  
 Changed title—March 23, 1899.  
 Duplicate charter—March 7, 1910.  
 New charter "Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers International Alliance—  
 March 7, 1910.  
 New charter—January 12, 1925—Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers International Association.

**Tin Plate Workers' Protective Association of North America, International**

Chartered—January 18, 1899.  
 Amalgamated with Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers  
 August 1, 1913.

**Tip Printers, International Brotherhood of**

Chartered—August 21, 1903.  
 Suspended—1914.  
 Reinstated—1916.  
 Amalgamated with Bookbinders—December 31, 1918.

**TOBACCO WORKERS' INTERNATIONAL UNION.**

National Tobacco Workers' Union of America.  
 Chartered—June 28, 1895.  
 Name changed to present—October 27, 1899.

**Transferrers Association of America, Steel Plate**

Chartered—June 22, 1906.  
 Title changed to International Association of Siderographers—July 20, 1922.

**Trackmen, Brotherhood Railway of America**

Chartered—February 5, 1900—Changed title to Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees—March 13, 1903.

**Travelers' Goods and Leather Novelty Workers, International Union**

Trunk and Bag Workers' International Union.

Chartered—August 4, 1896.

New charter—October 15, 1903.

Merged with Leather Novelty Workers—1917 (forming new international—United Leather Workers' International Union.)

**Tube Workers, International Association of**

Chartered—March 17, 1902.

Disbanded—1904.

**Tunnel and Subway Constructors International Union.**

Chartered—January 19, 1910.

Amalgamated with Hod Carriers—May 7, 1929.

**TYPOGRAPHICAL UNION, INTERNATIONAL**

Participated in organization of Federation of Trades and Labor Unions—November 15, 1881.

German-American Typographia, merged with—July 1, 1894.

**Typographia—German American.**

Participated in organization of Federation of Trades and Labor Unions—November 15, 1881.

Joined International Typographical Union—July 1, 1894.

**UNION LABEL TRADES DEPARTMENT.**

Chartered—April 2, 1909.

**UPHOLSTERERS' INTERNATIONAL UNION OF NORTH AMERICA.**

Upholsterers' International Union of America—Chartered—September 20, 1900.

Duplicate charter—present title—February 9, 1922.

**Varnishers' National Union of North America, Hardwood Furniture and Piano.**

Chartered—January 31, 1893.

Last tax paid for—September, 1894.

**WALL PAPER CRAFTS OF NORTH AMERICA, UNITED.**

Machine Printers and Color Mixers of the United States, National Association of—Chartered—August 13, 1902.

National Print Cutters' Association—Chartered—September 25, 1902.

Amalgamation of these two organizations and new charter issued—June 29, 1923.

**Watch Case Makers' Union, International.**

Chartered—April 10, 1903.

Merged with International Jewelry Workers—September 15, 1903.

**Weavers, Amalgamated Association of Elastic Goring.**

Weavers, Amalgamated Association of Elastic Web.

Chartered—October 5, 1888.

Change in title 1904.

Disbanded—February 17, 1927.

**WEAVERS' PROTECTIVE ASSOCIATION, AMERICAN WIRE.**

Chartered—September 11, 1900.

**Wire Drawers of America, Federated Association of**

Chartered—July 1, 1896.

(Federated Wire Trades of America) 1897.

Disbanded—February, 1899.

**Wire Trades of America, Federated—1897.**

Disbanded—February, 1899.

**Woodsmen and Saw Mill Workers.**

Chartered—August 2, 1905.

Suspended—April 10, 1911 non-payment of per capita tax.

**Woodworkers International Union of America, Amalgamated.**

Chartered—January 1, 1896.

Amalgamated with United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners.

March 11, 1912.

**Woodworkers, International Union, Machine.**

Chartered—December 23, 1890.

Last tax paid—December, 1895.

**Gains by Organization**—Throughout these fifty years, there is a striking relation between trade union strength and workers' gains. The graph below shows gains in union membership, wages and hours of work. The lines for wages and hours of work are for all wage-earners in the United States, showing that trade union strength means progress not only for members of unions but for all working men and women. The past 50 years' experience shows that the growth of trade unionism guarantees the workers' share in progress, tending toward balance between all groups.

The organization of the Federation gave added strength to workers in 1881. Then followed the 8 hour drives from 1886 to 1890, and there were rapid gains in leisure. From 1880 to 1890 hours were shortened from an average of 63 a week to 58 a week. Gains in this 10 years were considerably greater than in the next decade to 1900.

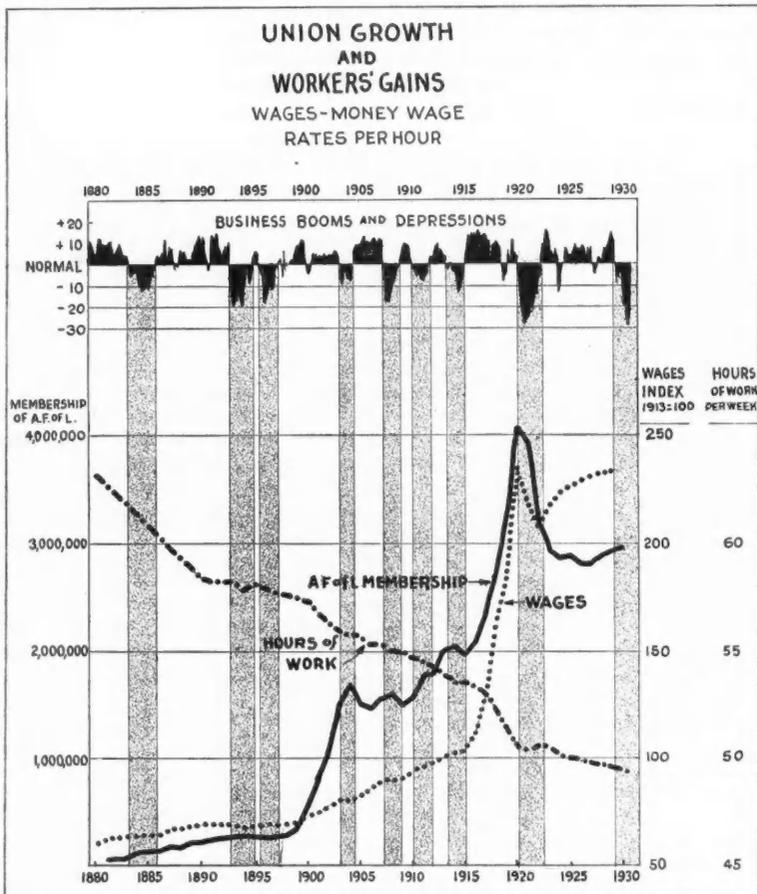
From 1899 to 1904 came rapid increases in trade unions strength. Membership increased from 349,422 to 1,676,000. Immediately workers gained in leisure and in income. In the graph the line for hours of work starts more rapidly downward and the wage line rises more than before. In the five years of membership gain, average wages rose 14 per cent and hours were shortened by nearly two per week. Thus in five years with growing strength workers gained more than they had in the preceding ten years, in both wages and hours of work.

With this added membership workers were able not only to hold the gains but to improve conditions further in spite of the difficulties of two business depressions in 1904 and 1908. The shaded areas on the graph show business depressions. In these five years to 1909, wages increased 12 per cent and hours were shortened by nearly one hour a week—substantial gains, but not so large as in the five years of growing strength.

From 1909 to 1914 came another period of growth. Membership increased from 1,483,000 to 2,021,000 and gains in wages and hours were greater. Wages increased 13 per cent, hours were shortened by nearly 1½ a week.

After 1915 began the war time growth of trade union membership, outstripping all

previous records. The next five years saw membership more than doubled; the four million mark was passed and unions began the drive for five million members. Wages increased more rapidly than ever—they more than doubled. The lines on the graph rise almost straight. Although prices were rising this meant an increase of 13 per cent



Mark Crawford's account of the formation of the American Federation of Labor may be found in the American Federationist, February, 1920.

An account by Charles F. Burgman is published in the American Federationist, October, 1931.

in real wages—more increase in real wages than in any other five years of rising prices. Hours were shortened more rapidly than before—a gain of three hours leisure a week in five years. The graph line moves more sharply downward.

Then came the post-war depression of 1921. Unions lost membership, wages declined and hours were actually lengthened slightly. The wage and membership lines on the graph drop; the line for hours rises a little in 1922. Until the beginning of the five-day week drive, there was practically no further gain in leisure. Wage losses were finally won back, but the wage level has not yet risen above the 1920 high.

In these fifty years altogether, workers have gained 15 hours leisure per week, and increased their buying power by \$13 a week (for full time work, in terms of actual buying power,—“real wages”); hours of work decreased from 63 a week in 1880 to 48 a week in 1930; wages per hour increased from 19 cents in 1880 to 72 cents in 1929 (in actual money). Buying power of average wages in terms of 1929 dollars, increased from \$21.80 a week in 1880 to \$34.75 in 1929.

**Trade Agreements**—While the American Federation of Labor is the channel through which all organized labor cooperates and as such it has influence and effectiveness, it has no existence separate from the progress and development of affiliated national and international unions. Certain broad fundamental principles are characteristic of the American labor movement and those are promoted and strengthened by the federated trade union movement.

The work of the past fifty years may be summed up as an effort to establish status in industry for wage earners, to define their relationships within industries, and to establish securities for them in their work relationships.

The prerequisite to industrial progress for wage earners is organization to mobilize and direct their forces. Organization represents consciousness of labor problems and the practicability of attacking these problems as something to be solved. The first objective of the union is a collective work contract. The unorganized worker either accepts the terms offered or hunts another job if he can afford to run the risk of unemployment. Only when workers act collectively through their chosen representatives, can they negotiate a work contract, carefully weighing each item in order to reach mutually satisfactory terms. Acting collectively, workers become party to an agreement, and their relationship to the industry becomes truly contractual. As the terms of contract or the relationships existing under a contract are more carefully defined, new fields for collective undertakings open up and the essential partnership of Labor in the production undertakings is developed and utilized as the basis of progress.

The steel workers were among the earliest to negotiate work contracts, setting up a sliding scale of wages for their industry. The cigar workers and printers adopted scales of prices which were submitted to employers as the basis for negotiations. The flint glass workers, the glass bottle blowers and the window glass workers early persuaded the employers in their industries to the practice of annual joint negotiations. In 1891 the International Iron Molders and the Stove Founders National Defense Association established the practice of conference and joint labor agreement covering the industry which has since been maintained uninterrupted.

It is unionism of this type that has been promoted through the federated trade union movement, which has helped to organize workers into unions and to federate these unions into national or international unions.

The Federation has been the instrumentality through which the collective support of all workers can be brought to the rescue of a group in an emergency, such as interruption of joint relations, a strike, lockout, the revolt of an insurgent group that refuses to

follow accepted practices of the union. The Federation has helped to secure conferences between unions and employers, to present the union's cause to the public and to political authorities.

It has served as the clearing center for information on new developments in collective bargaining so that the information might be available for all groups.

In addition to the work contract, which usually contains work rates as well as definite conditions of work and pay, the collective agreement usually provides for the interpretation of the agreement and the adjustment of disputes arising under it. More recently agreements have been including provisions for sustained cooperation in the processes of production or sales. Union-management cooperation is a more advanced expression of Labor's partnership in industry. The American Federation of Labor has reported specific developments and recommended them to unions generally. Thus the Federation has performed its service of leadership, indicating to all unions the wide possibilities of the constructive functions of unions. As a partner in production, helping to formulate rules and policies, workers can most effectively advance justice for wage earners.

During the 50 years of the Federation's service, national and international unions have made tremendous progress within their jurisdictions. The Federation has furnished the agency through which overlapping problems of trade organization have been adjusted and has promoted the spirit and practices of cooperation. It has served as the constructive force among wage earners pointing out to them that their welfare could be better advanced by sustained intelligent self-activity than through efforts to establish a new order by revolution or by legislation. It has held that freedom and progress can be achieved by thought and organization. It has been at once the most effective force for the advancement of Labor and a constructive national asset.

**Control of Workers' Time**—A fundamental in labor progress is the regulation of work-hours that enables the worker to use his time to the best advantage. Too long hours are unproductive economically and do not give the worker time to recover his work capacity for the next day. Because work-hours must be adjusted as production practices change, the shorter work-day has continued a primary objective from 1881 to 1931.

*Daily Hours of Work*—Only by reduced hours of work as well as increased pay, do workers share in the benefits of increased productivity.

The first objective was to shorten the daily work-hours so that workers might have more time for recuperation, more time for recreation and the opportunity to live a normal life in the community.

The second objective was to set up a standard that would provide the maximum efficiency. The more recent phase of the hours problem is to shorten hours in proportion to increased productivity and with reference to the total number of workers attached to the industrial undertaking.

Our first convention declared for the eight-hour day, advising all wage earners to "grasp" one idea, namely, less hours and more pay. The principle was reaffirmed each year and in 1884 the Congress recommended to all unions to direct their laws to conform to this resolution: That eight hours shall constitute a day's work after May 1, 1886. All unions mobilized their strength for this great endeavor; but, owing to the unfortunate violence that occurred on that date in Chicago, the whole movement was blocked.

Many locals were successful in getting eight hours and two internationals established the new standard for practically their whole industries.

Changing its plans so as to mobilize the strength of the labor movement behind one trade, the Federation chose the Carpenters' Union to lead the effort for 1890. After this general effort, responsibility for establishing the eight-hour day was left with the growing national and international unions.

The Federation had been promoting a federal eight-hour law which was enacted by Congress in 1892. Experiencing the usual difficulties with interpretation of the law, the Federation undertook to secure amendments and its efforts resulted in the enactment of the law of 1912, which utilizes the contractual power of the federal government. Growing social approval for the eight-hour day has helped to make this law more effective than the preceding ones.

The Federation gave its unreserved support to the railway unions' eight-hour bill, which in 1916 became the Adamson law.

Consideration is being given to the possibility of a six-hour day. The last convention of the American Federation of Labor in considering a resolution to endorse a five-day week, declared that the shortening of the work-day and work-week is an economic necessity.

*Shorter Work-week*—The first objective which the Federation advanced was one day's rest in seven. The support of the whole labor movement has aided unions seeking Sunday closing laws for their special jurisdictions. We have helped to eliminate Sunday work in those industries where such work was not imperative. Our educational and functional work has helped to make one day's rest in seven an accepted practice, sanctioned by society.

*Saturday half-holiday.* Next we raised a leisure standard—the five and a half work-week and one-half day leisure.

In 1907, the Federation endorsed the Saturday half-holiday on public works during July, August and September. In 1912 we urged the President and the Secretaries of War and Navy to order Saturday a half-holiday for the workers in navy yards and arsenals. In 1915 we urged the extension of this standard to all federal employees. As government workers realized they had to be organized in order to help themselves, they began a sustained campaign for the Saturday half-holiday year round. Through the Federation they had the backing of the entire labor movement.

In the meanwhile some trade unions were pioneering in setting up a new standard—the five-day week. With the changes in industry resulting from technical progress, it was plainly obvious that the world's work could be done and workers could be given more leisure. In 1926, the labor movement recommended the five-day week as a standard to be established in all industry.

More than a dozen states have made Saturday afternoon a legal holiday, although few, if any, have made effective provision for enforcing this or other legal holiday provisions.

In 1914 Massachusetts by popular vote provided a Saturday half-holiday without loss of pay for all laborers, workmen, and mechanics employed permanently by the state or by any of its boards or commissions.

In 1931 Congress passed a law giving the Saturday half-holiday to government service employees without reduction in pay.

**Ethical Standards to Govern Relations Between Employers and Workers**—One of the most important social contributions of the trade union movement has been to promote the development of ethical standards in the relations between workers and employers. The first essential is payment for work. The proposals of our first convention indicate how unchartered the field was. We advocated laws to abolish the order or truck system of payment and to secure to workers a first lien upon property which was the product of their labor. Without such laws workers were easily swindled out of payment for their work.

Higher ethical standards follow accumulation of facts and clearer understanding of them. As experience under factory industry began to show proper charges against industry, factory management is now expected to supply all the tools and materials of industry. Unions were instrumental in establishing this principle.

Another stage of progress was establishment of the principle of labor overhead in the adoption of workmen's compensation legislation.

Older principles of justice centered about rights to possess and use property. Wage earners possess comparatively little property and they rely for a livelihood upon their labor power. The rights of those who contribute their labor power to the processes of production were neither recognized nor understood. This was a field of personal rights. One by one Labor called attention to a specific right, tried to get it understood and accepted, then another and another until the principles of industrial relations have been somewhat definitely chartered. It is now evident that investments in production are not always material or tangible. Workers invest their creative capacities and their lives in jobs. They have a right, therefore, to demand greater security in their relationship to industry—that is, their period of employment should be definite and secure.

Formerly, the consequences of industrial accidents were put off on the unfortunate workers unless they were lucky enough to be able to carry their cases through court. Compensation legislation establishes compensation as a labor overhead which employers must be prepared to meet. Labor overhead includes expenditures necessary to maintain the staff of producing workers ready for efficient production. Various items are generally accepted, such as sanitary provisions, conveniences for clothing, provisions for eating and resting, etc. Income is the over-all necessity in labor maintenance and provisions, for security of workers' income becomes obvious as soon as industry is willing to recognize the production function co-equal with other functions—management, sales, investment of capital.

This, one of the greatest emergencies which has ever confronted our nation, gives the Federation an additional opportunity to point out the investments which producing workers have made in the plants to which they are attached and the ethical obligation of the companies to recognize these investments as obligations which the industry can meet only by continuing to supply them an opportunity to earn a living.

As the concept of business has steadily broadened from the more primitive forms which were objective and material there is need for a broadening of the ethical standards guiding relationships between those associated in those undertakings. The basis for these ethical standards will be disclosed as the economic facts are assembled and interpreted. The necessary facts are part of the experiences and lives of wage earners; hence, it is necessary as well as just to include representatives of organized wage earners in conferences and policy-making groups that are considering problems of organization, production and distribution.

The ethical and legal right of wage earners to organize and to representation by those of their own choosing rests squarely upon a principle that is a necessity as a work-rule—functional responsibility proportionate to information and service.

The business organization of our country has practically come to a standstill because industry neither comprehended nor applied principles of balance necessary to sustained prosperity. Owners of capital thought they would get richer by monopolizing the profits of production and by gambling with securities that represented honest investments. They ignored the primary principle of life that no man can safely live to himself alone—mentally, spiritually, physically or economically. Industries which refuse to pay their wage-earners their share of the returns from the products which they help to produce will pay for their unwisdom by the losses of business depression. Companies which pay less than a living wage will lose by lowered capacity of workers to produce, lowered morale, and the expense of changing personnel.

In effect, trade unions are urging upon industry collective morality so that practices which amount to stealing from wage-earners, from investors, and from buyers of finished goods, shall give way to practices guided by a sense of justice and recognition of responsibility in furthering mutual progress.

We are in a period of associated activity and need to work out its practices and ethical standards. The primary function of the trade union contributes to this end.

**What the Federation Has Contributed to Industry**—Wage-earners organized in unions are standard making groups. Union standards are also conditioning influences in the industry. Where standards become general throughout an industry, they promote stability and lay the foundations for intelligent planning and price fixing. Union demands for standards and for increasingly higher wage rates and shorter hours have compelled many industries to do intelligent cost accounting in order to know their labor costs, and to install improved machinery and technical processes. Labor's insistence upon higher standards has repeatedly created the necessity for more progressive management policies.

The collective agreement put the negotiation of work conditions upon a practical sound foundation. It has resulted in the accumulation of information relating to wage-earners' progress. It brings out the likeness between the business of wage-earners and other groups who are trying to promote their interests and get ahead in the world. Wage-earners through their unions were the pioneers in working out the principles and technique of associated activity. We have passed from the age of individual self-sufficiency to a period of interdependence of interests. Practically the whole business world is now organized for carrying on associated activities and is developing for their functions the principles that Labor discovered. It, as Labor, has conformed to the necessities of the changed economic situation. Business, however, has made the basic mistake of attempting to carry over into the associated area the principles of personal gain regardless of the costs to others. The way to avoid such mistakes is in application of the principles of unions—collective negotiation and cooperation.

The union has contributed the principle of the work contract. The legality of a contract turns upon its mutuality. Unless conditions of employment are jointly agreed upon, economic competition may force workers to accept jobs on conditions stipulated by the company which they know to be unfair. A negotiated work contract rests upon understanding of mutual interests between those associated together in carrying on an industry. The work contract establishes the idea of mutuality of interests which may

become the basis for all work relationships. From the principle of mutuality comes the idea of progress by increasing returns to the whole industry, thus making possible larger returns to all attached to it. Mutuality stimulates cooperation—a much more fundamentally sound principle than profit at the expense of co-workers.

This new principle of trade unions looks to progress on a higher level of achievement. Even though the beginnings of such developments are scattered their possibilities are rich. There is readily available the materials out of which they may be fashioned.

*Principles of Time Economies*—Unions hold that the work-day and work-week are standards to be adjusted as work conditions change. In the early days of the Federation most employers believed that the longer the work-day the greater their advantage. Labor has held that the standard affording greater individual work capacity balanced against increasing productivity fixes a work-day most conducive to sustained industrial progress. Work experience and industrial data are necessary for determination of the standard.

Time is an asset which must be conserved and utilized as carefully as material wealth. With mass production and increasing kinds of conveniences to improve material standards of living, it becomes important that the masses of people—the wage earners—should have the leisure to buy and use the output of industries. Leisure, together with higher incomes, is indispensable to make large increases in national consumption.

*High Wage Principle*—Wages are more than compensation for Labor. In the field of wages, Labor has also helped industry to realize the interdependence between the various factors in the economic structure. Employers argued that lower wages meant lower labor costs and higher profits. Labor has shown employers—some against their will—that higher wages meant more efficient, higher grade workers and lower labor costs per unit of production. Our efforts have succeeded to the extent that American employers now acclaim with pride our American high wage principle.

There are industrial areas and new industries that refuse to learn from the experience of the older business undertakings. They will be a drag upon progress for all until they learn the principles of associated activities which characterize the present age. Wages are something more than the price of labor. They represent the credit upon which retail markets depend and all business undertakings are ultimately dependent upon these retail markets. With the trend to mass production, production is geared for mass buying. For mass buying there must be wage rates that provide workers with adequate consuming power. Experience has proven that installment buying and other forms of deferred payment are not a substitute for higher wages. Industries must make sure that retail buying power is adequate.

*Principles of Personnel Relations*—During the life time of our Federation, management in industry has developed as a separate function. By emphasizing and forcing attention on the functions and rights of wage earners, unions have helped management to realize the significance of the human factor in carrying out production orders. Unions have helped engineers to see that their plans must take account not only of materials, tools and technical processes, but of the wills and capacities of those who handle tools and materials.

Management technique has included in its practices provisions for personnel relations. Even when the organization of personnel relations denies workers the right to collective decisions through agencies of their own making and under their own control, the external forms of collective relations are in themselves an acceptance of a funda-

mental union principle. The spirit of the principle accepts Labor as an indispensable element in production and provides for participation in industrial decisions accordingly.

We must move toward full industrial and social acceptance of wage earners organized in unions, in order to have a balanced progress that can avoid periodic breakdowns.

By practical demonstrations in union-management cooperation we have shown that the organization of personnel relations can be put upon a higher level of effectiveness than when developed as an extension of management's functions. The union makes a distinctive contribution of great practical value through cooperation with management. The basis of cooperation makes it possible for wage-earners to contribute their work experience to the problems of increasing efficiency. The cooperation of those performing the production processes is indispensable to production economies and quality standards of production.

Our unions have demonstrated that organization of wage-earners in trade unions is an agency essential to the best management organization and to more efficient production.

*Greater Efficiency*—Our demands for shorter hours and more pay have forced many industries to install improved machinery and processes. The problem of meeting Labor's demands in some industries resulted in cost accounting systems which included labor costs. This kind of information is essential to planning and intelligent negotiations.

Unions helped to point out that a most important part of management's work must be done on the job when earlier types of scientific management attempted to organize central bureaus of control and to treat workers as only human machines. We have pointed out the value of the creative contribution we can make to industry and that management methods which ignore the minds and wills of workers are not truly scientific.

Realizing that vocational education is necessary for craftsmanship in industry, unions have worked for adequate educational institutions and for adequate training. We have opposed training for operations or a division of a craft. We believe adequate education is necessary for that adjustability that will assure sustained usefulness in industry.

*Regularization*—Unions have compelled attention to need for regular work in order that wage-earners might plan their living. By organizing the labor market of a company or a local industry, the union has been able to put continuity into the work of a group. For example, the street car men through their union have put regularity into the work of that group; longshoremen, by organizing their market, have systematized their work. Many unions have operated employment bureaus to provide members with consecutive employment.

In addition to regularizing employment for individuals, unions are ready to accept as a function cooperation to regularize production in the company to which they are attached. Regularity of production is essential to regularity of employment. The initiative in such undertakings rests with management—but the Federation has approved and urged the policy.

*A Constructive Agency*—The basic contribution of the union is to supply industry with an agency that will direct labor thinking and policies in accord with constructive principles, which can be depended upon to bring to daily as well as emergency problems practical understanding and desire to work out solutions that will be of lasting benefit.

It is an agency through which an important element in production can make

intelligent and ordered progress, and make its relationships with management constructive, adjusting as industry develops.

**Contributions to Education**—When the Federation was organized, earlier trade unions had already established our public school system. Upon us devolved responsibility for helping to develop and enrich educational opportunities which the schools offer, increasing the number of children attending school and the duration of their school lives.

The first convention of the Federation declared against the employment of children under 14 in any occupation. Now, all but two states have made 14 years the minimum age for work; 7 states have a minimum of 15 years; 36 states provide an eight-hour day or a 44 or 48-hour week for children under 16; 43 states prohibit night work for children; 2 states have made 16 years the minimum.

Fifty years ago only 8 states had a minimum age for factory work. Connecticut, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New Jersey and Vermont had a 10-year limit. Rhode Island had a 12-year minimum for factories; Wisconsin, a 12-year minimum for certain factories for work during school hours; Pennsylvania, a 13-year minimum for textile mills.

Hours of work for children were regulated in 16 states. One state had a 8-hour day law; 11 states a 10-hour day; one an 11-hour day for children under 15; one a sunrise to sunset provision for whites under 21; one a 60-hour week; one state prohibited night work.

In 1881 compulsory school attendance laws had been enacted by the following states:

Massachusetts, Vermont, New Hampshire, Michigan, Washington, Connecticut, New Mexico, Nevada, New York, Kansas, California, Maine, New Jersey, Wyoming, Ohio, Wisconsin, and the District of Columbia.

Every state now has a compulsory school attendance law. In 28 states attendance is required, throughout the state, up to the age of 16, and in 15 states the upper age limit is 17 or 18, at least in some localities.

Within the past few years laws have been passed in 27 states requiring children up to the age of 18 years to attend part-time continuation schools. The weakness in this law, however, lies in the fact that proper provision is not made for the establishment of such part-time schools—only 20 of these states requiring the establishment of the schools. The attendance required in most states varies from 4 to 8 hours weekly and in most states the time spent in continuation schools is to be counted as part of the child's legal working hours.

Employment certificates, or work permits, are required for children employed in factories (in most states also in stores and numerous other occupations) in 45 states and the District of Columbia. These certificates are required in most states for working children up to 16 years of age and a few states extend the requirement to children up to 17 or 18.

Most states have a definite educational requirement as a condition to granting work permits. Sixteen states, and the District of Columbia require the completion of at least the eighth grade for the issuance of regular employment certificates, and 7 of these permit exemptions under certain conditions. The laws of 17 states either (1) have no educational requirement at all or (2) fix no definite grade standard, merely requiring ability to read and write and in some instances to know simple elements of arithmetic.

Thirty-three states have made legal provisions with regard to a child's physical

ability before granting work permits, but only 25 of these (2 with certain exemptions) and the District of Columbia make an examination by a physician mandatory before a child may receive a regular employment certificate. Eight of these states authorize the requirement of an examination at the discretion of the certificate issuing officer.

The labor movement has been concerned with the extension of compulsory school attendance laws. Child labor laws are difficult to enforce without school attendance requirements.

In addition to assuring children protection in their educational opportunities, the American Federation of Labor has helped to promote the following educational policies:

Free text books in the public schools.

Reduction in the size of classes so that children might have adequate instruction and supervision.

Text books for social subjects to reflect a comprehensive presentation of civics, political economy and history.

A rich curriculum to advance the purpose of training for citizenship.

The American Federation of Labor had a primary part in extending public school instruction to the field of industrial training and was likewise instrumental in securing the enactment of the Smith-Hughes Act under which the Federal Board for Vocational Education was authorized. It is now concerned that vocational training shall have that flexibility that will mean adjustment to modern problems and economic conditions.

The Federation advocates vocational guidance, continuation schools for boys and girls granted work certificates, night schools for adults, a wider use of school plants.

We have urged tenure positions for teachers in the public schools, higher compensation for their services, and the necessary independence in instruction, as well as participation by classroom teachers in the formulation of educational policies. We have also asked the further opportunity to organize to promote their professional interests.

We have endorsed special campaigns to eliminate adult illiteracy, special classes for teaching English to non-English speaking people, vocational re-training for the unemployed.

We have promoted undertakings in workers' education and asked for wider opportunities for all adults through resident and non-resident classes in tax supported colleges and universities.

We have urged labor representation upon boards of education and as directors of public libraries. We have also urged larger appropriations for public libraries in order that they might extend their educational opportunities for both minors and adults.

**Contributions to Politics**—We have advocated measures to put principles of democracy to actual practice.

To prevent employers from rounding up his workers and taking them to the polls to vote as directed, the American Federation of Labor advocated and helped to establish private balloting or the Australian system.

We were among the early advocates of women's suffrage and supported this cause through the adoption of the XIX Amendment.

We were advocates of principles of popular control of government, the initiative, referendum and recall. The support of the labor movement helped to incorporate these measures in state constitutions and statutes.

We worked for an amendment to authorize the election of senators directly by the voters of a state.

We have helped to write primary laws into practically all state laws.

In addition to these fundamental objective contributions the labor movement has fostered the spirit and purposes of democracy by supplying the technique for enabling workers effective participation in politics. By developing the non-partisan method wage earners have been able to secure action on vital principles without institutionalizing our political strength. Non-partisan political activity has given us a determining influence in elections and in the enactment of laws.

We have prevented the election of reactionaries without a broad vision of national progress. We have helped in the election of constructive representatives to be trusted with public authority. We have helped to secure the election and the appointment of judges who conceive of justice as equity in the concrete problems of life and work, and not merely as a system of precedents.

Because we believe that all problems have to be finally thought through and practical plans made for working out of difficulties, the American Federation of Labor has consistently supported treaties providing for arbitration to adjust differences with other nations. We believe world peace is necessary to human happiness and progress; therefore, we believe there should be permanent institutions to which international problems could be submitted.

**Protection to Wage Earner Incomes**—All states have laws regulating the method of wage payment. There is no law, however, for the District of Columbia.

*Attachment for Debts and Garnishee*—Every state in the union has enacted legislation regulating the attachment of wages for debts. The amount of the exemption varies in the various states. Some exempt wages for a given number of days while others stipulate the percentage which may be collected for a given period. The exemption by days varies from 30 to 90 days for the preceding 3 months. The amount exempted by states having this type of provision ranges from \$15 in Illinois to \$180 in Wisconsin. The wages of a minor child are exempt in many states.

Wage exemption applies not only to execution for debts but also to garnishment of wages—a proceeding by which the plaintiff in an action seeks to reach the wages of the defendant by calling in a third party (the employer or someone indebted to the employee).

*Assignment of Wages*—Assignments of wages are safeguarded in many ways, such as requirement of recording such assignment, consent of the employers, or joint assignment by husband and wife. In 1911 Missouri enacted an act which was a good example of law regarding the recording of assignments which has proved most effective. Assignments to secure loans or future advances are void in Georgia and Massachusetts, and all assignments of future earnings are prohibited in Indiana.

*Homestead Exemption*—All states have enacted legislation exempting the tools of ones trade or profession from execution, together with homestead exemption, which applies to both acreage and value. In most states the claimant must be a householder or the head of a family in order to get the exemption—although in a few states any person may be entitled to the exemption. Rural homestead exemptions may vary from 50 to 100 acres and city homesteads from 1 lot to 1 acre (5 acres in one state). Exempt monetary limits are \$500 to \$5,000. In Nebraska homesteads are not exempt from

execution of judgments on debts secured by mechanics, laborers, or venders liens upon the premises.

*Time and Method of Wage Payment*—Two-thirds of the states of the United States have laws dealing with time and method of payment of wages. Most of these laws provide for semi-monthly payment. Rhode Island has a weekly payment law. Several states (Massachusetts for one) provide that wages shall be paid during working hours. Most states provide that an employee shall be paid immediately upon discharge and for delay thereafter penalties are imposed—in the case of Iowa \$1 per day, up to twice the amount of the wages due. In some cases the penalty is 5 per cent a year for the cost of the delay and attorneys fees if necessary to procure wages from the employer. The usual requirement is that when an employee quits he shall be paid at the next regular pay day.

*Place of Payment*—Most states provide that wages shall be paid on the premises. California and Nevada provide that payment of wages shall be made to no one in bar rooms except those employed therein.

*Mechanics' Liens*—All states have mechanics' lien laws. Mechanics' lien legislation seeks to give the laborer a claim for the payment of what is due him, backed by the security of the structure or land on which he has been employed. Contractors in most states are required to post bond to secure the payment of wages.

Mechanics' lien legislation exists in all states and extends to labor performed on public works, railroads, mines, and on the land as well as to lumber, construction, etc. Such liens are generally ranked as coming before other claims. All states and the federal government have laws providing that in cases of assignments, administrations and receiverships due to death or bankruptcy the wages of servants and employees, up to a definite sum and for work done within a limited time, shall be paid next after fees, costs and taxes.

Indiana, Massachusetts, Michigan, New York, North Carolina, North Dakota, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania and Tennessee have laws which make stockholders in certain designated corporations liable for debts owed employees for labor. Wisconsin has a similar law, except that same applies to every corporation except railroads.

*Compensation*—All of the states of the union had workmen's compensation acts at the beginning of the year 1929 except Arkansas, Florida, Mississippi, North Carolina and South Carolina. The laws of North Dakota and Ohio and the federal statute covering federal employees are outstanding in their breadth of application—awarding the disabled workman 66⅔ per cent of wages (within certain limits) during the entire period of disability. In permanent cases, of course, this means life. In North Dakota the limit is \$20 a week, maximum and \$6 per week minimum, except that if full wages be less than \$6 per week full wages be paid. The Arizona Act adopted in 1925 fixes no maximum weekly limit. In many states, however, the percentage is considerably lower as is also the maximum provided. In most states also there is a maximum period provided beyond which compensation is no longer payable. Time limitations for total permanent disability vary from 260 to 1000 weeks, and money limitations from \$3,000 to \$6,000. Most states provide funeral benefits and some states grant pensions to widows for life, or until remarriage, and 10 per cent for each child additional, the total not to exceed 66⅔ per cent.

*Rehabilitation*—Rehabilitation includes all that can be done by surgery, general

reeducation, technical retraining, and assistance in finding reemployment to enable disabled workers to again become self-supporting. Massachusetts was the first state to act, establishing a rehabilitation program by law in 1918. By 1926 forty states had undertaken similar work. Plans usually call for cooperation between the state compensation and educational authorities and the federal government.

Liability under compensation laws is commonly covered by some form of insurance. Nearly all states compel employers to insure their risks unless they can give satisfactory evidence of their ability to bear losses due to accidents, even if very serious.

**Special Industries**—In addition to our efforts to secure general legislation we have supported unions working for regulations for their special industries, such as barbers, plumbers, miners, engineers. The union of workers directly concerned always took the initiative in this type of legislation. Such legislation is in public interest as it prescribes regulation to maintain craftsmanship, to prevent accidents and injuries to people.

We have helped the seamen get legislation giving them the rights of free men. The seamen were the last of the bondmen—bidden to quit their jobs.

We have supplied the public and the legislatures with evidences of need to make factory inspection more effective and have helped to secure the necessary legislation.

By strikes and by educational methods we have contributed to the establishment of sanitary conditions in industry. When conditions were unbearable we struck and thus called attention to needs that employers, architects and technicians could help remedy.

**Women's Legislation**—The Federation has advocated the principle of protective legislation for women in addition to urging those in industry to unite in trade unions in order to have a voice in their work conditions. In the early years of the Federation, legal and social differences made the problems of women workers different from those of men. We have advocated limitation of the work day, the abolition of night work, and a minimum wage by legislation.

Our success in securing such legislation has not only benefited women workers but has protected men against competition with lower standards.

We have held that married women owe a primary obligation to the home and that the husband's wage should be adequate to care for the family. To protect the home in case of the death of the wage earner, we have advocated mothers' pensions. Forty-five states have enacted mothers' aid laws, providing for widows and children, deserted mothers, mothers whose husbands are incapacitated.

To help women to gain a public standing equal to men, we early urged the appointment of women factory inspectors, women's suffrage, special studies of women's and children's labor problems, so as to have the basis for a constructive program. We advocated proposals for a women's bureau and a children's bureau, holding that the welfare for women and children entails the welfare of the race.

**Hours of Labor for Women**—Forty-three states have laws that limit the number of hours of work for women; 9 states and the District of Columbia have 8-hour laws; 16 states allow more than 8 hours or less than 10 hours; 18 states allow 10 or more hours; and 5 states (Alabama, Florida, Indiana, Iowa, and West Virginia) by 1926 had no restrictions on hours of work for women. In the five states with no restrictions, however, comparatively few women industrial workers are found. By 1926, many had limited hours of work to 8 or 9, and about three-fourth had a weekly limit of less than 60 hours.

**Night Work**—California, Connecticut, Delaware, Indiana, Kansas, Massachusetts, Nebraska, New Jersey, New York, North Dakota, Ohio, Oregon, Pennsylvania, South

Carolina, Washington, Wisconsin, prohibit night work for women in certain industries or occupations.\*

All states and the District of Columbia have laws regulating the employment of children at night.

There has been no legislation enacted in the United States prohibiting night work for men, although a number of foreign countries have enacted legislation regulating night work for men workers. Mexico, Russia, Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, Netherlands, Norway, Finland, Italy, France, Germany, Switzerland, Belgium, Chili, Uruguay and New South Wales have enacted legislation regulating employment of men at night. In some other countries like regulations have been acted by municipalities.

**Social Service of the Federation**—The functions of trade unions in the interests of the working people are without limit, declared the Federation convention in 1905. Because trade unions have steered their courses by a vision of the wholeness of life, our labor movement has been practical, constructive and continuous.

Basic for social progress is command of opportunities and leisure. Workers, realizing that they do not have the comforts and opportunities that are available to other groups of citizens, set themselves to the problem of getting those things that will give them and their dependents a bigger life with wider opportunities. This is the problem of the union. Economic achievements constitute the foundation which opens the way to other opportunities. High wages make possible higher standards of living for additional families. Shorter work-hours make leisure possible for wage-earners. Leisure makes possible for wage-earners varied interests and wider opportunities for self-development.

Realizing that wage-earners do not have the same opportunity to advance their interests as do other business groups and that their efforts do not meet with the same social approval, the Federation has tried to define the rights of wage-earners. Individual wage-earners are powerless to control the conditions of their lives and work while collective or group action brings the power to choose and bargain. In the early days our right to organize for collective action was challenged legally and condemned as conspiracy. It was the organized labor movement that pointed out the inadequacy of existing legal concepts and that the concrete facts of work and the work relationship make necessary the development of standards of justice to apply to these specific situations.

When the Federation was formed, unions had to contend against a conviction of employers that they had an absolute right to make all of the decisions of industry and that any effort of wage-earners to object or make decisions was unwarranted intrusion. Should workers unite to express opinions collectively, that was "conspiracy". Nothing was left workers but to use force in self-defense and advancement of their interests. Workers had two economic weapons—the strike and the boycott. Our arly labor conflicts were contested fiercely.

We found warfare not only wasteful, but settling nothing, only postponing necessary concessions and agreements. We began to develop a constructive program for the underprivileged, planning for them to share in national wealth and progress. We believe that all human beings should order their lives so as to make the greatest possible progress. In a very definite sense, this is the business of the wage-earner. He should

\* The main objections to night work for women have been physical and moral. It has been demonstrated that there is moral and physical danger surrounding women who work at night. Furthermore night work laws have proved a valuable aid in enforcing acts fixing the maximum period of employment.

conduct this business in the most efficient way and his successes should have public approval just as do the achievements of the successful business man.

Techniques for conducting the business of the wage-earners constructively are essential to industrial and social progress. The agencies and the methods that enable the wage-earner to advance himself deserve the moral support of public approval.

Individual wage-earners are powerless to deal with their separate problems. Associated action—the union—means the development of an agency that will enable wage-earners to have some control over forces and decisions that condition their lives. Union means the beginning of a planned and ordered life for wage-earners. The American Federation of Labor has helped to stimulate and unify the efforts of wage-earners to build themselves unions that have brought order and progress into their work lives.

As soon as unions achieved economic existence they had to secure legally the right to existence and effective functioning. This has meant an expansion of judicial concepts and legislative enactments. We have had to contend against the doctrine of conspiracy, that is, unlawful federation, and restraint of trade. We have made some progress in these 50 years in establishing the right of wage-earners to make progress, but there is still much to be done to establish a fundamental judicial principle. Justice must grow out of the facts of the situation. It cannot come from the formal application of precedents. There must be a sustained effort to vitalize the formulas of justice by discriminating interpretation of the facts and forces of human life. Our protests against injustice have helped to broaden concepts of justice and the scope of legal enactments.

At the same time that wage-earners were fashioning their tool for progress (the union) they have been formulating and working toward the realization of definite goals in their plan for social progress. The Federation has never restricted the purposes to be accomplished by our trade union movement. As we said in our 1905 convention, the functions of trade unions in the interests of the working people are without limit.

One of our first and sustained objectives has been to provide equal educational opportunities for all. Before the establishment of the public school system, educational opportunities were limited to those who could afford to pay. The Federation builded upon this foundation laid by the earlier labor movements and has helped to secure compulsory school attendance legislation in the various states and to perfect these laws by steadily raising standards, until now the school age limit is 18 in 8 states; 17 years in 7; 16 years in 28. We have steadily worked for child labor restrictive laws to supplement school attendance provisions. All states have legislation regulating the labor of children. Mothers' pension laws have been passed in 42 states and the District of Columbia. The Federation will continue to urge the improvement of these laws and their administration until every child is assured full opportunity for the full development of its physical, mental and spiritual powers. To achieve this end state laws must be supplemented by federal legislation.

The Federation has contributed materially to raising the percentage of the school population enrolled in elementary and secondary schools from 65.5 per cent in 1880 to 81.5 per cent in 1928.

*Improved Standards of Living*—There have been amazing changes in material standards of living in the past 50 years. Unions which have lead in increasing wages and decreasing hours, have enabled their members to provide material comforts for their families. Bath tubs, telephones, electric light, kitchen sinks, radios, automobiles,

have been added to workers' households. Union wage-earners are now able to give their families more adequate medical care, balanced diet, better clothing, and recreation.

Unions have steadily opposed a cost of living basis for wages, maintaining that comfort, saving, leisure, cultural bases should be the measuring rods.

*Labor Statistics*—Our first convention commending the creation of state bureaus of labor statistics, urged the authorization of a national bureau of labor statistics. Facts are necessary to show conditions and trends and unions have steadily advocated the extension of statistical and fact-finding services. Our agitation has resulted in acceptance of the principle until now many states have such bureaus.

*Controlling the Labor Market*—The first convention of the Federation began an attack upon the problem of controlling the labor market. The measures proposed were to remedy outstanding evils such as the importation of foreign laborers under contract, contract prison labor, protection from cheap labor of foreign countries. Our specific demands pointed to the need of national policy in order that we might maintain control over the makeup of our nation instead of giving over the selection to others.

One of the major problems discussed by our 1881 convention was convict labor and how to protect free labor against evils growing out of the prison contract system. We pointed out that the system degraded the prisoners and provided opportunities for corruption in the government and in industry. As the first step to eliminate this evil we recommended the repeal of laws legalizing contract prison labor.

Realizing that work would help accomplish the purpose of imprisonment the Federation urged legislation to prohibit the sale of convict made goods in competition with free labor, and opposition to contracting or leasing of convicts. We further urged that prison made goods, shipped in interstate commerce, be made subject to the laws of the state into which they are shipped.

Finally, in 1930 we were instrumental in getting the enactment of legislation enabling states to prohibit the importation within their jurisdiction of the articles produced by the convicts of other states. Thus there is secured to each state control over the products of convict labor. As a constructive measure we are urging the states-use principle as the basis of prison labor progress.

The result of the long, sustained effort to control prison labor constructively make it possible for free industries and workers to resist exploitation through unequal competition with unfree labor, and to set up constructive convict labor principles.

*Immigration Policy*—Trade unions began urging the need of a regulatory policy for immigration when we realized that immigrants from certain nationalities did not readily adjust to American customs and standards of living and that there was a danger of dragging conditions down to the level of those countries from which the immigrants came—a danger increased in proportion to the volume entering our industries.

Early in the Federation's activity we urged the exclusion of Oriental workers because we believed the social difficulties offered insuperable barriers to assimilation. In 1882 Congress enacted a law which we advocated, excluding Chinese immigration.

We advocated the passage of legislation to prevent the importation of foreign laborers under contract. Steamship companies and interested employers were inducing immigration for the purpose of having a continuous supply of cheap labor. The first contract labor law was enacted in 1885. Revision of this law in 1917 enlarged its scope.

Through our trade unions we gave practical aid to immigrants exploited

under padrone and similar systems. Our influence was everywhere exercised for opportunities for development along lines of intelligent self-direction. As an organized group in 1896 we declared for regulation of immigration along such lines as would permit assimilation of immigrants and the preservation of American standards. This proposal was defeated by presidential vetoes until a crucial emergency, which tested the unity of our nation, convinced all of the value of our proposal and the immigration restriction law of 1917 was enacted. This law proved a most constructive protection for our country during the reactionary years following the war.

The Federation by protecting the rights and interests of the numerically important wage-earning group was promoting the welfare of the nation by advocating an essential practice.

*Tools of Progress*—One of the most important contributions the American Federation of Labor has made to the nation is the development of labor institutions along principles of adequate compensation for wage-earners so that they will be able to order their own lives instead of applying to government agencies and funds for provisions for emergencies. Trade unions have been working toward standards of independence and self-competence which we believe are the proper standards for human development.

Steering our course by principles of voluntarism, we have steadily resisted efforts to impose compulsion upon workers whether in the form of investigation, arbitration, or governmental regimentation. By our insistence upon voluntarism, we have helped to prevent the crystallization of class barriers and have kept unrestricted our opportunities for progress. At the same time we have been struggling to give wage-earners the agency and methods for making use of these opportunities. Our policy has been to avoid the extension of government regulation and control to private industry. We have always welcomed the fact-finding, service functions of government—these are help without hindrance.

Our fifty years of service have helped to give this country upstanding workers with the highest wage levels in the world and the highest standards of living. We have ahead of us the problem of extending these gains to backward areas while steadily advancing the standards for those in the front ranks of progress.

#### **EXTENT OF UNEMPLOYMENT**

The first step toward solution of a problem is to discover the facts about it. Owing in large measure to the legislative efforts of the American Federation of Labor, we now have a government census giving authoritative information on unemployment for all persons in the United States. It reveals a number of significant facts which had never before been known.

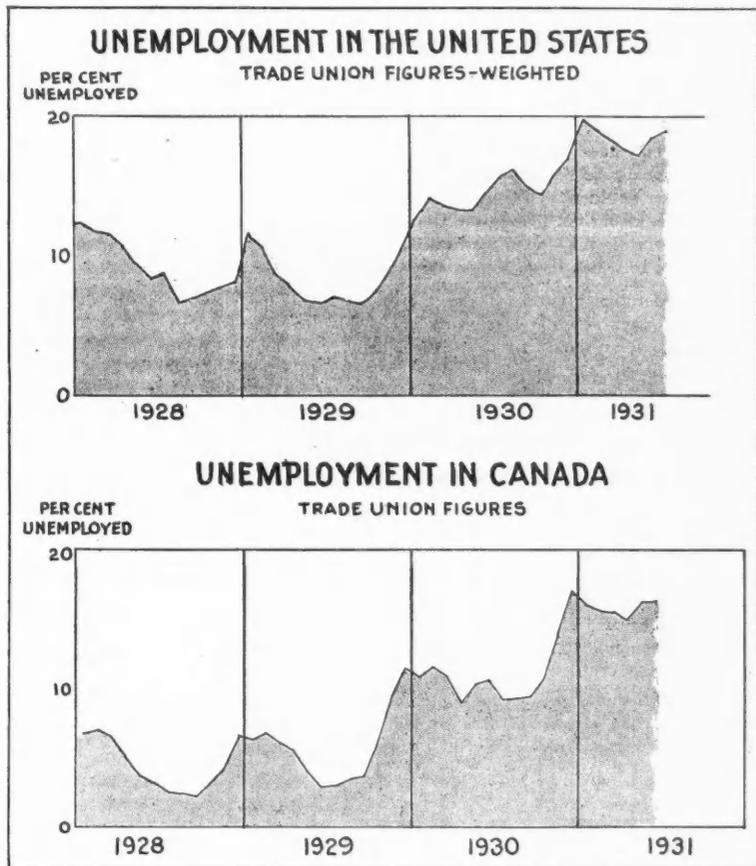
The census showed 3,187,647 persons out of work in April 1930; less than one-fourth of them were on layoff and had jobs to which they thought they could return; 2,429,062 were entirely without jobs. Owing to the business depression, this figure is undoubtedly higher than in normal years.

Of those without jobs 42 per cent were heads of families. This means that over one million families were without their main sources of income or with no income at all. And they were forced to remain so for a considerable time.

The difficulty of finding a new job is shown strikingly. Although depression was not nearly so severe in April 1930 as since then, the majority (55 per cent) of those without jobs had been unemployed for more than 2 months; 40 per cent had been out of

work over three months and 14 per cent had been out for over six months. These figures indicate one major problem: to speed up the contact between unemployed worker and job.

A large proportion of the unemployed were over 45 years of age. Of all those 20 years old and over, 34 per cent were over 45 and 16 per cent were over 55 years old.



The exact significance of these figures will be known when the census publishes its report showing the numbers of all workers over 45. In any case, it is clear that unemployment strikes those over 45 severely.

Figures for different industries show the sore spots of unemployment. The highest

percentage for any large industrial group was in coal mines where 20.2 per cent of all those gainfully occupied were out of work. Building came second with 19 per cent unemployed; automobiles third with 13.2 per cent out of work. Manufacturing industries in general had 8.9 per cent out of work. No other large industrial group had more than 6.5 per cent unemployed.

The lowest unemployment was in government and professional work (each 2.8 per cent); in trade (3.9 per cent) and among farm laborers (4.9 per cent, since the spring planting season was under way in April); and in transportation (6.4 per cent).

**The Census of 1931**—To discover the number out of work in the worst season of the year, a census of unemployment was taken in 19 cities in January, 1931. It has given us exceedingly valuable data, especially so because January actually was the month of worst unemployment thus far.

The January census showed more than twice as many unemployed as in April 1930, in these 19 cities. The increase was 148 per cent.

On the basis of these figures, the Department of Commerce estimated that 6,300,000 were out of work in the United States in January 1931. Of these 250,000 were on layoff and had jobs to which they thought they could return.

**The Federation Figures**—These two censuses have provided essential unemployment information which was never before available. But we still lack government figures to provide a month by month barometer of unemployment in all industry and in different cities. The Bureau of Labor Statistics now furnishes employment indexes in most of the important industrial fields. But the American Federation of Labor is the only organization gathering monthly figures on unemployment representing industry in general. We also publish the only monthly estimates of total unemployment in the United States.

These monthly figures are exceedingly important. They enable the country to keep constantly in touch with unemployment developments. Reports from trade unions now represent over 2,500 unions with a membership of 750,000.

As our reports have been kept up continuously since 1928 we have a four years' record for comparison. The graph below shows the increase in unemployment in 1930 and 1931. Estimating the average number out of work in industry each year on the basis of these figures, we can supplement the figures of Wesley Mitchell of the National Bureau of Economic Research and show unemployment in the United States for the last eleven years.

The graph shows clearly the winter increase in unemployment each year. If as large a proportion of wage-earners are laid off from industrial plants this year as in normal years, we shall have 7,000,000 unemployed by January next year.

*Estimated Average Minimum Unemployment in U. S. 1920-1931*  
(Non-agricultural wage and salaried workers)

| Year       | Average Minimum Unemployment | Per Cent Unemployed |
|------------|------------------------------|---------------------|
| 1920.....  | 1,401,000                    | 5.1                 |
| 1921.....  | 4,270,000                    | 15.3                |
| 1922.....  | 3,441,000                    | 12.1                |
| 1923.....  | 1,532,000                    | 5.2                 |
| 1924.....  | 2,315,000                    | 7.7                 |
| 1925.....  | 1,775,000                    | 5.7                 |
| 1926.....  | 1,669,000                    | 5.2                 |
| 1927.....  | 2,055,000                    | 6.3                 |
| 1928*..... | 2,707,000                    | 9.2                 |
| 1929*..... | 2,413,000                    | 8.2                 |
| 1930*..... | 4,267,000                    | 14.5                |
| 1931†..... | 5,415,000                    | 18.4                |

\* Estimated from trade union figures on basis of U. S. Census of Unemployment in January, 1931.

† Eight months.

**Unemployment in Canada**—The trend of unemployment in Canada has been similar to that in the United States. In 1930, average unemployment was nearly double that of 1929, according to trade union figures, and in the fall of 1930, from September on, it rose rapidly—more rapidly than in the United States. In June this year, the level of unemployment in Canada had nearly reached that of the United States, with 16.3 per cent of the union membership out of work compared to 18.2 per cent in the United States.

*Unemployment in the United States and Canada—Trade Union Figures—Per Cent Unemployed*

|                | United States<br>(Weighted figures) |      |      |       | Canada |      |      |       |
|----------------|-------------------------------------|------|------|-------|--------|------|------|-------|
|                | 1928                                | 1929 | 1930 | 1931  | 1928   | 1929 | 1930 | 1931  |
| January.....   | 12.1                                | 11.3 | 12.5 | 19.8  | 6.8    | 6.3  | 10.8 | 16.0  |
| February.....  | 11.9                                | 10.6 | 14.0 | 19.0  | 7.0    | 6.8  | 11.5 | 15.6  |
| March.....     | 11.8                                | 8.5  | 13.6 | 18.1  | 6.5    | 6.0  | 10.8 | 15.5  |
| April.....     | 10.5                                | 7.9  | 13.3 | 17.6  | 5.2    | 5.5  | 9.0  | 14.9  |
| May.....       | 9.1                                 | 6.7  | 13.3 | 17.1  | 3.7    | 4.0  | 10.3 | 16.2  |
| June.....      | 8.1                                 | 6.6  | 14.3 | 18.2  | 3.2    | 2.9  | 10.6 | 16.3  |
| July.....      | 8.4                                 | 6.9  | 15.7 | 18.8  | 2.5    | 3.0  | 9.2  | ..... |
| August.....    | 6.8                                 | 6.7  | 16.0 | 18.4* | 2.4    | 3.5  | 9.3  | ..... |
| September..... | 7.0                                 | 6.6  | 14.6 | ..... | 2.2    | 3.7  | 9.4  | ..... |
| October.....   | 7.2                                 | 7.3  | 14.1 | ..... | 3.1    | 6.0  | 10.8 | ..... |
| November.....  | 7.6                                 | 8.7  | 15.9 | ..... | 4.2    | 9.3  | 13.8 | ..... |
| December.....  | 10.0                                | 10.3 | 16.6 | ..... | 6.6    | 11.4 | 17.0 | ..... |
| Average.....   | 9.2                                 | 8.2  | 14.5 | 18.4  | 4.5    | 5.7  | 11.0 | 15.8  |

\*Preliminary.

**Emergency Unemployment Program for Winter 1931-32**—It now seems probable that there may be at least 7,000,000 persons unemployed next winter. To meet this crisis we suggest the following program:

1. Maintain wages; 2. Shorten work hours; 3. Assure employment to minimum work forces; 4. Each employer to take on additional workers; 5. Create work through public building; 6. Strengthen employment agencies; 7. Keep young persons in school to prevent their taking jobs from older men and women; 8. Preference for workers with dependents; 9. Financial relief from public and private funds.

*1. Maintain Wages*—This is a preventative measure. Workers' buying power must be maintained so that demand for goods will be kept up and employment may not fall to any lower levels. It is essential also to maintain American living standards, for wage levels recover slowly. The wage liquidation of 1921 retarded workers' progress by more than eight years. For by 1929, wage-earners had not entirely regained the 1921 losses.

Falling wages have an affect on business comparable to falling prices. Falling prices start a competition in price reductions, each firm trying to secure business by reducing its price a little below others. Thus the price is driven down, in some cases even below production costs. At such times purchasers hold back their orders as long as possible to take advantage of the lowest price. Wage reductions would start a toboggan slide of wages similar to that of prices in the last year and a half. Though wages were reduced below the minimum living standard, customers would still put off their orders to wait for further reductions. Both commodity and labor markets would be thoroughly disorganized. Such a policy retards business recovery.

*2. Shorten Work-Hours*—Work-hours should be shortened to divide the available work among all workers. We estimate that if unemployment and part time increase as much this winter as they do in normal years, there will be approximately 36-hours' work a week for all wage-earners in the United States. The universal establishment of the five-day week would keep the nation's wage-earners at work, making all producers and consumers. There are some industries where the step from present hours of work to the five-day week would not be difficult, for hours are already 44 or 48 a week. But other industries and many individual plants are still working a 9- or 10-hour day and 50- or 55-hour week, and a few even have an 11-hour day and a 60-hour week. It is particularly important that hours be shortened in these establishments so as to level the work-week and make it uniform for all. This measure is essential to meet the present emergency this winter. It is even more essential to protect our economic future. For unless modern industrial improvements are balanced with a reduction of work-hours we shall have a constant increase of technological unemployment. Giving the workers leisure instead of unemployment means moral and spiritual progress for the people of the United States; economically it means that we keep them as creators of wealth and consumers of industry's products, instead of dependants on charity and a drain on our national resources. Shortening work-hours will help to make possible sections 3 and 4.

*3. Assure Employment to Minimum Work Forces*—All employers to assure employment to their minimum work force at least from November to April. It is entirely possible for almost any employer to judge from past experience and from a survey of present conditions in his own business the number of employees he will need as a minimum force for these 6 months. If every employer in the United States were to do this, some 20,000,000 wage-earners could plan their purchases ahead with confidence for 6

months. In six months many installment purchases could be entirely paid for, so that this renewed confidence on the part of wage-earners would result not only in a release of the cash workers are now hoarding against unemployment, but also in an increase of installment purchases. We estimate that the increased spending resulting from employment assurance, if all employers cooperated, would amount to well over one billion dollars. This is enough to make a decided impression on the trend of industrial production.

Employment assurance is a creative substitute for unemployment insurance. Employment assurance keeps men at work creating wealth and establishes the confidence essential for the consumption of that wealth; it strengthens the forces leading to business recovery. Unemployment insurance subsidizes idleness and turns the nation's resources to unproductive ends; in the long run it retards real progress. It would be unwise to meet a temporary emergency by a permanent measure which diverts wealth to unconstructive ends.

4. *Each Employer to Take on Additional Workers*—There are about 3,000,000 employers in the United States, excluding farmers. It seems possible that there will be 7,000,000 unemployed by January of the coming winter. If all employers were to take on an average of two workers each, all but 1,000,000 of the unemployed would be given work. These 1,000,000 will be taken care of by other provisions.

Every employer should be able to give work to additional employees at least part time. There are, of course, many small shops, such as delicatessens, small retail shops, small tailoring establishments, etc., where the proprietor might find it difficult to take on more than one worker. On the other hand, there are many large employers, employing hundreds, or even thousands of wage earners, who could take on 25 or 100 employees, or even more. Industries and employers should therefore be given quotas of jobs to be furnished, according to their ability to provide work. The allocation of these quotas should be the task of a central board, representing the government and all industrial groups.

5. *Create Work Through Public Undertakings*—During the years from 1923 to 1928, the number of persons employed in public construction increased from approximately 516,000 to approximately 887,000 (estimate by National Bureau of Economic Research). The largest increase in any one year was 155,000 in the 1927. It is estimated that work was created in 1930 for 75,000 men in public building in addition to those already at work, and for 150,000 men in the industries supplying materials for this work. If every effort be made to create work through public construction this coming winter, it should be possible to give work to over 100,000 in addition to those now employed.

Here is an opportunity to create public improvements of lasting benefit to the people of the United States. While millions of workers are not creating wealth for commercial use, they may add to the public wealth of the citizens of the United States, making life richer for all. Now is the time to undertake such projects as the following, and every effort should be made to press such work to actual completion: Locally, building of schools, creation of parks and playgrounds to provide the wholesome recreation so much needed in our large cities, construction of libraries, improvement and extension of streets, sewage and water supply systems; national and state projects, road building, extension of inland waterways, extension and improvement of national parks, reforestation projects, flood control and irrigation. Public work programs also give an oppor-

tunity to beautify our cities by cleaning, painting, planting flowers in parks and in general to make the places where we live and carry on our business a more spiritually satisfying environment.

6. *Strengthen Employment Agencies*—Efficient employment bureaus will be essential to make any of this work-providing program possible. Attention should be concentrated on building up the present system of employment bureaus and supplementing it where necessary. Local communities must undertake the main effort, but the federal and state governments can support and encourage, and undertake the essential function of coordination, putting local bureaus in touch with needs in other parts of the state or country.

7. *Keep Young Persons in School to Avoid Their Competing for Jobs*—Every effort should be made to keep boys and girls in their teens in school. Not only will their efforts to secure work take jobs from older men and women, but they will find it exceedingly difficult to get work. They will risk wasting their time in demoralizing idleness, where it might be spent in increasing their ability for future work. The 1930 Census of Unemployment showed that 11 per cent of all these without jobs were boys and girls between 15 and 19 years of age—267,000 boys and girls in all. The proportion out of work between these ages was especially high, compared to other age groups.

Schools should prepare to enroll as large a number of children in their teens as possible and adapt their curriculum to give them work which will be helpful in preparation for their future occupation.

8. *Preference for Workers with Dependents*—In this emergency we believe preference for employment should be given workers whose wages must maintain dependents. Fathers of families and workers who must support dependents should have prior consideration when additional employees are needed or when personnel is being reduced.

Accompanying our economic and social developments has come increasing gainful employment for married women. Married women have continued in their trades and callings even when there was no economic necessity. Heads of families may be jobless while two bread-winners in other families have positions. Unless these married women hold key positions or have an investment in a career for themselves, we believe that in emergencies they should give way to heads of families. Married women whose husbands have permanent positions which carry reasonable incomes, should be discriminated against in the hiring of employees, at least until we are well out of this business depression.

9. *Financial Relief from Public and Private Funds*—Because it is never possible to put any program into universal effect, we can not expect to provide work for all the unemployed. Without question, there will be millions this coming winter who will have to depend on charity to exist. Ample funds should be provided in every community, both from private and municipal sources. These funds should be used to furnish work rather than relief without work wherever possible.

The collection and administration of funds for relief purposes is of the utmost importance to Labor and Labor, with other groups, should be represented on boards responsible for this work.

The above program can not be put into effect unless there is nation-wide cooperation in carrying it out. Unless American citizens meet the emergency of the coming winter in the same wholehearted self-sacrificing spirit that inspired war work in the

national emergency 14 years ago, we can not hope to see our country through this winter without untold suffering by millions.

Your Executive Council recommends that a copy of this program, if approved, be sent to the following persons, urging them to exert every effort to have all its provisions put into effect: The President of the United States and each member of his cabinet; the Governor of each state; the mayors of cities; the Director of the President's Organization on Unemployment Relief, the state director of this organization in each state and all heads of committees under it; each State Federation of Labor and each Central Labor Union.

### UNEMPLOYMENT PREVENTION BY COORDINATING ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

**National Planning**—Business depression is a very costly experience. No economic group escapes heavy losses. The social wastes to the nation and the economic wastes to industry amount to enormous totals of tangible and intangible values. It is quite obvious the technical ability to produce has far outstripped our understanding of our economic structure. Our distribution of the returns from production are not balanced. Increased profits have been monopolized by the few so that incomes of the masses—wage-earners—have not increased sufficiently to provide buyers proportionate to the capacity of industry to produce. Instead of shortening the work day as output per worker increased, industries have taken away jobs of some workers and compelled the rest to work the standard which was adjusted to an older technical equipment.

It is obvious that business has been following the wrong principles. Each group, each industry, each company, has been advancing its interest against the other, often at the expense of the others. To control our business machine so that it will function regularly, we must learn how different parts work together so that we shall have a balance of forces and a balance in progress. Team work is what we need and leadership for team work. Team work comes from organized intelligence and coordinated activity.

When industries were organized on a more limited scale with a smaller output, their dependence on wage-earner buying was not so obvious. Mass production, however, must be accompanied by mass buying. The principles of balance in industry are the key to sustained progress. Single companies or even industries can not work out the principles of balance. Fact finding and plans must be national in scope. While we have some vague information on the forces involved in balancing consumption, production and distribution, we have not the facts necessary for control.

Balance is not a result that can be maintained by arbitrary decision; it comes through working with laws in the light of knowledge of the facts. The first step toward getting balance in our economic machine, is a coordinating group through which information of all elements and groups in production shall bring together the necessary information to reveal the interplay between economic forces and thus the facts that should guide all groups in their individual planning as well as in the development of policies for concerted action. To give all groups an understanding of how the national mechanism works so that each may understand how it fits into the whole operation is the first step in developing team work. Nothing more definite should be imposed upon any national economic council that might be created by our federal government. We do not yet know enough to plan the agencies or chart the functions of economic control. We do, however, know that national economic conferences will disclose the way. We have, therefore, repeatedly urged upon the President of the United States

that he call a national economic conference to find a way forward. Such a conference would be a step toward planning on a national scale. We have everywhere throughout industry very successful attempts at planning by industrial undertakings, by industries, by unions, by communities, by states and by geographic sections. But this is not adequate—there must be comprehensive planning by all the groups that effect each other. No one industry can prevent business depression—nor even all industries, unless they work together.

The interchange of information through reports, documents and conferences is basic in developing balance.

**Public Accounting**—The interrelation between the interests of all groups and industries and the necessity for coordinated efforts to prevent excessive boom periods and business recessions, make very plain that the facts of all business enterprises should be public property. The idea that private ownership entitles the owners to secrecy in methods and decisions is out of keeping with the fact that these factors directly affect results for other groups. Private ownership may entitle owners to make decisions but full reporting of all the facts should make the information available to all concerned.

The conduct of industry is a matter of so much consequence to all employed in the industry, to investors, to the communities, to the maintenance of markets, to our national economic balance, that we must work toward full and open records by prescribed forms of cost and production accounting. Any employer or groups of investors who have the privilege of operating gainful industry in any community ought to be required to make regular and prescribed reports. Public accounting according to prescribed methods is an obligation which accompanies the privileges to operate a business undertaking which affects the community as well as those who supply the credit and those employed by the undertaking. In a very definite way, interrelation of economic activities is increasing the degree of public interest in all business undertakings. This means that there should be public accounting on the facts of business which should be filed with the Federal Government and compiled there. The records should be open to responsible organizations.

**Federal Labor Board**—In addition to collecting industrial information, the federal government should provide for the coordination of data bearing on wage-earner progress. There should be such basic data as man hours, length of work-week, productivity, employment opportunities, unemployment, wage-earner incomes, technological displacement, etc. There should be indexes that would disclose mounting unemployment, trends in distribution of income, inadequate buying power as balanced against production, so that the need for shorter work hours and higher wage rates might be realized in advance of the cumulation of forces making for business depression. Such a federal labor bureau would warn Labor and business of unbalance due to inadequate returns to wage-earners so that something could be done to prevent disaster for such causes. It need have only the authority to make facts public in order to render service and have effective influence. It should also study the problems of Labor and suggest constructive policies. It should be representative in character and provided with a technical staff.

Nothing but approval and support is given merchants, industrialists and farmers who organize to manage their businesses efficiently and to increase their incomes. Such groups are given the benefit of doubt when practices are under question.

On its record of social and industrial service, Labor asks the same privilege to

organize to control their interests and to increase their incomes. Such a federal labor board would give Labor federal assistance and service comparable to what is given farmers and industry. We ask for equality of opportunity. If we are to have balanced progress Labor must be in a position to keep pace.

**Organization of Workers in Trade Unions**—Such a bureau as proposed above could be really constructive when supplemented by effective organizations of workers to advance their interests in proportion to the progress of industry and society.

To prevent progress from being badly balanced by too much income going into capital goods and too little into the pockets of wage-earners; to make sure that work hours are decreased in proportion to productivity increases instead of letting machines produce unemployment; to make sure that production experience is put to service in eliminating wastes; to make sure there is available producing workers competent, resourceful, and skilled, are union functions.

Only a union has the independence, the power, and the authority to assume responsibility for keeping wage-earners' progress abreast social and economic progress.

Employers who have been fighting trade unions, who have refused their employees the right to organize, who have refused to meet effective representatives of their workers in order to negotiate terms and conditions of work, who have opposed the shorter work day, and the five-day week, who have resisted wage increase, have stood squarely against the road to progress and have opposed their own best interests.

The union is an instrumentality of progress. It manages the business interests of wage-earners so that they can make progress. Sustained progress does not come from trusting to chance; it comes from thought, planning and organization to put plans into effect.

Organization of workers in unions under their own control is essential to planning on a broader basis and to planning for related groups where interests are interdependent. In fact, unless Labor participates in the councils, national planning and balanced progress are impossible. Unorganized, Labor cannot participate in a representative group.

Organization of workers in trade unions is a highly commendable and essential movement which should be accepted as public policy.

**Employment Service**—Unless the work of directing the unemployed to employment opportunities is effectively organized, there will be delays in connecting workers with jobs at hand. When a job means such essential and constructive relief every effort should be made to conserve its utilization.

Every industrial community ought to have a public employment agency so efficient as to command the respect of employers and employees. This office should have its contacts with industries and all employing groups and have at hand that specialized information of job requirements necessary to render satisfactory service.

In addition to conserving all available jobs, the local employment service can extend its usefulness by helping to make the public conscious of responsibility to provide all work possible, such as repairs, cleaning, building, service positions. The director of an employment service has a creative as well as an administrative responsibility.

Effective organization of the labor market and every possible vigilance to increase the number of jobs available, is essential economically in order to provide the consumer buying power upon which production depends. Those industrialists who are efficient managers have widened the scope of their planning to include the full cycle of forces

that affect their production. Every industrialist must buy, sell, and plan production over a period of years. He must understand and work with the principle of industrial balance. The employment service is a fundamental tool in maintaining consumer buying which is the ultimate balance for all production.

**Vocational Counsel and Retraining**—If assistance in knowing the jobs available is supplemented by help in adapting work, skill and experience to various industries, an element in flexibility is introduced that will help in meeting the problem of technological unemployment.

The unprecedented rate of technical change in the past decade has made it plain that vocational education should provide opportunities for adults. Services for adults will be most practical when coordinated with the work of the employment service. The employment service accumulates information on the kinds of work for which wage-earners will be hired and the relative number of employees needed. The vocational counselor should know what industries make use of similar skills so that courses of retraining can be worked out.

Our educational agencies should consider this problem of vocational education for adults and make provisions to meet it. Experience in this field will in turn be reciprocally helpful in keeping vocational education for boys and girls practical and adapted to industrial and worker needs.

**Balance Worktime and Wages Against Increase in Productivity**—Economic equilibrium depends on keeping a balanced relationship between economic forces. For instance, consuming power must keep pace with producing power, income from trade and industry must be so distributed that it will increase the capacity to buy in proportion as it increases the capacity to produce. When these factors are thrown out of balance, trade and industry can no longer function normally, and we are plunged into business depression.

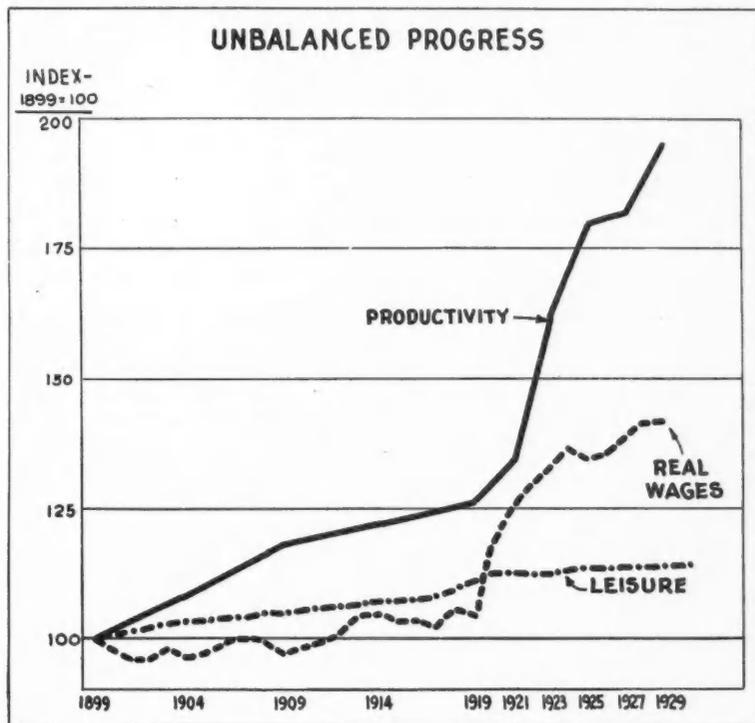
It is the task of trade unions to see that the worker's side of the balance is kept up, and that workers advance proportionately with other groups. Wage-earners and small salaried workers with their families, form 83 per cent of the nation's population and receive 54 per cent of the national income. Almost the entire amount of this income is spent to buy industry's products and services or to pay rent, for there is little margin for savings. In recent years workers have received about \$32,000,000,000 a year. The immensity of this sum and its huge influence as an economic force, makes it essential that workers' income advance proportionately with industry's producing power. Industry depends on workers' buying; it is a severe handicap when workers' incomes do not keep pace. The graph below shows 30 years' development in three essential economic forces.

1. **Productivity**—The solid line shows producing power per hour for the average worker in manufacturing industry or "productivity." There have been striking increases in productivity in other industries, as mining, transportation, agriculture, but manufacturing is taken to show the trend, since more complete figures exist. Productivity in manufacturing increased 26 per cent from 1899 to 1919; 54 per cent from 1919 to 1929. The rapid rise of the line after 1919 shows the speed of these advances in the least decade. The increase in industry's producing power has been enormous.

2. **Real Wages**—The line for real wages shows the advance in wage rates per hour in all industry in terms of the goods they will buy. Real wage rates advanced 4.2 per cent from 1899 to 1919, compared to the 26 per cent advance in productivity, and 36

per cent from 1919 to 1929, compared to the 54 per cent advance in productivity. It is clear from the graph that the line for real wages advances must more slowly than the line for productivity.

3. *Leisure*—The line for leisure represents the increase in workers' leisure in all industry through the shortening of work-hours. It rises very gradually. The gain in leisure from 1899 to 1919 was 7 hours a week (from a 58-hour week average in 1899 to a 51-hour week in 1919), the gains were most rapid from 1915 to 1919. But since 1919,



gains in leisure have been practically at a standstill, until the five-day week drive started in 1926.

Because of the increase in productivity in manufacturing industry, work which took the average man a 59-hour week in 1899 could be done in 47 hours in 1919, but the work-week in manufacturing was actually shortened only from 59 to 52 hours. In 1929, work which took the average man a 52-hour week in 1919 could be done in 34 hours, but the work week in manufacturing was actually shortened only to 50 hours. That is, an 18-hours decrease in necessary work time was compensated by only a 2-hour

decrease in actual work-hours. This development in manufacturing is typical of other industries except where unions have shortened hours through the drive for the five-day week. The shortening of the necessary work time without a corresponding adjustment in hours of work has resulted in increasing "technological" unemployment. In the table showing unemployment on pages 57 it is significant that even in 1929, the year of greatest industrial activity since 1920, there were 2,400,000 unemployed. This is an increase in unemployment of 1,000,000 persons since 1920.

The graph shows clearly that the gains in productivity have far outstripped the workers' gains in wages and hours of work combined. Clearly, there is lack of balance in this development.

Figures from the U. S. income tax records give a clue to the reason for this unbalanced progress. There has not been a balanced distribution of the increased income of industry.

From 1919 to 1927 the income of the average person receiving more than \$5,000 a year increased by \$2,151 a year; the income of the average wage earner increased by \$176 per year. That is, the average man having more than \$5,000 yearly gained 12 times as much as the average wage-earner.

Very few wage-earners have an income of more than \$5,000 a year. We may take this group, then, as representing income receivers outside the wage-earner and the small salaried group.

In 1927, the proportion of wage-earners to those with higher incomes was approximately as 30 to 1. The Federal Income Tax Statements report a little over 900,000 returns which show an income of \$5,000 a year or more; their average income was \$15,388. There were over 27,000,000 wage-earners whose average income was \$1,205. Would it not be possible to balance the gain of this lower income group and at the same time increase the total? In the eight years from 1919 to 1927, total wages paid in the United States increased by \$9,855,000,000 a year, while total income paid to those with more than \$5,000 increased by \$5,354,000,000 a year.

This unequal distribution of the nation's income throws the industrial mechanism out of balance. A large proportion of the income of the rich is reinvested and goes to increase the capacity of industry to produce. When the distribution of wealth is unbalanced industry's producing capacity soon outstrips the buying power of the public. In June 1929 at the very peak of our recent industrial boom when industry reached the highest production in its history, our mills and factories were so much overbuilt that even then they were nowhere near producing up to capacity. The rates of operation in a number of different industries for which we have figures are given below. If figures for other products were available they would show that this same condition ran throughout industry: Cotton finishing, 60 per cent of capacity; silk spinning, 63 per cent; steel castings, 80 per cent; steel barrels, 62 per cent; oil refining, 83 per cent; paper box board, 77 per cent; Portland cement, 81 per cent; glassware for lights, 46 per cent; glass containers, 82 per cent.

There was another period when the incomes of the rich increased enormously. This was in the years of high war and after war profits. After both these periods of unbalanced distribution the nation was plunged into serious business depression.

A central fact finding agency is needed which will measure progress, and balance gains in producing power against gains in buying power, and the shortening of necessary work-time against actual shortening of the work week. Science is to help human beings

gain control of their environment with increasing ease and sureness. Unless technical progress means greater control through leisure for workers, there is a lack of balance in human factors.

**Job Security**—Trade unions have made some headway in securing recognition of the fact that wage-earners are partners in production. Production is a joint undertaking. One group supplies capital; another credit; another group does the buying; another plans production; another does the fabrication or work necessary to give plans tangible form; another sells the product. All functions are necessary and interrelated. All make either tangible or intangible investments in the production undertaking and are dependent upon its success for their incomes.

Wage-earners invest their special skills, their creative capacity, their judgment based on work experience, their ability to use materials, tools and time economically; they organize their lives around their specific jobs. They practically invest their lives and their capacities in their work. They have a very real claim to ownership of their jobs.

In view of these investments, workers have a right to returns in the way of job security. Rules covering employment, jointly negotiated, should specify the period of time for which workers are employed. Workers who prove their capacity and demonstrate their ability should constitute a staff of permanent employees, secure in employment under prescribed conditions.

Security of job means assurance of income which makes it possible for the wage-earner and his family to plan their living over a definite period of time, and budget expenditures to their best advantage.

Wage-earners who are daily or weekly in fear of loss of job cannot plan their living or use their minds most effectively. Fear is not the force that stimulates greatest productivity. Industry, through the cooperation of management and Labor, could develop methods appealing to incentives more fundamental for production purposes.

### HIGH WAGE PHILOSOPHY

In the 1925 convention the Federation first pointed out the importance of increasing workers' buying power to create a market for industry's growing product. This high wage principle has gradually gained following. Industrial leaders could not fail to see the economic power of workers' buying and its importance as a force for progress.

The test has come in this depression. To liquidate wages is to destroy the home market, cut down the demand for American products and services and consequently reduce production more drastically than is necessary to liquidate the stocks on hand. Impaired worker buying power deepens and prolongs depression. Considerable reduction of buying power has resulted from unemployment and part time work, but realization of the pernicious effect of wage reductions has prevented a widespread liquidation of wages such as we had in the depression of 1921. Growing adherence to the high wage principle over the last few years, strengthened by the President's stand against wage cuts, has brought effective support from the leading industrialists of the country. Reports from the Bureau of Labor Statistics, although they cover only a small sample of American firms, enable us to make a comparison between the policy of 1921 and that of 1930. In the full year of 1921, there were 92 wage cuts per 100 firms reporting to the Bureau, while in 1930 (full year) there were only 7 cuts per 100 firms reporting. Although wage cuts have increased in 1931, there has still been no widespread tendency toward a "liquidation of wages" such as we experienced in 1921. In the first 7 months of 1931,

the number of cuts reported per 100 firms was 12, compared to 54 in 1921. This means that once business starts upward, recovery will be more rapid and business will be able to reach higher levels in a shorter space of time. For unemployment and part time work arising from depression, make only temporary reductions of workers' buying power which are quickly remedied as business improves; while reductions of wage rates lower workers' living standards and reduce their buying for a period of years. It may be eight or nine years before wage rates recover after a liquidation such as that of 1921, and progress in industrial production is hampered by this long time reduction of buying power.

### BANKERS AND WAGES

Through their control over credit, banks have control over industrial policies. Reports have been frequent and well confirmed that conditions of credit from banks have included specifically wage reductions. As a part of their general efforts toward contraction and liquidation, a number of outstanding bankers have urged wage reductions paralleling price declines.

The following statements were made by prominent bankers:

It is not true that high wages make prosperity. Instead, prosperity makes high wages. When wages are kept higher than the market situation justifies, employment and the buying power of Labor fall off. American business has proved its good will in dealing with Labor in this point in the past year, and in many industries may reasonably ask Labor to accept a moderate reduction of wages designed to reduce costs and to increase both employment and the buying power of Labor. Our restricted immigration, coupled with our relative abundance of capital and natural resources, is sufficient safeguard for American wages.

If there is one point upon which we all agree it is that the American standard of living must be maintained. However, we must not confuse the standard of living with the cost of living, and we must not confuse an arbitrary fixed wage in dollars and cents with a real wage in its purchasing power.

Employers must be as quick to recognize the real wage in a rising market as Labor must be to recognize the real wage in a falling market, if there is to be any stability in prosperity and employment hereafter. Business cannot prosper if costs eliminate profit; and Labor cannot work as fully as it should if capital is denied a proper return.

Any one who gives the matter the slightest serious thought knows that wage levels are controlled by impersonal economic principles. . . . Wages are paid out of the earned incomes of industry. If general economic conditions so effect such incomes that internal economies are necessary, certainly, no one is personally to blame for that.

I am not saying that wage reductions should be made, but if any industry discovers that conditions call for an adjustment in costs of operations, including wages, it would be a very questionable act of stewardship in respect to the responsibilities resting upon its management, if it attempted to keep wages or other costs at an arbitrary level at the expense of the capital funds of the business.

It may be pointed out that the wages of money have already been markedly reduced, as can be seen by a comparison of interest rates on bank loans and investments received today as compared with a year and a half ago.

Bankers have argued that the decline in the costs of living meant that a wage cut would not lower standards of living. Their understanding of the situation was based upon a fundamental hypothesis that Labor should be kept within certain definite limits

that would keep it always dependent—a modern version of the master and servant philosophy that has curbed Labor's efforts and ambitions for progress.

Labor believes that it has a right to something more than its present share in returns on the output of industries—that it is a partner in production and should have status accordingly.

Labor also points to the fact that wages constitute a very large portion of the buying power upon which retail sales depend to form a market for our products.

Wages are not just the price of Labor in the market governed by the law of supply and demand. They are advance credit paid in advance of the product which the worker helped to create. Higher wages are necessary to maintain an economic machine geared to high production.

Labor further points out that wage rates and labor costs are not the same thing and that high wage rates usually resulted in low labor costs per unit production.

Furthermore, the maintenance of wage rates is a dynamic factor in sustaining our economic machine and in supporting confidence. The sturdy common sense of American wage-earners has been one of the most constructive stabilizing forces in this business depression. To cut his already inadequate wages in addition to reducing him to part time work, would be a most sorry expression of appreciation.

We look to American bankers for assistance in getting money out of the banks into circulation and to supply business undertakings with the necessary credit. We believe that bankers could perform their functions more wisely if they had regular and intimate contacts with production technicians and representatives of wage-earners. Bankers like every other group must take into account their need to promote the welfare of the workers as well as all other economic groups. We look to bankers to help level up the incomes of wage-earners and all the underprivileged.

We look to the bankers to be concerned to increase the amount of money put to buying uses and no group spends its income more freely than wage-earners.

## **EMPLOYMENT AND UNEMPLOYMENT STATISTICS**

Following the enactment of legislation directing the Department of Labor to secure more adequate labor statistics, the President of the United States asked the American Federation of Labor to cooperate by designating representatives to a committee convened by the Secretary of Labor to advise the President on methods by which to set up statistics on employment and unemployment. President Green designated A. O. Wharton and John P. Frey.

When this committee met in Washington, President Hoover asked that the committee consider the wisdom of making a comprehensive study of technological unemployment.

The committee provided two subcommittees—one on employment statistics, and the other on technological unemployment.

The committee is making progress and it will make its report on November 15, 1931.

## **INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC SITUATION**

Our business depression has been directly affected by the economic difficulties of foreign countries. The after consequences of paying the debts of the World War have been barriers to the recovery of economic balance in Europe and Australia. Political

disturbance and fall in price of silver have seriously handicapped India and China. South America has undergone a series of political revolutions.

The United States has maintained the position of official aloofness from the reparation problem, distinguishing between reparations and debts. We have held that war debts constitute a business obligation. We financed our own war activities and in addition loaned more than \$10,000,000,000 entirely by taxation and by borrowing from our citizens. Our national debt which was less than one billion dollars at the beginning of the war, increased to about 27 billions.

Our first debt funding agreement to take care of war debts, was with Great Britain, which became the basis for agreement with 8 other countries. Great Britain's policy as outlined in the Balfour note, was to take no more from her debtors than was necessary to pay her creditors. Later agreements were made with 4 other countries and an agreement negotiated with Germany covering private claims in both countries. We thus concluded debt funding agreements with foreign governments owing us money based upon the principle of capacity to pay.

Interrallied payments were adjusted by the Dawes Commission in 1924 and again in 1927 by the Young Commission which definitely fixed amounts and dates of payments. Legally war debts are obligations separate and distinct from reparation payments. Reparation payment rests fundamentally upon the principle of war guilt.

Conferences at the Hague modified the Young Plan which became operative May 17, 1930. Germany was scheduled to pay European Allied Powers over 26 billion dollars between 1930 and 1988. These nations in turn are to pay the United States 20 billions. European debtors counted upon reparations payments to meet their payments. For the year 1931 Germany was to pay European nations 387 million dollars while other nations were scheduled to pay the United States 228 million dollars. Even though there is no legal connection between debts and reparations the realities of payment were inextricably interrelated.

The ability of Germany to restore internal prosperity was the critical factor in the situation. Germany had to pay her foreign debts in gold or in goods. She reduced her prices in order to sell in foreign markets, thus started a decline in world prices. It is difficult for Germany to pay in gold without disturbing her financial institutions or the distribution of world gold. She has been meeting her payments by borrowing.

During the negotiations of the Young plan, because of financial nervousness, foreign capital was withdrawn from Germany and loans could be had only at high rates of interest. From that time wholesale prices and imports declined and business depression resulted in steadily mounting unemployment. Germany had great difficulties in balancing her budget. In the early summer of 1931, the situation became so serious that foreigners rushed to take their money out of Germany. Within the month of June, 1931, two hundred and thirty millions of dollars were withdrawn. The gold reserve of the Reichsbank fell to the legal minimum and bankruptcy threatened the nation. Two large banks closed their doors.

In this situation President Hoover proposed a debt moratorium for one year. The immediate revival from this proposal was lost in the delay in ratification and putting it into effect. An international loan of 100 millions on June 26 failed to stay the situation. The German Chancellor closed all banks and sought another loan in Paris. Out of the Paris conference and The Seven Powers conference in London came the following program:

- (1) French cooperation to save the German situation.
- (2) Concerted effort to

prevent withdrawal of capital from Germany. (3) Renewal of \$100,000,000 loan. (4) Committee of Bank of International Settlement to arrange loans over a longer period.

In the meantime as a consequence of British commitments in Germany, extension of credit of \$21,000,000 to Austria, and supplying \$25,000,000 of the \$100,000,000 loan to the Reichsbank, the Bank of England that had courageously stepped into the breach to save the banking structure of Central Europe, and to prevent panic in other countries, found its gold holdings dangerously reduced and sterling exchange was in danger. The Bank of England raised its discount two successive days but the outward movement of gold continued to France, Amsterdam and Switzerland. American banks refused to withdraw money from England.

On August 1 a joint loan of \$250,000,000 from the Bank of France and the Federal Reserve Banks, was announced. An additional credit of \$200,000,000 each from the banks of France and United States was arranged. Confidence in British credit has been restored.

The Macmillan Committee was created in 1929 by the MacDonald government to inquire into banking, finance and credit, paying regard to the factors, both internal and international, which govern their operation, and to make recommendations calculated to enable these agencies to promote the development of trade and commerce and the employment of labor.

This committee declared that the fall of prices and business depression were not due to inadequate supply of gold but to its unbalanced distribution. Prosperity lies in maintaining equilibrium and stability in trade and the use of credit, not in piling up large balances that must be paid in gold. Gold is now chiefly a medium for settling international balances. In September the United States held over \$4,998,000,000 of world's gold, 40.8 per cent of the world's total.

Meanwhile, the financial situation in Germany has become more stable. As Germany is unable to operate on short term credit, the Bank of International Settlements was asked to set up a committee to make recommendations. The committee concluded:

- (1) The existing volume of German's foreign credits should be maintained.
- (2) That part of the capital which has already been withdrawn should be replaced from foreign sources.

The committee considered the German situation from the standpoint of investment banking and pointed out: (1) that the first element in improving Germany's credit was political relations with her neighbors on the basis of cooperation and mutual confidence; (2) that the international payments to be made by Germany shall not endanger her financial stability.

The committee pointed out that the plans agreed to in London were for the purpose of gaining time to determine a more comprehensive program. The committee further pointed out that to stop the continued downward movement of prices, it is essential "that the normal progress of investment of fresh capital should be resumed with a well-defined economic purpose in view, namely, an increase in the purchasing power of the world."

The committee pointed out that the governments had been endeavoring to follow contradictory policies—developing an international financial system which involved the payment of huge sums by debtor and creditor nations while creating obstacles to the free movement of goods.

The committee urged that the governments lose no time in allowing financial operations to bring to Germany—and thereby to the world—sorely-needed assistance.

Europe found difficulties due to disturbances in the countries to which she normally exported goods. South America and Australia were burdened by the consequences of economic and financial mistakes and revolutions.

France, a creditor nation, was the last to feel the world-wide business recession; 20.4 per cent of the world's gold supply is in France.

Italy, while feeling the depression, has been able to balance her budget and reduce her debt. Holland and the Scandinavian countries have been able to weather the period without financial crises.

Austria, an artificially created state, has not been able to establish itself economically because of the increasing number of insolvencies, declining business, growing unemployment. The Austrian Kredit Anstalt with connection in a number of financial centers in other countries, an important, long-established private bank controlling 80 per cent of Austrian industry, found its losses were \$20,000,000, a sum exceeding its capital stock.

The Bank for International Settlements on May 18th informed the Austrian National Bank that it was ready to lend 14 million dollars to assist in its present financial difficulties.

The Federal Reserve Bank of New York, the Bank of England, and other large central banks had agreed to unite in furnishing foreign exchange credits as they may be necessary.

The decline of economic activity in Hungary has steadily continued, due mainly to difficulties in marketing farm products. It has been promised a 25 million dollar foreign loan.

Poland and Yugo-Slavia, new states, have met the difficulties of recession fairly well. Polish commerce was seriously endangered by the German crisis. French and Belgian funds are said to be now replacing German.

Poland felt repercussions from the German situation. Shippers were upset by inability to cash checks, to pay port dues or get cash. Polish banks in both places remained open during German bank holidays but because so many are directly financed by German banks, the situation has been uncertain. In upper Silesia, the flow of business has been interrupted. Closing the Darmstaedter Bank affected local business. Later, bank holidays created same situation as in Germany, jeopardizing payrolls, cutting off funds for immediate business due to influence of German banking situation.

Australia, producing chiefly raw materials, felt the consequences of business depression in advance of European countries. Difficulties in balancing the Commonwealth and the states budgets reached a crisis this year. New South Wales wavered toward a communistic policy of repudiation. But with the help of England an economy plan was worked out for loan conversion at a lower interest rate, reduction of government expenses and liquidation of debts.

Under present economy program the annual deficit was to be reduced from \$195,000,000 to \$70,000,000 within a year and balanced in 3 years. Banks were to carry governmental overdrafts, advance further sums to meet deficits and assist in coping with unemployment. Sales tax was raised from 2½ per cent to 4 per cent and income tax adjusted to meet an additional \$7,500,000 annually.

Business in Canada is in a declining situation. There has been a falling off in imports and customs dues which formerly constituted 25 per cent of revenues. Income

taxes and excise have gone down. Finances, however, are not in a bad way. The unknown element in expenses is unemployment relief, which the government has authorized to be adequate for needs. The Dominion will also pay 5 cents a bushel bonus to producers for each bushel of wheat.

Latin American states have faced acute situations, but only two have defaulted—Peru and Bolivia.

In Brazil, coffee valorization, an attempt to control coffee prices, lead to increased production in Brazil and competing countries. Artificial maintenance of this industry directed capital and energy from other alternative fields. Due to inflation, liquidation valorization and revolution, a bank moratorium of 15 days was declared last October. The country is trying to meet its obligations.

Ecuador has difficulties due to decline in exports. Business is at low ebb in Cuba, Chile, Argentina and Uruguay, with political troubles adding to economic depression. Mexico has returned to a silver basis and has set up a federal reserve system under the direction of former President Calles.

In Japan, depression was intensified by international conditions. In 1930 exports dropped 32 per cent below 1929 in value, and a drop of 30 per cent in value of her imports. Prices of bonds and debentures fell. The government urged rationalization of industries and established an export credit compensation system. Drastic cuts in official salaries were decreed by imperial ordinance in order to effect a saving of some \$4,000,000 in the budget. Cuts ranged from 3 to 20 per cent in salaries already rather low.

China and India are hard hit by the fall of the price of silver and by political unrest.

**Unemployed**—The latest figures available on unemployment in outstanding industrial countries follow:

|                    |           |
|--------------------|-----------|
| Germany.....       | 4,358,153 |
| Belgium.....       | 110,138   |
| Australia.....     | 113,614   |
| Austria.....       | 246,845   |
| Canada.....        | 32,208    |
| Denmark.....       | 45,698    |
| France.....        | 35,826    |
| Great Britain..... | 2,719,376 |
| Norway.....        | 29,095    |
| New Zealand.....   | 375,988   |
| Netherlands.....   | 62,573    |

It is obvious that with a world organization of finance and business, disaster in any one national center disturbs every country trading with it. No country can expect to continue to make progress at the expense of another.

Labor is primarily concerned that in the development of international financial institutions, the expenditure for social welfare shall have parity with commercial expenditures, and that wage-earners shall be considered as partners in industry. We hope to see low wages abolished throughout the world as a basis for permanent prosperity.

#### JURISDICTIONAL PROBLEMS

**Teamsters—Railway Clerks**—The Executive Council has kept constantly in mind the jurisdictional controversy which affects the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America and the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks. At every opportunity we have sought to secure compliance with the decision of the

Executive Council and of conventions of the American Federation of Labor relating to this dispute. In furtherance of this purpose the President of the American Federation of Labor addressed a communication to Mr. George M. Harrison, President of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks, urging the officers of this organization to call upon the delegates in attendance at the convention of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks which was held at Denver on May 11-18, 1931, to comply with the decisions of conventions of the American Federation of Labor. The letter addressed to President Harrison, sent him before the convention of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks convened in Denver on May 11th, reads as follows:

WASHINGTON, D. C.,  
April 16, 1931.

MR. GEORGE M. HARRISON, *President*,  
Brotherhood of Railway Clerks,  
Brotherhood of Railway Clerks' Building,  
Cincinnati, Ohio.

DEAR SIR AND BROTHER:

Owing to the fact that the jurisdictional controversy which has continued for such a long period of time between the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks and the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America, and because of the fact that a convention of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks will meet in Denver, Colorado, during the month of May, I am taking the liberty of writing you offering recommendations and suggestions which I believe are practical, appropriate and proper.

This jurisdictional controversy affecting the interests of the two organizations involved has been given much thought, consideration and attention by those directly interested, by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and by conventions of the American Federation of Labor.

The economic and industrial interests of both organizations call for a fair and just settlement of the jurisdictional differences which exist between the two organizations. Complete and satisfactory progress in the work of organization, in the promotion of wage standards and in the improvement of working conditions of all members affected can not be made so long as this jurisdictional controversy continues. It should be settled, and it ought to be settled without further delay.

In view of the fact that the convention of the American Federation of Labor is recognized as the supreme authority in the field of organized labor and inasmuch as this supreme tribunal has rendered decisions upon the differences which arose and the points of controversy which exist, it occurs to me that you and your associate officers representing the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks in your report to your convention could recommend that the convention accept and conform to the decisions rendered by the Executive Council and conventions of the American Federation of Labor relating to the jurisdictional controversy. It occurs to me that the highest and best interests of the membership of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks and of the entire organized labor movement would be advanced and promoted through such action and through the pursuit of such a policy. A recommendation along this line by you and your associate officers would have a profound effect upon the judgment and minds of the delegates. It could be fully justified upon the grounds that the highest tribunal in the American Federation of Labor had passed upon the jurisdictional controversy, had rendered a decision and because the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks is affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and as a result of such affiliation forms an integral part of this great organized labor body, it becomes the duty of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks to accept and comply with the decisions rendered.

I sincerely hope you will accept the point of view which I have herein outlined and that you will find it possible to follow the recommendation which I have herein made.

With all good wishes, I beg to remain,

Fraternally yours,

(Signed) WILLIAM GREEN,  
*President, American Federation of Labor.*

There is also included in this section of the report of the Executive Council the replies made by President Harrison to the letter sent him on April 16th and to a telegraphic inquiry as to what action had been taken by the convention of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks relative to the jurisdictional dispute. These communications reads as follows:

CINCINNATI, OHIO.

*April 24, 1931.*

MR. WILLIAM GREEN, *President,*  
American Federation of Labor,  
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR AND BROTHER:

I desire to acknowledge receipt of your letter of the 16th instant, in regard to the jurisdictional controversy between the International Brotherhood of Teamsters and our organization.

This matter is being reported in full detail to our Grand Lodge Convention, which will convene in Denver, Colorado, Monday, May 11, 1931. You will be advised of the action taken by our organization.

Sincerely and fraternally yours,

(Signed) GEO. M. HARRISON,  
*Grand President.*

TELEGRAM

WASHINGTON, D. C.,

*July 20, 1931.*

GEORGE M. HARRISON,  
Room 701 Brotherhood Railway Clerks' Bldg.,  
Cincinnati, Ohio.

Am now preparing draft of our report to Vancouver convention which will include reference to jurisdictional controversy which still continues between your organization and Teamsters. Would appreciate very much your official advice as to what action was taken upon this matter by your recent Denver convention.

WILLIAM GREEN.

CINCINNATI, OHIO,

*July 23, 1931.*

MR. WILLIAM GREEN, *President,*  
American Federation of Labor,  
A. F. of L. Building,  
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR AND BROTHER:

Replying to your telegram of the 20th instant, reading:

Am now preparing draft of our report to Vancouver convention which will include reference to jurisdictional controversy which still continues between your organization and Teamsters. Would appreciate very much your official advice as to what action was taken upon this matter by your recent Denver convention.

This subject was reported in great detail to the convention of our organization held at Denver, Colo., May 11-18, 1931. A resolution was introduced by

one of our delegates instructing that the agreement which was reached between the International Brotherhood of Teamsters and our organization at Toronto, Canada, which partially disposed of this major jurisdictional dispute, be cancelled. It was considered by the convention and a motion was adopted referring the subject to our Grand Executive Council for consideration and disposition.

At the meeting of the Grand Executive Council, held at Cincinnati, July 1-11, 1931, consideration was given to the action of the convention and the action of the officers in executing the Toronto agreement was approved.

Our Brotherhood believes that if there is a genuine effort made by all parties at interest, that this troublesome question can be disposed of through conference and therefore we await further advice from you.

Sincerely and fraternally yours,  
(Signed) GEO. M. HARRISON,  
*Grand President.*

The Executive Council entertains the hope that ultimately this jurisdictional question will be settled satisfactorily to all concerned. Progress has been made in this direction. The Executive Council is both willing and anxious to render additional service and to use its influence in trying to bring about complete acceptance of the decisions of the Executive Council and conventions of the American Federation of Labor relative to this dispute.

We recommend that a further conference of the representatives of the two organizations involved be held at some date which may be convenient, for the purpose of reaching an agreement; that the President of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to call such a conference; and that the Executive Council continue its efforts in the interest of understanding and of a settlement of the differences which exist between the two organizations involved.

**Theatrical Stage Employes—Electrical Workers**—We reported to the Boston convention that some progress had been made through conference and correspondence for a better understanding between the representatives of the International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employes and the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, and some other organizations affiliated to the Building Trades Department relative to the disputed claims of jurisdiction. We recommended, and the convention approved, that further efforts be put forth to reach an agreement and better understanding.

With this purpose in view a conference was held at the American Federation of Labor headquarters Wednesday and Thursday, May 27 and 28, between the representatives of the International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employes and representatives of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers. President Green and Secretary Morrison participated in the conference and aided in every possible way in trying to clear up all points of difference.

Proposals and counter-proposals were offered as a basis of settlement, but no one of them was acceptable to both sides. The conference adjourned without an agreement having been reached, but it is felt that a better understanding now prevails.

We recommend that the Executive Council be authorized to continue its efforts along these lines.

**Technical Engineers, Draftsmen—Federal Employes**—Through Resolution No. 11 Boston convention complaint was made by the Technical Engineers that the Federal Employes organization had accepted to membership employes who properly come under the jurisdiction of the former organization.

The two organizations were invited to have their representatives meet in conference at Federation headquarters. The conference was held November 21, 1930. Secretary

Morrison represented the Federation. The jurisdiction claimed by the Technical Engineers and Draftsmen is: All workers in drafting rooms with the exception of stenographers, typists, messengers and janitors.

The Federal Employes agreed insofar as regards stenographers, typists, messengers and janitors. However, they call attention to an agreement reached between the two organizations May 12, 1919, as follows:

NATIONAL FEDERATION OF FEDERAL EMPLOYES  
AFFILIATED WITH THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR  
HEADQUARTERS 404-9 CONTINENTAL TRUST BLDG., WASHINGTON, D. C.

May 12, 1919.

TO THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL,  
American Federation of Labor,  
Washington, D. C.

GENTLEMEN:

Referring to the request of the International Federation of Draftsmen's Unions to have jurisdiction of their organization extended to cover civil engineers, you are informed that a conference was had today between the undersigned, and a satisfactory agreement has been reached concerning the jurisdiction of the National Federation of Federal Employes and the International Federation of Draftsmen's Unions.

It is understood and agreed that the National Federation of Federal Employes will retain jurisdiction over civil engineers in the service of the Federal Government but that there will be no objection on the part of the National Federation of Federal Employes to such employes holding membership in the International Federation of Draftsmen's Unions so long as they remain in good standing in the National Federation of Federal Employes.

Seal—International  
federation of Draftsmen.

(sgd) ANTHONY J. OLIVER,  
*President, International Federation of Draftsmen's Unions.*

(sgd) LUTHER C. STEWARD,  
*President, National Federation of Federal Employes.*

Seal—National Federation  
of Federal Employes.

(sgd) E. J. NEWMYER,  
*Secretary-Treasurer, National Federation of Federal Employes.*

The officers of both organizations were in attendance upon our May meeting. Every opportunity was given them to present their respective claims. The Executive Council then declared:

That the Council was of the opinion that the action of the 1919 American Federation of Labor convention held in Atlantic City, clearly gave jurisdiction over the workers in question to the Draftsmen's organization. The question arises whether the Federal Employes has the right to retain some members they had at that time who would unquestionably come under the jurisdiction of the Draftsmen. The Council decides that those in that branch that belonged to the Federal Employes at that time, that organization has the right to retain because of the agreement entered into at that time but no others.

**Cigarmakers—Tobacco Workers**—With regard to the suggested merger of these organizations as recommended by the New Orleans convention, the situation remains practically the same as when we reported to the Boston convention but we confidently hope for eventual success.

**Flint Glass Workers—Machinists**—Throughout the year the Executive Council tried in every possible way to be helpful to the two contending organizations. We recommend continuation of this policy.

**Flint Glass Workers—Glass Bottle Blowers**—Through conference and correspondence we gave every aid within our power in trying to adjust the differences between these two organizations. The last conference was held September 12 and the representatives of neither organization would concede to the other the claim of jurisdiction over neon gas sign workers.

**Engineers—Firemen**—We continued our efforts to help bring about a better understanding between these two organizations regarding their respective claims of jurisdiction. Several conferences were held during the year, the last one just a few days prior to this convention. At this latter conference it was agreed that the executive boards of the two organizations would hold a conference in the near future when it is hoped the disputed points of jurisdiction will be amicably adjusted.

#### **EXTENSION OF TITLE**

During our January meeting the International Union of Pavers, Rammermen, Flag Layers, Bridge and Stone Curb Setters asked for extension of title to include asphalt workers. In making application the officers of the organization called attention to the fact that the Baltimore, 1916, convention of the American Federation of Labor established the jurisdiction of that organization over asphalt laying and that the application for extension of title to include asphalt workers makes no claim to any jurisdiction other than that granted by the Baltimore convention. The International Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers Union objected to the extension of title. The Pavers and Rammermen state there is no conflict with the International Brotherhood of Hod Carriers except that which relates to asphalt workers.

In view of the decision of the Baltimore convention granting jurisdiction over asphalt workers to the Pavers and Rammermen, we approved the application for extension of title to include jurisdiction over asphalt workers.

At our May meeting the Hod Carriers further protested against our action. We declared at that meeting:

That the Executive Council finds that in the proceedings of the Baltimore convention, 1916, page 333, the convention in acting on Resolution No. 104 stated definitely that there was no record that the Federation had ever conceded to the International Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union jurisdiction over asphalt workers. In acting on Resolution No. 125 the Baltimore convention recognized definitely that the International Union of Pavers and Rammermen had jurisdiction over the laying of asphalt. It finds further that the arbitration agreement referred to by the International Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers Union resulting from the action of the Buffalo convention, 1917, was only local in character and applies only to San Francisco in the particular case in dispute at that time. There is no jurisdiction question involved, this matter having been determined by the convention of the American Federation of Labor. Therefore, the Council was fully justified in granting the change of title at its Miami meeting as it involved no trespass on the jurisdiction of the International Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union.

The International Brotherhood of Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union thereupon gave formal notice of appeal to this convention.

All the correspondence in this case, if desired, will be placed before the committee to which this subject will be referred.

#### **CHANGE OF TITLE**

We approved the application for change in title of the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen and Oilers to International Brotherhood of Firemen and Oilers. This change in title does not carry with it any change in jurisdiction.

#### **BENEFIT SERVICES OF NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL UNIONS**

It is with a great deal of pleasure that there is outlined below the survey which has recently been completed by the American Federation of Labor and which shows the total amount of all forms of benefits expended by the trade union movement for the year 1930. The response to this feature of our report has been better than ever before, as it will be noted that but two organizations failed to submit reports. It is particularly gratifying to note that in every instance there has been a substantial in-

crease in the amount of benefits paid by our international unions, with one exception; namely, the payment of miscellaneous benefits. The survey shows that almost a million dollars more in sick benefits were expended in 1930 than in 1929 with approximately the same increase reported in death benefits. An increase of a million dollars is noted in old-age pension payments together with an increase of over \$500,000 in disability payments. Of particular interest, however, is the sum reported to have been paid for unemployment benefits. Over three and a quarter millions of dollars was spent in 1930 by our affiliated locals and the four railroad brotherhoods in this form of benefit. This is an increase of over \$3,000,000 over the figures reported last year and shows in a concrete way the method by which our organizations meet the unemployment crisis so prevalent during the year. The survey shows the following benefits paid during the year 1930:

|                    |                        |
|--------------------|------------------------|
| Sick.....          | \$3,649,703.15         |
| Death.....         | 18,527,095.00          |
| Unemployment.....  | 3,311,279.50           |
| Old Age.....       | 5,910,995.41           |
| Disability.....    | 3,234,066.93           |
| Miscellaneous..... | 2,064,839.57           |
| <b>Total.....</b>  | <b>\$36,697,979.56</b> |

A comparison of the benefits paid in 1928, 1929 and 1930 follows herewith:

|                            | 1928                   | 1929                   | 1930                   |
|----------------------------|------------------------|------------------------|------------------------|
| Sick.....                  | \$2,377,746.38         | \$2,831,936.82         | \$3,649,703.15         |
| Death.....                 | 16,623,585.93          | 17,598,287.03          | 18,527,095.00          |
| Unemployment.....          | 665,279.88             | 276,717.50             | 3,311,279.50           |
| Old Age.....               | 4,712,731.29           | 4,883,027.88           | 5,910,995.41           |
| Disability.....            | 3,825,578.46           | 2,707,187.63           | 3,234,066.93           |
| Miscellaneous.....         | 5,149,052.60           | 3,945,287.63           | 2,064,839.57           |
| <b>Total Benefits.....</b> | <b>\$32,818,924.54</b> | <b>\$32,242,444.40</b> | <b>\$36,697,979.56</b> |

It will be noted that a number of our organizations pay no international benefits of any character. It does not necessarily follow, however, that no benefits are paid by the local unions affiliated to such internationals. The fact that these organizations do not pay benefits raised the inescapable presumption that all of their local unions pay benefits of some character. Unfortunately, however, there is no record of benefits paid by these local unions.

In glancing over the report, it will also be seen that many of the returns submitted by our affiliated national and international unions included as well benefits paid by their local unions. For instance, the Photo-Engravers' Union reported over three quarters of a million dollars spent by its local unions in unemployment benefits. The Typographical Union reported approximately the same expenditure by its local unions. The Printing Pressmen's Union included in its report payments made by some of its local unions, it not being possible to secure sums from all of them. The United Mine Workers of America reported the payment of \$1,600,000 expended by its local unions for death and unemployment benefits, while the Elevator Constructors, Painters and Plumbers reported expenditures of over \$100,000 each by their affiliated local unions as unemployment benefits. No doubt, the increase in the figures presented for the year 1930 over those presented for the year 1929 is due to the fact that several of our affiliated unions in their returns included as far as possible payments made by their affiliated local unions.

The suggestion which the Executive Council made to the last convention is accordingly repeated here; namely, that all of our affiliated national and international unions endeavor to secure accurate figures which will show all benefits paid by their affiliated local unions. This suggestion is particularly appropriate to those organizations which do not pay international benefits as such.

It is interesting to note that the expenditure of over \$36,000,000 for 1930 in all forms of benefits represents an average payment of over \$100,000 per day throughout the year. These figures present a striking example of the manner in which our trade union movement is meeting the needs and necessities of its members.

The detailed table follows:

## BENEFIT SERVICES OF STANDARD NATIONAL

| Organization   | BENEFITS PAID                              |   |   |                           |
|--|--|---|---|---------------------------|
|  | Sick                                       | Death   | Unemployment                                  | Old Age Pension           |
| 1 American Federation of Labor.....  |  |   |   |                           |
| 2 Actors and Artistes of America, Associated.....                          | NO   | INTERN  | ATIONAL                                       | BENEFITS                  |
| 3 Asbestos Workers, Intl. Asso. of H. and F. I.....                        | NO   | INTERN  | ATIONAL                                       | BENEFITS                  |
| 4 Bakery and Confectionery Wkrs. I. U. of A.....                           | 112,222.32                                 | 22,957.00                                       |   |                           |
| 5 Barbers' International Union, Journeymen.....                            | 258,730.00                                 | 107,106.09                                      |   |                           |
| 6 Bill Posters and Billers of America, Intl. All. of.....                  | NO   | INTERN  | ATIONAL                                       | BENEFITS                  |
| 7 Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and H. Int. Bro. of.....                       |  | 11,950.00                                       |   |                           |
| 8 Boiler Makers, Iron Ship Bldg & H. of A., I. B. of.....                  | 2,410.00                                   | 339,600.00                                      |   |                           |
| 9 Bookbinders, International Brotherhood of.....                           |  | 58,900.00                                       | 6,328.50                                      |                           |
| 10 Boot and Shoe Workers' Union.....                                       | 58,982.07                                  | 29,631.50                                       |   |                           |
| 11 Brewery, Flour, Cereal & S.D.W. of A., I. U. of U.....                  | 9,437.41 <sup>1</sup>                      | 13,065.75 <sup>1</sup>                          | 2,437.75 <sup>1</sup>                         |                           |
| 12 Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' I. U. of A.....                     | 762.40 <sup>1</sup>                        | 367,295.60 <sup>1</sup>                         |   | 768,913.49 <sup>1</sup>   |
| 13 Brick and Clay Workers of America, The United.....                      | 4,250.00 <sup>1</sup>                      | 15,100.00 <sup>1</sup>                          |   |                           |
| 14 Bridge and Structural Iron Workers Intl. Asso.....                      |  | 61,800.00                                       |   | 158,425.00                |
| 15 Broom and Whisk Makers' Union, International.....                       |  | 700.00  |   |                           |
| 16 Building Service Employees' Int. Union.....                             | NO   | INTERN  | ATIONAL                                       | BENEFITS                  |
| 17 Carmen of America, Brotherhood Railway.....                             |  | 131,750.00                                      |   |                           |
| 18 Carpenters and Joiners of America, U. B. of.....                        |  | 715,976.75                                      |   | 458,100.00                |
| 19 Carvers' Association of N. A., Int. Wood.....                           |  | 5,800.00  |   |                           |
| 20 Cigarmakers' International Union of America.....                        |  | 101,100.00                                      |   |                           |
| 21 Clerks, National Federation of Post Office.....                         | 48,871.84                                  | 38,000.00                                       |   |                           |
| 22 Clerks, Brotherhood of Railway.....                                     |  | 373,450.00                                      |   |                           |
| 23 Clerks' Intl Protective Association, Retail.....                        |  | 4,975.00  |   |                           |
| 24 Cloth Hat, Cap & Millinery Workers' I. U.....                           | 5,361.00                                   |   | 39,480.00                                     |                           |
| 25 Conductors of America, Order of Railway.....                            | 253,369.90                                 | 1,740,101.50                                    |   |                           |
| 26 Conductors, Order of Sleeping Car.....                                  |  | 33,815.43                                       |   |                           |
| 27 Coopers' International Union of North America.....                      |  | 1,750.00  |   |                           |
| 28 Diamond Workers' Protective Union of America.....                       | 2,574.00                                   | 6,850.00  | 16,531.50                                     |                           |
| 29 Draftsmen's Union, I. F. of T. E. A. and.....                           | NO   | INTERN  | ATIONAL                                       | BENEFITS                  |
| 30 Electrical Workers of America, Int. Bro. of.....                        |  | 334,800.00                                      |   | 38,832.00                 |
| 31 Elevator Constructors, International Union of.....                      |  |   | 112,000.00 <sup>1</sup>                       |                           |
| 32 Engineers, Brotherhood of Locomotive.....                               | 85,812.40                                  | 3,620,959.99                                    |   | 2,101,329.95 <sup>1</sup> |
| 33 Engineers, International Union of Operating.....                        |  | 119,000.00                                      |   |                           |
| 34 Engravers' Union, International Metal.....                              | NO   | REP   | ORT   | RECEIVED                  |
| 35 Engravers' Union of N. A., International Photo.....                     | 58,513.91 <sup>2</sup>                     | 156,424.50 <sup>2</sup>                         | 739,976.05 <sup>1</sup>                       |                           |
| 36 Federal Employees, National Federation of.....                          | 4,315.00 <sup>1</sup>                      | 2,100.00 <sup>1</sup>                           |   |                           |
| 37 Fire Fighters, International Association of.....                        | NO   | INTERN  | ATIONAL                                       | BENEFITS                  |
| 38 Firemen & Enginemen, Bro. of Locomotive.....                            | 1,218,297.56                               | 1,133,800.00                                    |   | 268,000.00                |
| 39 Firemen & Oilers, Int. Bro. of.....                                     | 2,500.00                                   | 14,175.00                                       | 3,200.00                                      | 500.00                    |
| 40 Foundry Employees, Int. Brotherhood of.....                             |  | 1,000.00  |   |                           |
| 41 Fur Workers' Union of the U. S. and Can., Int.....                      |  | 900.00  | 20,000.00 <sup>1</sup>                        |                           |
| 42 Garment Workers of America, United.....                                 |  | 24,700.00                                       |   |                           |
| 43 Garment Workers' Union, Int. Ladies.....                                | 19,000.50                                  | 4,025.00  | 25,700.00                                     | 9,145.00                  |
| 44 Glass Bottle Blowers' Asso. of the U. S. & Can.....                     | 5,670.00 <sup>1</sup>                      | 41,074.00                                       |   |                           |
| 45 Glass Cutters League of America, Window.....                            |  | 4,300.00  |   |                           |
| 46 Glass Workers' Union, American Flint.....                               |  | 24,600.00                                       |   |                           |
| 47 Glove Workers' Union of America, Int.....                               | NO   | INTERN  | ATIONAL                                       | BENEFITS                  |
| 48 Granite Cutters' International Association of A.....                    |  | 64,646.95                                       | 9,278.00                                      | 16,410.00                 |
| 49 Hatters of North America, United.....                                   |  | 32,750.00                                       |   |                           |
| 50 Hod Carriers, Bldg. & Com. Lab. U. of A., Intl.....                     | 39,834.05 <sup>1</sup>                     | 152,744.50 <sup>2</sup>                         |   |                           |
| 51 Horse Shoers of U. S. & Can., I. U. of Jour'men.....                    | NO   | INTERN  | ATIONAL                                       | BENEFITS                  |
| 52 Hotel and Restaurant Employees & B. D. I. A.....                        | 69,601.80                                  | 55,662.70 <sup>2</sup>                          |   |                           |
| 53 Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, Amal. Assn. of.....                        |  | 39,205.50                                       | 10,192.00                                     |                           |
| 54 Jewelry Workers' Union, International.....                              | NO   | INTERN  | ATIONAL                                       | BENEFITS                  |
| 55 Lathers', Intl. Union of Wood, Wire and Metal.....                      | 28,913.70 <sup>1</sup>                     | 24,600.00                                       |   |                           |
| 56 Laundry Workers International Union.....                                | 376.00                                     | 3,750.00  | 72.00   |                           |
| 57 Leather Workers United, International Union.....                        | 639.00                                     | 200.00  |   |                           |
| 58 Letter Carriers, National Association of.....                           | 153,304.94                                 | 156,703.56                                      |   |                           |
| 59 Letter Carriers, National Federation of Rural.....                      | NO   | INTERN  | ATIONAL                                       | BENEFITS                  |
| 60 Lithographers I. P. & B. A. of the U. S. & Can.....                     |  | 39,730.00                                       |   |                           |
| 61 Longshoremen's Association, International.....                          | NO   | INTERN  | ATIONAL                                       | BENEFITS                  |
| 62 Machinists, International Association of.....                           | 28,448.25                                  | 250,183.25                                      | 31,125.66                                     |                           |
| 63 Maintenance of Way Employees, Bro. of.....                              |  | 222,550.00                                      |   |                           |
| 64 Marble, Slate & Stone P. R. & S., T. & M. S. H.,<br>and T. R. I. A..... | 310.50 <sup>1</sup><br>427.00 <sup>1</sup> | 10,025.00 <sup>2</sup><br>1,930.00 <sup>1</sup> | 16,193.00 <sup>1</sup><br>680.00 <sup>1</sup> |                           |
| 65 Masters, Mates & Pilots of America, Nat. Org.....                       |  |   |   |                           |
| 66 Meat Cutters & Butcher Workmen of N.A., Amal.....                       |  | 25,150.00                                       |   |                           |
| 67 Metal Workers, Sheet, International Association.....                    |  | 58,000.00                                       |   |                           |

AND INTERNATIONAL UNIONS FOR 1930

|            |               | GENERAL TERMS OF EMPLOYMENT  |                     |                                    |               |    |
|------------|---------------|------------------------------|---------------------|------------------------------------|---------------|----|
| Disability | Miscellaneous | Average Wage                 | Average Workday     | Average Workweek in Hours and Days | Five-Day Week |    |
|            | 2,044.00      |                              |                     |                                    |               | 1  |
|            |               | \$1.25 per hour              | 8 hours             | 40-44 hrs., 5-5½ days              | 2,060         | 2  |
|            | 2,050.00      | \$38.99 per week             | 8-14 hours          | 48-49 hours, 6 days                |               | 3  |
|            |               |                              |                     |                                    |               | 4  |
|            |               |                              |                     |                                    |               | 5  |
|            |               | \$80 per hour                | 8 hours             | 40 hours                           |               | 7  |
|            | 2,492.18      | \$80-\$1.625 per hr. Mech.   | 8 hours             | 40 hrs., 5 days bldg. Ind.         |               | 8  |
|            |               | \$51-\$1.52 per hr., Helpers |                     | 48 hrs., 6 days, all others.       |               |    |
|            | 3,115.75      | \$43.00 per week             | 8 hours             | 44 hours 5½ days                   |               | 9  |
| 5,600.00   |               |                              | 8 hours             | 44 hours, 5½ days                  |               | 10 |
|            | 6,141.28      | \$34.00 per week             | 8 hours             | 48 hours, 6 days                   |               | 11 |
| 1,750.00   | 1,309.96      |                              | 8 hours             | 44 hours, 5½ days                  | 24,300        | 12 |
|            | 1,520.00      | \$85 per hour                | 8½ hours            |                                    | 3,000         | 13 |
|            |               |                              |                     |                                    |               | 14 |
|            |               | \$25-\$42 per week           | 8 hours             | 44 hours, 5½ days                  |               | 15 |
|            |               |                              | 24 hours per day    | 168 hours, 7 days                  |               | 16 |
| 10,400.00  |               |                              | 8 hours             | 42 hours, 5½ days                  | 125,000       | 17 |
| 55,550.00  | 2,841.00      | \$9.00 per day               | 8 hours             |                                    | 550           | 18 |
|            | 1,439.00      |                              | 8 hours             | 44 hours, 5½ days                  |               | 19 |
| 815.58     | 1,368.00      |                              | 8 hours             | 44 hours, 5½ days                  |               | 20 |
|            |               | \$2,000 per year             | 8 hours             | 44 hours, 5½ days                  |               | 21 |
|            |               | \$65 per hour                | 8 hours             | 44 hours, 5½ days                  | 2,946         | 22 |
|            |               | \$18.00 per week             | 8 hours             | 48 hours, 6 days                   |               | 23 |
|            | 3,585.00      | \$40 per wk. cap makers      | 8 hours             | 40 hrs., 5 days, Cap makers        | 2,000         | 24 |
|            |               | \$65 per week, Millinery     |                     | 44 hrs., 5½ days, Millinery        |               |    |
| 81,500.00  | 218,817.20    | \$6.56-\$7.20 per day        | 5½ hours-8 hours    | 38½-56 hours, 6-7 days             |               | 25 |
| 4,600.00   |               | \$176.50 per month           | 8 hours             | 56 hours, 7 days                   |               | 26 |
|            |               | \$30.00 per week             | 8 hours             | 48 hours, 6 days                   |               | 27 |
|            |               | \$75.00 per week             | 8 hours             | 44 hours, 5½ days                  |               | 28 |
|            |               | \$1,500-\$3,600 per year     | 7 hours             | 39 hours, 5½ days                  |               | 29 |
|            |               | \$1.17 per hour              | 8 hours             | 40-44 hours, 5-5½ days             | 40,000        | 30 |
|            |               | \$1.70 per hour              | 8 hours             | 40 hours 5 days                    | 10,164        | 31 |
| 112,836.98 | 382,908.43    | Paid on mileage basis        |                     |                                    |               | 32 |
|            |               | \$1.00-\$1.25 per hour       | 8 hours             | 40 hrs. 5 days bldg. trades        | 7,000         | 33 |
|            |               |                              |                     | 48 hrs. 6 days stationary          |               | 34 |
| 2,612.47   | 98,795.55     | \$50.00-\$79.00 per week     | 8 hours             | 8 mos. 44 hrs., 5½ days            | 7,200         | 35 |
|            |               |                              |                     | 4 mos., 40 hrs., 5 days            |               | 36 |
|            |               | \$2,250.00 per year          | 12 hours            | 84 hrs., 7 days                    |               | 37 |
| 225,250.00 |               |                              |                     |                                    |               | 38 |
| 2,500.00   | 1,000.00      | \$1.00 per hour              | 8 hours             | 48 hours, 6 days                   | 425           | 39 |
|            |               | \$50 per hour                | 8 hours             | 48 hours, 6 days                   |               | 40 |
|            |               | \$45.00 per week             | 8 hours             | 41 hours, 5 days                   | 10,000        | 41 |
|            |               |                              | 8 hours             | 40-44 hours, 5-5½ days             | 7,500         | 42 |
|            |               | \$50.00 per week             | 8 hours             | 40 hours, 5 days                   | 45,000        | 43 |
|            |               | \$7.87 per day               | 8 hours             | 44 hours, 5½ days                  | 382           | 44 |
|            |               |                              |                     |                                    |               | 45 |
|            |               | \$30.96 per week             | 8½ hours            | 45½ hours, 5½ days                 | 71            | 46 |
|            |               | \$27.50 per week             | 8 hours             | 44 hours, 5½ days                  | 50            | 47 |
| 4,500.00   |               | \$9.00 per day               | 8 hours             | 40 hours, 5 days                   | 6,000         | 48 |
|            |               |                              |                     |                                    |               | 49 |
|            | 34,991.62     | \$94 per hour                | 8 hours             | 40-44 hours, 5-5½ days             | 9,500         | 50 |
|            |               |                              |                     |                                    |               | 51 |
|            | 346,124.52    |                              |                     |                                    |               | 52 |
|            |               | \$50-\$1.00 per hour         | 8 hours             |                                    | 3,844         | 53 |
|            |               | \$10.63 per day              | 8 hours             | 44 hours, 5½ days                  | 8,400         | 54 |
| 2,790.00   |               | \$15. woman; \$30 men per wk | 8½ hours            | 48 hours, 5½ days                  | 40            | 56 |
|            |               | \$35.00 per week             | 8 hours             | 44 hours, 5½ days                  |               | 57 |
|            |               | \$2,100 per year             | 8 hours             | 48 hours, 6 days                   |               | 58 |
|            | 7,620.75      | \$2,100 per year             | 7 hours             | 42 hours, 6 days                   |               | 59 |
|            |               | \$35.00-\$60.00 per week     | 8 hours             | 46 hours, 5½ days                  |               | 60 |
|            |               |                              |                     |                                    |               | 61 |
| 10,000.00  | 32,497.34     | \$90 per hour                | 8 hours             | 44 hours, 5½ days                  | 15,000        | 62 |
|            |               | \$70-\$174 per month         | 8 hours             | 48 hours, 6 days                   |               | 63 |
|            |               |                              |                     |                                    |               | 64 |
|            | 1,710.00      | \$7.50 per day               | 8 hours             | 44 hours, 5½ days                  | 6,000         | 64 |
|            |               |                              | 8-10 h. single crew | 6 days                             |               | 65 |
|            |               |                              | 12 h. double crew   |                                    |               | 66 |
|            | 1,992.00      |                              |                     |                                    |               | 66 |
|            | 4,712.50      | \$1.25 per hour              | 8 hours             | 44 hours, 5½ days                  | 7,674         | 67 |

## BENEFIT SERVICES OF STANDARD NATIONAL

| Organization   | BENEFITS PAID           |                           |                         |                          |
|--|-------------------------|---------------------------|-------------------------|--------------------------|
|  | Sick                    | Death                     | Unemployment            | Old Age Pension          |
| 68 Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, Int. Union of                         | 12,189.00 <sup>1</sup>  | 5,199.00 <sup>1</sup>     |                         |                          |
| 69 Mine Workers of America, United                                       |                         | 1,000,000.00 <sup>1</sup> | 600,000.00 <sup>1</sup> |                          |
| 70 Molders United of North America, International                        | 176,819.95              | 320,773.05                | 107,932.80              |                          |
| 71 Musicians, American Federation of                                     | NO                      | INTERN                    | ATIONAL                 | BENEFITS                 |
| 72 Oil Field, Gas Well & Refinery Wrks. of America                       |                         | 5,500.00                  | 2,000.00                |                          |
| 73 Painters, Decorators & Paperhangers of A., Bro. of                    | 117,864.91 <sup>1</sup> | 415,279.92 <sup>1</sup>   | 108,646.72 <sup>1</sup> |                          |
| 74 Paper Makers, International Brotherhood of                            |                         | 6,125.70                  |                         |                          |
| 75 Pattern Makers League of North America                                | 6,936.88 <sup>2</sup>   | 11,648.00 <sup>2</sup>    |                         |                          |
| 76 Pavers, Rammermen, F. L., B. & S. C. S., & S. A. P. I. U. of          | NO                      | INTERN                    | ATIONAL                 | BENEFITS                 |
| 77 Paving Cutters Union of the U. S. of A. & Can.                        |                         | 4,468.53                  |                         |                          |
| 78 Piano and Organ Workers Union of Amer., Int.                          | 445.00                  | 680.00                    | 7,800.00                |                          |
| 79 Plasterers Int. Assn. of the U. S. & Can., Oper                       |                         | 72,225.00                 | 5,080.00                |                          |
| 80 Plumbers & Steamfitters of U. S. & C., U. A. of                       | 185,000.00              | 387,000.00 <sup>2</sup>   | 100,000.00 <sup>1</sup> |                          |
| 81 Polishers, Metal, International Union                                 |                         | 7,400.00                  | 17,000.00               |                          |
| 82 Pottery, National Brotherhood of Operative                            | 5,084.21                | 16,180.00                 |                         |                          |
| 83 Powder and High Explosive Workers of A., United                       | 200.00                  | 300.00                    |                         |                          |
| 84 Printers, D. S. & E. Union of N. A., I. Plate                         |                         | 9,871.50                  |                         |                          |
| 85 Printing Pressmen & Assistants' U. of N. A., Int.                     | 49,722.48 <sup>2</sup>  | 235,324.82 <sup>2</sup>   | 521,507.50 <sup>2</sup> | 82,719.00 <sup>2</sup>   |
| 86 Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill W. of the U. S. and Can., Intl. Bro. of |                         |                           | 2,000.00                |                          |
| 87 Quarry Workers, International Union of N. A.                          | 300.00                  | 3,625.00                  |                         | 1,100.00                 |
| 88 Railway Emp. of A., A. A. of Street & Electric                        |                         | 1,016,451.10 <sup>2</sup> |                         | 116,800.00               |
| 89 Railway Mail Association  |                         | 50,955.53                 |                         |                          |
| 90 Roofers, Damp & Waterproof W.A., U.S.T.&C.                            |                         | 14,600.00                 |                         |                          |
| 91 Seamen's Union of America, International                              | 8,907.22 <sup>1</sup>   | 8,090.00 <sup>1</sup>     |                         |                          |
| 92 Siderographers, International Association of                          | NO                      | REP                       | ORT                     | RECEIVED                 |
| 93 Stage Employes & M. P. M. O. of the U. S. & C.                        | NO                      | INTERN                    | ATIONAL                 | BENEFITS                 |
| 94 Stereotypers and Electrotypers U. of N. A., Int.                      |                         | 27,200.00                 |                         |                          |
| 95 Stonecutters Association of N. A., Journeymen                         |                         | 24,000.00                 |                         |                          |
| 96 Stove Mounters' International Union                                   |                         | 6,500.00                  | 3,735.00                |                          |
| 97 Switchmen's Union of North America                                    |                         | 152,625.00                |                         | 63,750.00                |
| 98 Tailors' Union of America, Journeymen                                 | 17,858.50 <sup>2</sup>  | 8,274.00                  | 4,000.00 <sup>1</sup>   |                          |
| 99 Teachers, American Federation of                                      | NO                      | INTERN                    | ATIONAL                 | BENEFITS                 |
| 100 Teamsters, Chauffeurs, S. & H. of A. I. B. of                        |                         |                           |                         |                          |
| 101 Telegraphers, Order of Railroad                                      | 9,535.00                | 296,453.58                |                         |                          |
| 102 Telegraphers Union of N. A., The Commercial                          | 300.00 <sup>1</sup>     | 6,380.08 <sup>2</sup>     | 14,083.00 <sup>1</sup>  |                          |
| 103 Textile Workers of America, United                                   |                         | 4,600.00                  |                         |                          |
| 104 Tobacco Workers' International Union                                 | 2,400.00                | 450.00                    |                         |                          |
| 105 Trainmen, Brotherhood of Railroad                                    | 495,577.50              | 2,943,668.38              |                         | 359,600.00               |
| 106 Typographical Union, International                                   | 86,678.95 <sup>1</sup>  | 628,815.84 <sup>2</sup>   | 783,339.34 <sup>1</sup> | 1,467,370.9 <sup>2</sup> |
| 107 Upholsterers' International Union of N. A.                           |                         |                           |                         |                          |
| 108 Wall Paper Crafts of North America, United                           | 648.00                  | 5,200.00                  | 960.64                  |                          |
| 109 Weavers Protective Association, American Wire                        | 300.00 <sup>1</sup>     | 500.00 <sup>2</sup>       |                         |                          |
| Totals   | \$3,649,703.15          | \$18,527,095.00           | \$3,311,279.50          | \$5,910,995.41           |

## RECAPITULATION

|                        |                 |
|------------------------|-----------------|
| Sick benefits          | \$3,649,703.15  |
| Death benefits         | 18,527,095.00   |
| Unemployment benefits  | 3,311,279.50    |
| Old Age pensions       | 5,910,995.41    |
| Disability benefits    | 3,234,066.93    |
| Miscellaneous benefits | 2,064,839.37    |
| Total benefits         | \$36,697,979.56 |

AND INTERNATIONAL UNIONS FOR 1930—Continued

|                         |                         | GENERAL TERMS OF EMPLOYMENT |  |  |                  |
|-------------------------|-------------------------|-----------------------------|--|--|------------------|
| Disability              | Miscellaneous           | Average Wage                | Average Workday  | Average Workweek in Hours and Days   | Five-Day Week    |
|                         |                         | \$6.10 per day, bituminous  | 8 hours  | 48 hours, 6 days   | 68               |
|                         |                         | \$6.00 per day, anthracite  |  |  | 69               |
| 17,250.00               | 146,358.60              | \$7.54 per day              | 8 hours  | 48 hours, 6 days   | 70               |
|                         |                         |                             | 8 h. in Cal. and refineries, 12 h. oil fields el'wh're |  | 71               |
|                         |                         |                             | 8 hours  |  | 1,000            |
| 171,775.00 <sup>1</sup> | 17,134.68               | \$1.12 per hour             | 8 hours  | 40 hours, 5 days   | 76,543           |
|                         |                         | \$48.00 per week            | 8 hours  | 48 hours, 6 days   | 492              |
|                         | 5,339.40                | \$1.00 per hour             | 8 hours  | 44 hours, 5½ days  | 75               |
|                         |                         |                             |  |  |                  |
|                         | 7,072.25                | \$7.35-\$13.20 per day      | 8 hours  | 44 hours, 5½ days  | 580              |
|                         |                         |                             | 8 hours  | 44 hours, 5½ days  | 200              |
| 3,200.00                | 145,104.25              | \$9.91 per day              | 8 hours  | 40 hours, 5 days   | 26,448           |
|                         | 25,000.00               | \$11.00 per day             | 8 hours  | 40 hours, 5 days   | 41,076           |
|                         | 5,875.00                | \$1.00 per hour             | 8 hours  | 44 hours, 5½ days  | 200              |
|                         |                         | Piece work                  |  |  | 82               |
|                         |                         | \$5.00 per day              | 8 hours  |  | 83               |
|                         |                         | \$50.00 per week            | 7 hours  | 38 hours, 5½ days  | 91               |
| 29,395.53 <sup>2</sup>  | 20,398.98               | \$47.00 per week            | 8 hours, com.  | 44 hrs, 5½ days, com, 45 hrs, 6 days, news day, 40 hrs, 5½ days, news, ngt | 84               |
|                         |                         |                             | 7½ hrs. news   |  | 85               |
|                         |                         | \$4.00 per day              | 8 hours  | 48 hours, 6 days   | 86               |
|                         | 27,472.50               | \$6.75 per hour             | 8 hours  | 44 hours, 5½ days  | 2,500            |
| 23,350.00               | 25,979.00               |                             |  |  | 87               |
| 124,728.00              |                         | \$2,481 per year            | 8 hours  | 48 hours, 6 days   | 88               |
|                         |                         | \$1.375 per hour            | 8 hours  | 42 hours, 5½ days  | 3,000            |
| 600.00 <sup>3</sup>     | 3,134.00                |                             | 8-12 hours   | 56-84 hours, 6-7 days  | 90               |
|                         |                         |                             | 5½ hours   |  | 91               |
|                         | 13,980.00               | \$50.00 per week            | 8 hours  | Com. 44 hours, 5½ days News, 48 hours, 6 days                              | 92               |
|                         |                         |                             | 8 hours  | 40-44 hours, 5-5½ days   | 93               |
|                         | 7,665.00                | \$1.23 per hour             | 8 hours  | 44 hours, 5½ days  | 250 <sup>4</sup> |
|                         |                         | \$90 per hour               | 8 hours  | 48 hours, 6 days   | 95               |
|                         | 3,500.00                | \$8275 per hour             | 8 hours  | 48 hours, 6 days   | 96               |
|                         |                         | \$90 per hour               | 8 hours  | 48 hours, 6 days   | 97               |
|                         | 1,950.00                | \$2,337.52 per year         | 5½ hours   | 27½ hours, 5 days  | 6,333            |
|                         |                         | \$6.684 per hour            | 9 hours  | 54 hours, 6 days   | 100              |
|                         |                         |                             | 8 hours  | 52 hours, 6½ days  | 101              |
|                         | 30,839.27 <sup>5</sup>  |                             |  |  | 102              |
|                         | 82,467.00               | \$21.00 per week            | 9 hours  | 50 hours, 5½ days  | 103              |
|                         |                         | \$20.00 per week            | 8 hours  | 44 hours, 5½ days  | 104              |
| 1,969,828.95            | 165,445.00              |                             |  |  | 105              |
| 373,234.40              | 154,883.62 <sup>6</sup> | \$50.66 per week            | 8 hours  | 44 hours, 5½ days  | 5,000            |
|                         | 15,876.00               | \$60.00 per week            | 8 hours  | 44 hours, 5½ days  | 4,404            |
|                         | 289.00                  | \$1.04 per hour             | 10 hours   | 50 hours, 5 days   | 580              |
|                         |                         |                             | 9 hours  | 50 hours, 5½ days  | 18               |
| \$3,234,066.93          | \$2,064,839.57          |                             |  |  | 557,921          |

<sup>1</sup> Paid by local unions.  
<sup>2</sup> Includes local unions benefits.  
<sup>3</sup> Includes disability.  
<sup>4</sup> In summer months.  
<sup>5</sup> Includes sick benefits.  
<sup>6</sup> Temporarily.  
<sup>7</sup> Includes widows' pensions

### FIVE-DAY WEEK

In last year's report to the annual convention, the Executive Council included therein an outline map which gave a geographical outline of the extent to which the organized workers of our country, as represented by the American Federation of Labor had secured the five-day work week. In this report it was shown that over half a million of our organized workers had secured the five-day work week.

Because it is thought that the growth of this development along geographical lines would be of interest an outline map covering this feature is herewith presented again as a feature of our report. From a comparison with last year's figures it will be noted that increases in the five-day work week are shown in twenty-three states, decreases in the number of workmen are noted in ten states while the figures for ten other states remain constant.

The heaviest decreases occurred in the states of California, Massachusetts, Washington and the Dominion of Canada. The greatest increases were secured in the states of Illinois, New York, Ohio and Texas.

It is perhaps true that the decrease noted in these ten states above referred to has been due to the inability to secure returns from the unions with whom correspondence was entered into concerning this matter. Then, too, it is most likely that the decreases noted in some states have been reflected in increases in other states because of the migration of workers. According to information coming to this office in no instance have the workers formerly enjoying the five-day work week returned to either the five and a half or six-day work week.

Upon the chart shown last year, eight states were not represented. There are only seven states not represented this year, namely, Arizona, Idaho, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Dakota and Wyoming.

Again it is urged that our affiliated national and international unions make an exact survey covering the extent of the five-day work week both within their membership and within their industry. It is hoped that when future information is requested upon this subject, the same willing cooperation exhibited in the past will be continued.

An outline map showing at a glance the distribution of these workers appears on page 85.

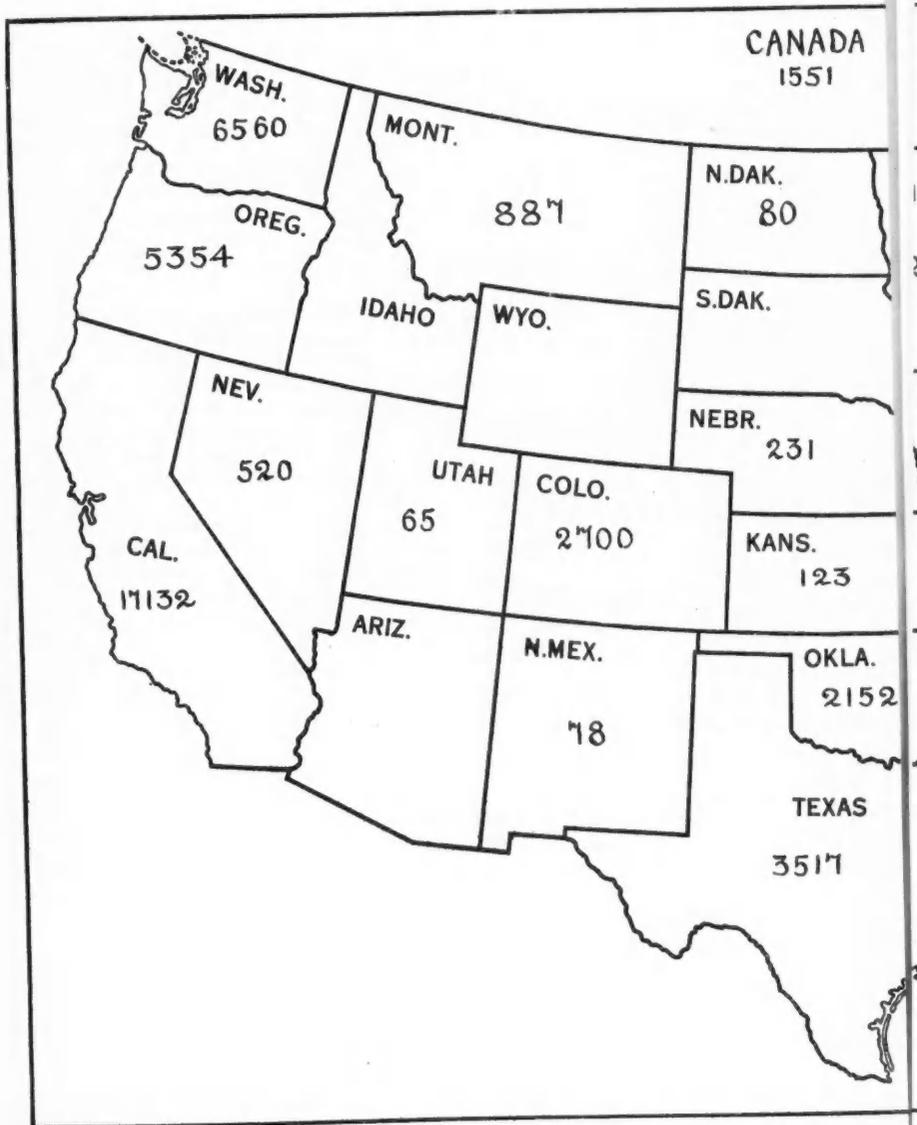
### NATIONAL LEGISLATION

Organized labor succeeded in prevailing upon members of Congress to enact into law during the short session a number of legislative measures in which it was deeply interested. The appropriation bills and relief for the drought-stricken states took up the greater part of the time.

For many years the building trades have suffered from the low wages paid on government work. Contractors would obtain contracts for public buildings upon which they would pay wages to the workers of not more than 50 per cent and some times less of the prevailing wage rates. Workmen would be imported from one state to another, thereby increasing the suffering of local labor. In many cases these imported workmen were housed and fed in barracks. The enactment of the prevailing rate law will prove a great benefit so far as it goes. Amendments to further benefit the building trades will be submitted at future sessions of Congress.

The law applies to public building in the United States and the District of Columbia. It does not apply to the construction of good roads. The wages now









being paid by road contractors range from 15 cents to 30 cents an hour for common labor and 40 cents for skilled workers. This situation should be remedied by Congress where federal funds are used in the construction of good roads.

Another important and far reaching measure enacted into law provides for a five and one-half day week for nearly 600,000 federal employees.

In addition to the favorable legislation obtained several bills hostile to Labor did not become laws. Three bills favorable to Labor which were passed by Congress were vetoed.

Owing to the congestion in Congress, those members of the Senate, who were fighting for Labor's anti-injunction bill recommended that its consideration be postponed until the next Congress.

During the 1930 Congressional campaign a questionnaire was submitted to most of the candidates for Congress asking them what their attitude would be toward the report made by the subcommittee of the Judiciary Committee of the Senate. Out of a total of 223 candidates of the House questioned 161 pledged themselves to vote for the bill, 3 opposed it and 59 did not reply. Twenty-seven candidates for the Senate in 20 states gave a pledge to vote for the bill.

Owing to the political divisions in both Houses and the Presidential election next year, it is believed that there will be greater sentiment for remedial legislation than ever before.

Bills of especial interest to Labor which passed Congress and became laws are those providing for:

1. Prevailing rates of wages on public buildings in the United States and the District of Columbia—Public 798.
2. Saturday half-holidays for nearly 600,000 government employees without reduction of wages and salaries—Publics 672-783.
3. Advance planning for public works to be constructed during depressions—Public 616.
4. Creation of a Department of Labor in Porto Rico—Public 677.
5. Extension of provisions of the Vocational and Rehabilitation Acts to Porto Rico—Public 791.
6. Retirement Act for Panama Canal and Panama Railroad employees—Public 781.
7. Adjustment of wages of certain employees in the Custom Service—Public 545.
8. Appropriation of \$500,000 additional to increase the border immigration patrol—Public 719.
9. Appropriation of \$178,000 to collect complete statistics of changes in employment, total wages paid and total hours of employment in the service of the federal government, the states and political subdivisions thereof.—Public 869.
10. Modernization of three battle ships in the government navy yards and arsenals at a cost of \$30,000,000—Public 746.
11. Requiring all work on eleven new destroyers at a cost of \$51,700,000 to be performed in the navy yards and arsenals when it does not cost appreciably more than by contract. Ten million dollars appropriated to begin construction.—Public 745.
12. Extra compensation for overtime service performed by immigration inspectors and other employees of the immigration service.—Public 774.
13. Books for the adult mind.—Public 787.
14. Appropriating an additional \$500,000 for improving the United States Employment Service.—Public 869.
15. Increase of \$200 in wages for railroad locomotive, Bureau of Safety and hours of service inspectors.

**Hostile Bills Defeated**

1. Unification of the border patrols.
2. Permitting waiving of jury trials.
3. "Equal Rights" amendment to United States Constitution.
4. Amendment to Volstead Act to permit raiding of homes without a warrant.

**Bills Favorable to Labor Vetoed**

1. Providing for a national employment system.
2. Increase of wages for 926 village letter carriers.
3. Providing a practical way of solving Muscle Shoals problem.

A detailed report of the activities of organized labor during the short session of Congress follows:

**Prevailing Rate of Wage Law**—Congress took an important step in requiring contractors and subcontractors on public buildings of the United States and the District of Columbia to pay adequate wages.

A law was enacted providing that every contract in excess of \$5,000 in amount, to which the United States or the District of Columbia is a party, shall contain a provision that the rate of wages for all laborers and mechanics employed by the contractor or any subcontractor shall be not less than the prevailing rate of wages for work of a similar nature in the city, town, village, or other civil division of the state in which the public buildings are to be located, or in the District of Columbia, if they are located there.

It also provides that in case any dispute arises as to the prevailing rates of wages for work of a similar nature which cannot be adjusted by the contracting officers, the matter shall be referred to the Secretary of Labor for determination and his decision thereon shall be conclusive on all parties to the contract. The Act became effective April 2, 1931.

Representatives of the government charged with the responsibility of carrying out contracts testified before the committees of Congress that in the event any contractor failed to pay the prevailing rate, as determined by the Department of Labor, payment on the contract will be withheld until he complies with the law. It was also stated by the same officials that any contractor who refused to pay the prevailing rates of wages would be considered as an irresponsible bidder for public building contracts.

The Building Trades Department and the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated organizations approved the bill. It was stated it could not pass if any amendments were made. Before the next Congress meets in December we will have learned how effective the law has been and the necessary changes will be submitted.

All organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor have been notified and requested to report any violations of the wage rates. These reports will be used in the hearings to substantiate such recommendations as may be offered that further amendments should be made.

**Stabilization of Industry**—The Wagner bill, to provide for advance planning and regulated construction of public works, stabilization of industry and aiding the prevention of unemployment during periods of business depression, became a law.

It provides for the establishment of the Federal Employment Stabilization Board to be composed of the Secretaries of the Treasury, Commerce, Agriculture and Labor

Departments. It shall be the duty of the Board to advise the President of the trend of unemployment and business activity and of the existence or approach of periods of business depression or unemployment. The Board also will cooperate with construction agencies in formulating methods of advance planning, to report progress and perform other functions assigned to it by the Act.

The President may be advised by the Board concerning volume, based upon value, of contracts awarded for construction work in the United States, or in any substantial portion thereof, during any three-month period in comparison with the corresponding three-month period of three previous calendar years. It shall also consider all indexes of employment furnished by the Department of Labor or any public or private agency.

Upon recommendation of the Board that there is likely to exist within six months a period of business depression and unemployment, the President can transmit to Congress estimates for emergency appropriations. Such emergency appropriations shall be expended only for building roads, rivers and harbor works, flood control projects and public buildings under the provisions of laws now in effect.

The intent of Congress is to arrange for the construction of public works in such a manner as will assist in the stabilization of industry and employment through the proper timing of such construction.

For many years the American Federation of Labor has pleaded with Congress for this legislation. In 1893, the American Federation of Labor declared that "while we applaud the humane efforts of private individuals to relieve the terrible distress of the unemployed, we most respectfully but emphatically insist that it is the duty of the city, state and national governments to give immediate and adequate relief." It was also repeatedly declared that arrangements to construct public works in times of depression should be made in prosperous times.

We are sure that if the advance planning law is faithfully carried out it will prove its effectiveness in times of business depression.

**Immigration**—Despite the overwhelming sentiment in Congress in favor of greater restriction of immigration nothing was finally accomplished. As soon as Congress met resolutions were introduced in both Houses to suspend general immigration for a period of two years. This applied to all countries in the Western Hemisphere, the Philippine Islands as well as all quota countries.

During the hearings representatives of the government opposed the complete restriction of immigration for two years and recommended that it be cut to 10 per cent of the present quotas and the same percentage on countries of the Western Hemisphere from which non-quota immigrants entered the United States the previous year. This recommendation was followed. The amended bill passed the House, March 2nd, and was reported in the Senate. Every effort was made to have it taken up but the filibuster prevented. The majority in favor of the bill in the Senate would have been very large.

Senator Harris has announced that in the next Congress, he will submit a bill providing for reducing immigration 90 per cent for the entire world.

There is no more important question than the protection of the wage earners of the United States from excess immigration. It is our purpose to continue a most vigorous campaign to bring about as great restriction of immigration as possible.

**Road Construction**—Hundreds of millions of dollars have been appropriated by the government to aid the states in the construction of good roads. In that work the

lowest wages imaginable are being paid. For instance, a contract was made by the Highway Commission of South Carolina with certain contractors which provided that the wages should be 20 cents an hour but permitted a lower rate of wages for 10 per cent of the employees as low as 15 cents an hour.

In Idaho the state laws provide for the prevailing rate of wages. The Federal government, however, which contributed to the building of the roads, refused to permit such a clause to be placed in the contracts.

The same outcome resulted in Wisconsin where provision was made by the state to pay 40 cents an hour for unskilled labor on the public roads to be constructed. The federal officials refused to permit the enforcement of the wage rate.

In Indiana contractors were paying 20 cents and 25 cents an hour which so aroused public opinion that the Highway Commission refused to give further contracts to those offending. Because the contractors had promised to pay 50 cents an hour, the contracts were taken away. The state is doing the work and paying 40 cents an hour. Similar reports are coming from many states. It is, therefore, absolutely necessary that the prevailing rate of wage law with such amendments as will be made in the next session be extended to road building for which the government appropriates a share.

**Shorter Work Week for Government Employees**—Nearly 600,000 employees of the federal government and the District of Columbia were granted a shorter work-day on Saturdays the year round in two laws enacted by Congress, without reduction in wages and salaries. The first provided for a forty-four hour week for 315,000 employees in the postal service and the others were later given the same benefit in the law enacted just before Congress adjourned. Representatives of all organizations affected worked valiantly for success.

While the postal employees' bill passed both Houses unaminously without a voice being raised against it, the other bill was opposed by one representative on the floor but the House passed it unanimously. Congress also passed a bill providing for an increase of \$100 per annum for 926 underpaid village letter carriers. This was vetoed by the President.

**Seamen's Bill**—The intent of this bill was to prevent the smuggling of immigrants as seamen into the United States. The practice has been for some shipowners to bring into the country from 25 to 100 extra seamen. Many of them are Chinamen. Under the Seamen's Act a seaman can leave ship as soon as it reaches safe harbor. The surplus seamen immediately land and are absorbed in the population.

The bill provided that every vessel must take out of the country as many seamen as it brings in. The bill has passed the Senate several times but always met opposition in the House. Organizations of shipowners with the assistance of members of Congress have been the influences which prevented the passage of the bill in the House.

Undoubtedly, 90 per cent of the members of the House would have voted for the bill. The administration was in favor of the legislation. Nevertheless, by ulterior means the bill was not permitted to come to a vote. Members of the House, who are alleged friends of Labor circulated among the Representatives and urged them to object to suspending the rules to consider the bill. Several of those approached exposed this conspiracy, one representative making the charge openly on the floor of the House. Further efforts will be made in the next Congress to have this most necessary legislation pressed to success.

**Naval Construction**—Because of the activities of the organizations interested in securing employment for the Navy Yards and Arsenals, Congress voted to modernize three battle ships at a cost of \$30,000,000 and appropriated \$10,000,000 to begin the work. An additional \$10,000,000 was appropriated to begin construction of eleven destroyers, the total cost of which will be \$51,700,000.

In making the appropriations for the Navy Department the law provides that all articles used should be purchased in the United States, if the excess cost is not appreciably greater.

**Border Patrol**—Vigorous efforts to unite the various border patrols were defeated. The Boston convention declared that as the intent of the bill was the enforcement of only one law that it should be opposed. Although it passed the House a year ago and great pressure was brought to bear on the Commerce Committee of the Senate to make a favorable report, nothing was done.

The truth is that many members of both Houses have awakened to the fact that it is dangerous legislation. Therefore, it is not likely to become a law. A proposal to place the unified patrol in the Department of Labor helped to defeat the bill in the Senate. Undoubtedly, further efforts will be made in the next session of Congress to bring about the unification of the border patrols and the Executive Council will continue to oppose such a change.

**Canal Zone Retirement**—An act for the retirement of employees of the Panama Canal and the Panama Railroad Company, who are citizens of the United States, was passed by Congress. All employees to whom the Act applies, after they have reached the age of sixty-two years and rendered at least fifteen years of service on the Isthmus of Panama, shall be automatically retired on the annuity provided for in the law.

The law also provides for disability retirement and involuntary separation from the service. The employees affected have unanimously endorsed the law.

**Employment Service**—Although the bill introduced by Senator Wagner to create a national employment system was vetoed, his interest in the subject was so great that he introduced an amendment to the deficiency bill providing for an appropriation of \$500,000 to carry on the work of the present employment system if his bill did not become a law. It was accepted by both Houses.

There is no doubt that legislation on this subject is most necessary, and the Executive Council will endeavor in the next Congress to secure the passage of legislation that will be beneficial at all times to the unemployed.

**Oil Embargo**—After an agreement had been reached by the oil producers to reduce production, certain interests began to import oil into the country from Venezuela. Before the decrease of production was agreed to only 13,000,000 barrels of oil came from Venezuela yearly. This soon grew to 117,000,000 barrels. Meanwhile 100,000 oil workers were made idle.

Bills were introduced in Congress to place an embargo on the importation of oil and they were supported by the American Federation of Labor. The refusal of Congress to listen to the pleas of the unemployed oil workers so aroused certain Senators, that a filibuster was begun in the closing hours of the session which prevented all legislation being considered.

When the Navy Department bill was before the Senate a clause was inserted that no part of the appropriation shall be available for the purchase of any kind of fuel oil

of foreign production where oil produced in the United States or its possessions may be procurable, notwithstanding that oil of the production of the United States or its possessions may cost more than oil of foreign production. This amendment was accepted by the House.

**Collusion in Building Contracts**—A resolution was adopted by the Senate requesting the Federal Trades Commission to conduct a thorough investigation of all facts relating to the letting of contracts for the construction of government buildings.

The Commission was particularly asked to determine whether or not there has been any price fixing or other agreements, understandings or combinations of interests among individuals, partnerships or corporations engaged in the production, manufacture or sale of building materials with respect to the prices or other terms at or under which such materials would be furnished contractors or bidders for such construction work.

The Senate also wanted to know whether or not there has been any practice by or in collusion with any such individual, partnership or corporation and any official so employed in the Treasury Department in connection with the specification for such construction work. The report is to be made on or before December 7, 1931.

**Wages for Federal Employees**—After the Welch Act, which provided an increase in wages for federal employees, became effective the Comptroller General decided that it did not apply to certain low paid employees.

The Bureau of the Budget recommended that they be protected. Representative Wood, Chairman of the House Appropriation Committee, however, objected to this increase for the low paid employees. The treasury-post office appropriation bill, the first to be introduced, contained a clause prohibiting a salary increase to a single federal employee payment of whose salaries is covered by the Classification Act.

This Act provided that as federal employees stepped up into higher grades, their wages should be increased. Chairman Wood's proposal passed the House but was stricken out in the Senate. However, no appropriations were made for the increased salaries. The result is another instance of the frequent disregard of the rights of federal employees by certain Congressmen.

**Maternity and Infancy**—Bills providing for the restoration of the Maternity and Infancy Act were introduced in both Houses. Later, the House bill was changed to take away eventually from the Children's Bureau in the Department of Labor that part of its functions that cared for maternity cases and transfer them to the Public Health Service. This was opposed by Labor but it was passed by the House. The Senate passed the bill that Labor favored.

The bills were sent to conference and the Senate receded leaving the changes in the original act adopted by the House. Owing to the filibuster in the Senate, discussion of the amendments was prevented. It was understood that the Senate would not have receded and approved of the House amendments.

**Employment Statistics**—Although the Wagner bill, providing that the Bureau of Labor Statistics should collect and publish at least once a month full and complete statistics of the volume of employment, total wages paid and total hours of employment in the service of the federal government, the states and political subdivisions thereof, became a law in July, 1930, no appropriation was made to carry out its pro-

visions. In the last session \$178,000 was appropriated \$37,890 of which was immediately available.

**Reducing Work-day by Law**—A proposed amendment to the Constitution of the United States to permit Congress to reduce the daily period of time for which contracts of employment may be lawfully made, was submitted in the House. The amendment proposes:

"Article XX—To promote the general welfare, the Congress shall have power to reduce the number of hours of service per day for which contracts of employment may be lawfully made."

Congress has no power at this time to fix the hours of labor, wages, or prices in private employment. The proposed amendment would permit Congress to reduce but not increase the hours in a day's work. The Executive Council believes that this is a dangerous proposal. The American Federation of Labor always opposed the fixing of hours or wages by law. In this case only the fixing of hours is intended and then it is left to the employees and the employers, the same as now, to argue over wages. It should be opposed.

**Oleomargarine**—Bills to tax yellow oleomargarine 10 cents a pound were introduced in both Houses. They were opposed by the American Federation of Labor, on the ground that they would increase the cost of living of those who had suffered from it the most. It has been repeatedly demonstrated by those who buy oleomargarine that they do it because they have not the funds to purchase butter.

The American Federation of Labor believes that while there are millions of people out of work and the suffering is so intense the addition of 10 cents per pound to the cost of a product, which the poor must buy, is reprehensible. This has been the attitude of the American Federation of Labor for many years.

In 1910 complaint was made to the American Federation of Labor convention that the 10 cent tax per pound on oleomargarine artificially colored would have to be paid mainly by impoverished people, who are not able to protect themselves.

The attitude of the American Federation of Labor toward the oleomargarine tax is supported by "Domestic Commerce", issued by the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce service of the United States Department of Commerce, March 20, 1931.

In this issue it stated that family income affects markedly the amount of butter consumed in American homes as indicated in a summary of the sales of butter through retail grocery stores. It states:

The volume of butter sales was found to be definitely affected by the purchasing power of the community in which the various stores were located. Consumers in neighborhoods enjoying in general a higher standard of income tended to expend a larger proportion of their grocery outlay for butter than those in less favored sections, it is shown.

The Executive Council opposed penalizing a family's poverty; therefore, we objected to the 10 cents per pound tax.

Another remarkable fact is that 40 per cent of the oleomargarine is sold in rural communities, according to testimony presented January 31, 1931, before the Committee on Agriculture of the House.

**Philippine Independence**—The sentiment for Philippine Independence is growing fast in both Houses of Congress. It was admitted, however, during the last session

by the representatives of the Philippine Islands, that if the bill had passed in the last session it would have been vetoed.

In order to prevent Filipinos coming to the United States, it is necessary that the Islands be given their independence. Many thousands of Filipinos are on the western coast and are gradually coming east. They are a growing menace to the standard of living of the wage earners of the United States and we will do our utmost in the next session of Congress to have the Philippines granted their independence.

Representative Welch of California has prepared a bill to be introduced in the next Congress recognizing the independence of the Philippines and to regulate the migration of its citizens to the United States. He believes it will have favorable support.

**Porto Rico**—Congress created a Department of Labor in Porto Rico, the head of which is designated as the Commissioner of Labor. This legislation has been asked by Porto Rican labor for years. Heretofore labor interests have been looked after by the Agriculture Department.

The provisions of the Act for the promotion of vocational education and rehabilitation of persons disabled in industry or otherwise was also extended to Porto Rico. This will be very helpful to that Island as there are many thousands, who will be benefited by the Act.

**Credit Unions and Small Loans**—Bills to permit the establishment of credit unions and to protect small loan borrowers, were introduced in the Senate and House. The credit union bill provided that any seven or more persons in the District of Columbia could incorporate and do business. This would permit groups of people working together in any government department to organize a credit union for the purpose of loaning money to its members.

As this would not protect three-quarters of the people in the District, who would not be in a position to form credit unions, the small loan bills were introduced in their interest. Officers of the Washington Central Labor Union complained that "loan sharks" were charging from 100 per cent to 500 per cent for small loans. The small loan bills were reported favorably to both Houses and were lost in the congestion. The American Federation of Labor supported both the credit unions and the small loan bills in an effort to drive the "loan sharks" out of business.

**Post Office Laborers**—Owing to the law for a shorter work-day on Saturdays for post office employees, Congress refused to increase the wages of the post office laborers. The laborers are receiving the benefit of the law. When the various organizations of post office employees submit their request for changes in the wage rates, post office laborers will be included.

**Wage Increases**—Extra compensation for overtime service performed by immigration inspectors and other employees of the Immigration Service and an adjustment of wages of certain employees of the Custom Service, also, became laws. Railroad locomotive, hours of service and Bureau of Safety Inspectors were granted an increase of \$200 per annum.

#### **INJUNCTION LEGISLATION**

Since trade unions have become recognized as legitimate organizations, their functioning power for mutual benefit and the advancement of Labor generally has been constantly and progressively limited and restricted by reported decisions based

upon the individual work contract—purposely shaped to prevent the workers acting in concert, whether in the employ of the same employer or not. Thus, subsidiary obligation have been appended to the work contract which have no relation whatever to the service to be rendered.

The field of labor law and restrictions on Labor's activities have been greatly enlarged by reported decisions based on what are popularly known as anti-trust and anti-combination laws, designed to prevent interference with free domestic and inter-state trade and commerce—against monopoly or price fixing arrangements—or an attempt to maintain inviolate the law of unrestrained, unregulated competition.

In addition, the field of restriction upon Labor's activities has been still further enlarged by reported decisions intended to protect so-called "company unions", company-controlled and company-kept organizations of workers.

Without attempting to set forth the historic steps by which discretionary, arbitrary and irresponsible power came to be used by the equity courts, it is well to bear in mind that the first labor injunction in America was applied for in 1880—and first issued in 1884. It was not until 1886, that injunctions in labor disputes began to be used extensively.

Earlier injunctions had recourse to the principle of "protection of property"—but the problem was that of establishing the principle of irreparable injury to property, which, of course was only possible when strikers were guilty of trespass, arson or sabotage. Since no recovery could then be obtained for losses due to alleged violence or for acts which they had a lawful right to perform, the charge was developed that strikes, boycotts and other forms of concerted action on the part of wage earners, were undertaken in pursuance of an "unlawful conspiracy". Thus, the old "conspiracy" doctrine was combined with the doctrine of "protection of property," including work contracts and therefrom developed the additional theory of malicious interference with probable expectancies as being unlawful.

Since the enactment of the Sherman Anti-Trust Law most of the injunctions have been based upon an alleged interference with interstate commerce.

The enactment of the Clayton law—intended to limit and restrict injunctions in labor disputes—has only encouraged the issuance of an increasing number of injunctions as well as the severity of limitations and restrictions imposed on Labor.

We are thus confronted with a remarkable and most intolerable situation, one that with the recognition of the right of workers to unite for their mutual protection and advancement, we find the functioning power of trade unions constantly and progressively limited and restricted, and to the point that if all injunctions issued were literally enforced hundreds of thousands of wage earners would be subject to "contempt" charges and possible jail penalties, and if like restrictions were generally imposed on all wage earners, there would be no effective trade union movement in the United States.

It is indeed a sad and deplorable commentary upon the legislative branch of the government in that it fails speedily and effectively to remedy this situation. Certainly organized labor is not alone in demanding redress and freedom from the chains that are enslaving them to industry and industrial masters. The demand for freedom of workers to unite and to function effectively in the economic as well as upon the political field is being re-echoed on every hand.

The question as to the use of injunctions in labor disputes is of outstanding importance. Particularly significant is the inclusion of a labor injunction "plank" in

the 1928 national platforms of both the Democratic and Republican parties. The Democratic party platform stated:

We recognize that legislative and other investigations have shown the existence of grave abuse of the issuance of the injunctions in labor disputes.

Injunctions should not be granted in labor disputes except upon proof of threatened irreparable injury, and after notice and hearing; and the injunction should be confined to those who do directly threaten irreparable injury.

The expressed purpose of representatives of capital, Labor and the bar to devise a plan for the elimination of the present evils with respect to injunctions must be supported and legislation designed to accomplish these ends formulated and passed.

The Republican Party at the same time declared:

The party favors freedom in wage contracts, the right of collective bargaining by free and responsible agents of their own choosing, which develops and maintains that purposeful cooperation which gains its chief incentive through voluntary agreement. We believe that injunctions in labor disputes have in some instances been abused and have given rise to a serious question for legislation.

Labor in seeking equal opportunities to unite, freely and fully accorded to all other citizens and groups of citizens, is not asking for special privileges. Indeed, under present legislation and reported decisions wage earners are in a subservient position, and no democracy can long survive that will not accord its wage earners equal rights and equal opportunities with all other citizens.

Based on the foregoing considerations, in keeping with the declarations of the previous Toronto and Boston conventions of the American Federation of Labor, and within the authority delegated to it the Executive Council has had prepared an anti-injunction bill, to be introduced into the next session of Congress, and every possible effort will be made to secure its early enactment into law. Only by so doing can members of either or both Democratic and Republican parties redeem the solemn pledges made in 1928, and only in that way can a most grievous, indeed, almost intolerable situation be speedily corrected. To that end we call upon the general membership of organized labor to become intensely aroused, and in addition we appeal to all wage earners, to all citizens who have faith in democracy and who believe in the principle of equality before the law and equal opportunity for wage earners, to unite and by collective action advance their mutual interests, secure redress for economic wrong, strengthen their trade unions and promote the principle of collective bargaining.

Attention is also directed to the fact that groups outside of the labor movement have interested themselves in the furtherance of state legislation intended to limit and restrict injunctions by State Courts in labor disputes. While we appreciate the helpful service and cooperation of any and all groups, in this direction we must advise state federations of labor against any proposed legislation which has not been accorded approval by the American Federation of Labor. Slight modifications may be required in any one or in the several states in order to conform to state organic laws, methods and practices. To be more helpful in that direction the Executive Council has continued the existence of its Special Committee on Injunctions to deal with the subject of State Anti-Injunction Legislation. This Committee is composed of Matthew Woll, Victor Olander and John P. Frey.

Our immediate and foremost task is to secure remedial legislation from the coming session of our national Congress. Every energy and effort should and must be directed

to that end and all other legislative proposals ought to be subordinated to this great task.

The Executive Council, therefore, urges upon all national and international unions, state federations of labor, city central bodies and local unions that it is their duty to impress upon members of the United States Senate and House of Representatives in their respective states and districts the necessity for a federal anti-injunction law, one that will pass muster in the Supreme Court of the United States.

At the proper time all organizations will be informed of the situation in Congress and they will be urged to write or telegraph their representatives to vote favorably on the measure. We have every hope that if this is done, before Congress adjourns in the next session we will have secured the enactment of this legislation.

### TAXATION

Although defeated year after year in every attempt to saddle the "nuisance tax" under the name of "sales tax" upon the people, another campaign has been launched to bring about that legislation in the next Congress.

High public officials also have advanced the idea that the best way in which income taxes could be increased would be by decreasing the exemption of married men to \$2,000 and single men to \$1,000. The objective of those who pay high taxes is to relieve the well-to-do from taxation and place the burden upon those least able to bear it.

The argument used in advocating the sales tax has been:

If you tax the people so they do not know it they cannot object; but if they know they are paying a tax they will object.

We pay an indirect tax on every purchase we make. In 1927 only 2.2 per cent of our then 114,000,000 population paid income taxes and three-tenths of 1 per cent paid 95.5 per cent of the total income tax. For 1930 2 per cent of the population paid all the income taxes. These are Treasury figures.

The only persons to be benefited by the consumption tax are the 2 per cent of the population who pay an income tax. On the other hand, the burden of taxation would fall upon the 98 per cent who do not pay an income tax. Besides they now pay an indirect tax on everything they buy. The "sales tax" will increase that tax load.

In all the statements given out in reference to taxation none suggests, that estate taxes should be increased. The greater part of many estates was created without paying any taxes as the taxes were passed on to the consumers. The Federal Government collects an estate tax before the estates are distributed to the heirs. Then those states where the decedents live that have inheritance taxes are credited with 80 per cent of the federal estate tax collected. The heirs pay the inheritance tax to the states in which they live where such laws are in effect and operative. States that have no inheritance tax laws do not receive the 80 per cent collected by the government.

Mr. Andrew Carnegie, one of the richest men in the United States at one time, said that "the American public is a partner in every large enterprise where money is made honorably." He added:

The growing disposition to tax more and more heavily large estates left at death is a cheering indication of the growth of a salutary change in public opinion. Of all forms of taxation this seems the wisest. By taxing estates heavily at death the state marks its condemnation of the selfish millionaire's unworthy life. It is desirable that nations should go much further in this direction. Indeed, it is difficult to set bounds to the share of a rich man's estate which should go at his

death to the public through the agency of the state, and by all means such taxes should be graduated, beginning at nothing upon moderate sums to dependents, and increasing rapidly as the amounts swell.

In a message to Congress in 1907, Theodore Roosevelt said:

A heavy progressive tax upon a very large fortune is in no way such a tax upon thrift and industry as a like tax would be on a small fortune. No advantage comes either to the country as a whole or to the individuals inheriting the money by permitting the transmission in their entirety of the enormous fortunes that would be affected by such a tax.

It always has been the belief of the American Federation of Labor that the most just forms of taxing great wealth are through the estate, gift and inheritance taxes as there is no question of the ability to pay.

Dr. Thomas S. Adams, the famous authority on taxation and formerly financial adviser for the United States government, declared that "if we must tax it is better to tax him who merely receives than him who earns."

The Executive Council is alarmed at the persistent agitation of the well-to-do to relieve themselves of taxation. Because of that fact we urge upon all state federations of labor, city central bodies and local unions to urge their respective United States Senators and Representatives to vote against the enactment of a "sales tax." They should also insist upon an increase in the estate tax and the restoration of the gift tax as they are the fairest taxes collected by the government.

Forty-five states have inheritance tax laws. Alabama, the District of Columbia, Florida and Nevada have neglected this source of revenue. The state federations of labor in those states and the District of Columbia should urge the enactment of inheritance tax laws. It is generally believed that the three states and the District of Columbia have not enacted inheritance tax laws because they wished to induce persons of great wealth to become residents. Representatives of those states named also appeared before the House Ways and Means Committee in 1929 and urged repeal of the estate tax. This was to still further encourage wealthy people to go to those states and become residents. Congress, however, refused, declaring that no more just tax could be collected. The exemptions provided for in the estate tax law are \$100,000 and the cost of administration. This cost is sometimes as high as \$50,000.

Few, if any, heirs of a large estate have had anything to do with its accumulation. Their legacies can be termed gratuities. Therefore, there is no doubt of the ability to pay the inheritance tax, which is paid to the states having such laws. We, therefore, recommend that more stringent state inheritance tax laws be enacted so that the great sums accumulated from the consuming public will be more equitably distributed.

A tax that should not have been repealed was the federal gift tax. The Executive Council, therefore, believes that before considering an increase in any other taxes, the estate and inheritance taxes should be increased and the gift tax restored. In these three taxes there is no doubt of the ability to pay.

If the "sales tax" is established and exemptions are reduced then the taxes of the well-to-do will be greatly reduced and the burden placed on those least able to pay.

Members of Congress should not forget that while wages were increasing from 1923 to 1929 only from \$11,000,000,000 to \$11,421,000,000, corporation dividends were increasing during the same period from \$930,648,000 to \$3,478,000,000. Net additions

to profits of banks were increasing from \$279,000,000 to \$556,000,000, and interest paid to bond holders was increasing from \$2,469,000,000 to \$7,588,000,000.

Congress, therefore, will find a fertile field from which to garner more income tax, if needed, among those who are well able to pay.

### WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION

During the next two years opportunity will be presented to appeal to state legislatures to adopt the state insurance fund instead of permitting private insurance companies to continue to insure employers under the workmen's compensation laws.

The National Convention of Insurance Commissioners has decided that there should be an increase in private insurance rates averaging 13.4 per cent nation wide but varying in individual states from no change in the present rate level in Iowa and South Dakota to an increase of 57.9 per cent in Oklahoma.

The Executive Council believes that the employers in the United States who have persistently opposed the creation of state compensation funds have, because of the excessive rates charged by private insurance companies, changed their minds and will now support legislation that will decrease the rates paid for such insurance. The only way by which a decrease can be obtained is through the creation of a state fund.

It is admitted that the cost of administration in private insurance companies in this branch of insurance is 38 per cent and more while the cost of the administration of the state fund of Ohio is only one per cent of the insurance funds collected by the state.

There was never a better time than now to urge legislatures to adopt the exclusive state insurance fund and prohibit private insurance companies from engaging in the sale of workmen's compensation insurance.

### "YELLOW DOG" CONTRACT

Labor has made great headway toward declaring "yellow dog" contracts invalid and void. Members of the various state legislatures undoubtedly learned of the viciousness of these contracts through a report of the discussions held on the floor of the Senate when Judge John J. Parker's appointment was up for confirmation to be a member of the Supreme Court of the United States.

Wisconsin was the first state to declare such contracts unlawful. Four states have been added to the list this year. They are: Arizona, Colorado, Ohio and Oregon. The Indiana legislature passed an anti-yellow dog contract bill but it was vetoed by the Governor. A bill introduced in the Massachusetts legislature failed of passage because the Supreme Court of that state to which it was referred for an advisory opinion declared it unconstitutional.

After the defeat of Judge Parker in the Senate, pamphlets were prepared and distributed throughout the United States in which the debates were incorporated and information regarding the "yellow dog" contract given to labor officials in order that they could appear before legislative committees in the interest of this legislation.

Labor's anti-injunction bill which will be presented to Congress prohibits "yellow dog" contracts. We believe public sentiment is sufficiently strong against this form of contract as to render unsuccessful any attempt to strike such provision from the bill.

Now that five states have enacted legislation prohibiting these contracts it should be an encouragement to the labor movements of other states to urge the passage of similar measures by their respective legislatures.

It might be well to report that ten of the United States Senators who voted to confirm Judge Parker's appointment will not be members of the next Senate. Senators

Allen, Blease, Grundy, McCulloch, Ransdell and Steck were defeated on that issue. Senators Baird, Gillett, Goff and Gould declined to be candidates.

### CONVICT LABOR

Since the passage of the Hawes-Cooper Act in December, 1928, Illinois, Maine, New York, Pennsylvania and New Jersey have enacted laws making it illegal to sell convict made goods within these states which were manufactured and produced in other states. The Pennsylvania law, however, is not satisfactory and must be amended.

In New York and New Jersey the state-use system has been in operation for years, while in Illinois and Maine the legislatures changed their laws in order to provide for the state-use system so that there might be no discrimination under the operation of the Hawes-Cooper Act.

The Executive Council feels much encouraged because of the gains made in bringing about the elimination of the competition of goods produced by convict labor with goods produced by free labor.

The lower House of the Ohio legislature unanimously forbade the sale in that state of convict made goods manufactured in other states, but the bill failed in the Senate because of congestion at the close of the session. Ohio has the state-use system and the officials of the State Federation of Labor advise that there will be no doubt of its passage in that state before the Hawes-Cooper Act becomes effective on January 19, 1934.

Our aim is to have every state adopt the state-use system and then prohibit the sale within its borders of convict made goods manufactured and produced in other states. The fact that the four states named have enacted legislation prohibiting the sale of convict made goods manufactured or produced within or without their jurisdiction in competition with free labor will influence the legislatures of other states to amend their laws and adopt similar legislation.

New York, Pennsylvania and New Jersey have been favorable markets for the sale of convict made goods. With these markets taken away the legislatures must enact laws in self-defense. Those states which manufacture and ship convict made goods into these states will have to change to the state-use system.

State federations of labor in states where these laws have been enacted will not have such a difficult time in securing the enactment of this new legislation. Most of the governors of the several states have indicated a desire and expressed a willingness to cooperate in every way possible in order to meet the conditions that will follow the application of the Hawes-Cooper Act, when it becomes effective.

Missouri has an expert going over the ground to see how the state-use system can be put into effect. This expert is from Ohio and is well informed as to everything pertaining to the state-use system.

**Federal Prisons**—The Boston convention referred Resolution No. 31 to the Executive Council for the purpose of having a complete statement made on the subject. The resolution states that "January 7, 1925, Congress passed a law which makes it mandatory for the Attorney General to employ prison labor for the construction and maintenance of all federal prisons and federal reformatories wherever possible."

The law referred to and which was passed January 7, 1925, refers only to one prison and is not mandatory. It provides that in the construction of the Chillicothe Reformatory the Attorney General shall employ the labor of such United States prisoners who are confined in the Chillicothe Reformatory "and who can be used under proper guard in the work necessary to construct the buildings."

Free labor is doing much of the work at the Chillicothe Reformatory and all those employed directly by the government are being paid the union rates of wages. Convicts are used only in the rough work.

In the 71st Congress provisions were made for the erection of a federal prison, several jails and a reformatory. All of these buildings are to be constructed by free labor. A union contractor has the contract for the federal prison to be erected at Lewisburg, Pa., at a cost of \$3,800,000.

For many years the American Federation of Labor has endeavored to eliminate as far as possible the competition of convict labor products with those produced by free labor. Until within the last two years our efforts were confined almost entirely to the production of goods, wares, merchandise and coal.

The unusual demand for new penitentiary buildings or additions during the past two years has brought convict labor in competition with the building trades. As said before so far as the federal government is concerned none of the new penal institutions will be built by convicts or will they have anything whatever to do with the work in any capacity.

All work done by federal prisoners is exclusively for the government. Nothing is sold on the open market or sold to or exchanged with any state.

The aim of the American Federation of Labor has been to minimize the competition of convict labor so that employers of free labor will not be driven out of business.

Various humane improvements are being introduced in the construction of the new federal prison. Iron bars will be absent except in cells where those mentally deranged or where those guilty of some infraction of the rules are incarcerated.

As soon as Congress meets a bill will be introduced to prohibit the sale or exchange of convict made goods from any of the several states of the United States in competition with goods produced by free labor in the District of Columbia.

### OLD AGE SECURITY

Seventeen states have enacted old age pension laws. Five passed the legislatures which met last January. The list is as follows:

|            |               |               |
|------------|---------------|---------------|
| CALIFORNIA | MASSACHUSETTS | NEW YORK      |
| COLORADO   | MINNESOTA     | UTAH          |
| DELAWARE   | MONTANA       | WEST VIRGINIA |
| IDAHO      | NEVADA        | WISCONSIN     |
| KENTUCKY   | NEW HAMPSHIRE | WYOMING       |
| MARYLAND   | NEW JERSEY    |               |

The population of the states enjoying old age pension protection legislation is about 42,000,000.

The Indiana legislature passed a bill but it was vetoed by the Governor. Connecticut, Oregon, Maine and Illinois created commissions to study the question. Colorado made its optional law mandatory and reduced the pensionable age from 70 to 65 years. Wisconsin also made its optional law mandatory. Pennsylvania recommended a constitutional amendment which would ultimately make possible the payment of pensions by the state and counties. The Delaware law provides that all pensions shall be paid by the state.

The law of Maryland was amended so as to make it possible for the city of Baltimore to begin the payment of pensions under the act of 1927. Bills passed one branch of the legislature in Arizona, Michigan, Missouri, Nebraska, Oklahoma and Washington. The

sentiment is greatly in favor of the enactment of these laws in these states when the next sessions of the respective legislatures convene.

In the five states enacting pension laws this year only West Virginia contains the optional feature. It permits the county or city authorities to pay pensions as they may elect.

The Executive Council, however, believes that none of the old age pension laws is entirely satisfactory. It believes that the only way to pay such pensions is through a state administrative body. Furthermore, designating relief for the aged as "pensions" have caused many members of legislatures to oppose old age pension legislation. Some also object to the cost. The Executive Council, which has made a study of the subject for several years, believes that such legislation should be classified as "old age securities." To that end it has prepared a bill providing for old age security with its administrative direction placed under the control of elected state officers selected by the legislatures. The cost of administration will be greatly reduced if these recommendations are adopted and old age security made mandatory.

#### **NON-PARTISAN POLITICAL POLICY**

The importance of the forthcoming presidential election should cause every labor organization in the United States to prepare for that great battle. Besides the President and Vice-President at least 32 members of the United States Senate and all members of the House of Representatives must be elected.

The Executive Council will submit proposed labor planks to the national political conventions and urge their inclusion in the platforms of the two parties. It has been the practice of the non-partisan political policy of the American Federation of Labor to support platforms and principles rather than candidates for President and Vice-President.

After the conventions have been held a pamphlet will be printed containing the labor planks which the Executive Council requested to be part of the platforms and the labor planks that were adopted. These will be sent to all national and international unions, state federations of labor, city central bodies and 35,000 local unions.

The great obstacle to the election of the right candidates is the apathy of the voters. It is rare that more than 50 per cent of the voters go to the polls in a presidential election. We believe, however, that the great rank and file of the workers have had time to think during the terrible conditions they have been passing through during the past few years, and that this experience will influence them to go to the polls and vote in 1932.

The Executive Council will use every effort to induce working people and their friends to vote, not only in the primaries but at the election. It is important that the primaries should not be overlooked as in many cases the candidates who were nominated for office were always opposed to all labor legislation and could have been defeated in the primary election if the workers had turned out in full force.

Labor fared very well in the 1930 election. Several of the most persistent enemies of Labor went down to defeat because of the strenuous antagonism of Labor.

The next session of Congress will consider an anti-injunction bill and other legislation of benefit to Labor as well as to all the people. Both the Senate and House are nearly evenly divided politically and we have every hope that we will secure the remedial legislation for which we have fought so many years. But to secure this legislation we must have the earnest support of every labor organization. Committees should be appointed by central bodies or local unions in every congressional district to interview the candidates for Congress. The state federations of labor should select committees to

wait upon United States Senators and question them as to their attitude toward remedial legislation.

This convention should therefore adopt a strong declaration calling upon all our members and their friends to follow the non-partisan policy of the American Federation of Labor, which is:

Stand faithfully by our friends and elect them. Oppose our enemies and defeat them; whether they be candidates for President, for Congress, or other offices, whether executive, legislative, or judicial.

We also wish to reaffirm the pledge which all member of organized labor should freely give, and that is:

We will not vote for a candidate for Congress who is opposed to a law prohibiting the issuance of injunctions in labor disputes.

It is the desire of the Executive Council that every national and international union, state federation, city central body and local union shall keep in touch with the Non-Partisan Political Campaigning Committee of the American Federation of Labor during the presidential campaign. This is absolutely necessary if we are to be successful.

Besides questioning candidates for Congress vigorous efforts must be made to get out the vote. If every voter will cast a ballot in the election, undoubtedly only those will be elected who will be favorable to remedial legislation. Therefore, from the beginning of the primary campaign to election day the slogan should be:

**"Get Out the Vote!"**

#### **MODIFICATION VOLSTEAD ACT**

We are endeavoring to carry into effect instructions given by several conventions of the American Federation of Labor regarding the modification of the Volstead Act so as to provide for the manufacture, sale and distribution of beer containing 2.75 per cent of alcohol by weight. This action on the part of the American Federation of Labor was inspired by a firm belief that such modification of the Volstead Act as proposed would promote the cause of true temperance.

It is generally understood that a bill will be introduced at the next session of Congress providing for such modification of the Volstead Act as has been repeatedly proposed by the American Federation of Labor. It is the intent and purpose of the American Federation of Labor to give such proposed legislation its full and complete support. The indications are that public opinion is undergoing a marked change and that either at the forthcoming session or at some future session of Congress the Volstead Act will be amended by legislative action providing for the manufacture, sale and distribution of beer containing 2.75 per cent alcohol by weight.

#### **INDUSTRIAL CONSCRIPTION**

Industrial conscription in times of war is still being advocated by certain organizations and individuals. Testimony heard by the War Policies Commission, of which Secretary Hurley of the War Department is Chairman, urged that prices and wages should be "frozen" when war is eminent and that there should be no increases during the period of the conflict.

Representatives of the War Department, however, were very strongly opposed to this plan which would mean the conscription of workers in industry. General Douglas MacArthur, Chief of Staff of the Army, declared that the War Department was opposed to a plan to "freeze" all prices upon an outbreak of an emergency, such as was suggested

by several witnesses. He said that the plan had been tried by other governments unsuccessfully. In regard to the enforced employment of labor, he said the Department believed that even if tolerated by the public at large, which it doubted, the workers themselves would be so resentful that they would not lend their best efforts to the production of needed supplies. Regarding the "freezing" of prices he said:

Aside from legal and constitutional barriers to the enforcement of such a law, the War Department feels that injustice and hardship would develop to such an extent as to incite popular dissatisfaction, and create distrust toward governmental orders and programs. If such a condition should arise it is doubtful that we could count upon that acceleration of essential production that we know would be vital to us in a grave emergency. The Department's reluctance to commit itself to that plan is enhanced by the fact that practically every government in recorded history, in peace and war, has attempted to "freeze" prices of commodities and services. In each instance history shows that the factors of supply and demand and price do not respond readily to government fiat. Attempts along this line by autocratic governments have fostered subterfuge and evasion and dried up the sources of supply. Weak governments have found their orders, in the main, ignored.

In reference to the enforced employment of Labor he said:

Speedy and efficient production would be vital to the success of our arms and the cheerful cooperation of the great masses of whom we give the general name of Labor, is essential in the task. For this reason, if for no other, the War Department brings forward a program designed to introduce the workman to his task voluntarily and to keep him there of his own accord until the job is completed. Thus the spontaneous cooperation born of patriotism and enthusiasm will not degenerate into an enforced and begrudging compliance. Production will proceed quickly, efficiently.

And this, Gen. MacArthur repeated again and again might be vital to the Nation. Secretary Hurley corroborated this statement when he said:

The War Department's plans provide for the mobilization of industry in the event of emergency by civilians and not by military personnel. There is no desire on the part of the General Staff or the War Department to militarize industry or to control industry to any extent by military personnel.

According to General MacArthur the War Department believes in the registration of wealth and all accretions thereto in war accomplished in much the same manner as a registration of manpower. This, he said, will facilitate the imposition of taxes, whose purpose should be not only to pay, as far as practicable, for the war as it is fought, but to assist in distributing equitably the economic burdens of war.

The studies made by the Executive Council show that the argument made by General MacArthur is sound and that those who are urging the "freezing" of prices and wages are theorists, who have little knowledge of the terrible results to our country that would follow such an impractical plan.

The War Policies Commission was created by Congress to promote peace, remove the war profits and equalize the burdens of war. It is composed of four members of the Senate, four members of the House and five members of the Cabinet.

#### **CHILD LABOR AMENDMENT**

Colorado has joined the states that have ratified the child labor amendment. The other states are: Arizona, Arkansas, California, Montana and Wisconsin.

In 1929 the Colorado legislature, also that of Iowa, postponed consideration of the amendment indefinitely. The labor movement of Colorado, however, persistently agitated for its ratification and was finally successful.

The action of the labor movement of Colorado should have an influence on the labor movements of other states that have not yet ratified the amendment. If a vigorous campaign is launched in every one of those states a number of them would be successful.

Therefore, the Executive Council urges the state federations of labor, city central bodies and local unions to conduct an aggressive campaign in behalf of the adoption of this amendment. Every state federation of labor convention has been urged each year by President Green to begin a campaign for ratification of the child labor amendment. What the labor movement of Colorado has done the labor movements of other states can also do.

### **PROPOSED CLASSIFICATION BILL**

The personnel classification bill recommended to Congress should be opposed by all employes of the government who will be affected by its provisions.

It proposes to repeal the classification act of 1923, the Welch act of 1928, the Brookhart act of 1930 and other laws that have been obtained by the employes of the government and establish an ex officio board to be known as the personnel classification board. It is to consist of the Director of the Bureau of the Budget, a member of the Civil Service Commission and the Chief of the United States Bureau of Efficiency. The Director of the Bureau of the Budget will be chairman.

The bill proposes to revolutionize present methods and leave to the personnel classification board the making of rules and regulations to carry out the provisions of the act. The main purpose of the bill is apparently to regulate the classification and fix the wages of those who "perform or assist in apprentice, helper, or journeyman work in a recognized trade or craft, or to perform the work of a skilled artisan or a skilled or an unskilled laborer, or to serve as an officer or a member of the crew of a vessel." The rates of compensation for such positions shall be fixed and adjusted from time to time by the board.

Existing wage boards will not be abolished but the personnel classification board will have the last say as to what amount of wages shall be paid. All the work of wage boards and the time taken in hearings will have no effect on the personnel classification board as the latter's decision will be final. It is believed the intention is eventually to eliminate wage boards.

The Bureau of the Census recently issued a classified index of occupations. For instance, it divides some trades into from 75 to more than 100 classifications. It is understood that the wages of each classification of a trade will be fixed by the Board and, therefore, cause a disruption of all trades. The Executive Council sees great danger in such legislation and recommends that the convention take a firm stand against passage of the proposed bill.

### **"LOWEST BIDDER" FALLACY**

No law has been enacted by Congress which provides that the lowest bidder on public works or buildings must be awarded a contract. The practice of the government in awarding contracts to the lowest bidder is the result of a decision made by Comptroller General McCarl, according to information secured by the Executive Council.

This method of awarding contracts has permitted many contractors to submit exceedingly low bids because they employ mostly "handy" men at low wages. Some of them transport workers from one state to another and feed and lodge them in barracks on the building site.

In order to eliminate this grievance a bill has been prepared to be introduced in the next Congress providing that the award shall be made to the "bidder whose bid, conforming to the specifications, will be most advantageous to the government, price and other factors considered."

Representatives of the Building Trades Department and the American Federation of Labor urged the passage of a bill in the 71st Congress containing that provision, but Comptroller General McCarl asked that it be stricken out and a clause inserted providing that the contract should be awarded to the lowest responsible bidder. This was done but the bill failed of passage.

### **HOOVER DAM**

There has been so much misunderstanding concerning employment at Hoover Dam that the Executive Council believes a few facts will be of benefit to the many thousands of workers who have gone or are anxious to go there to seek employment.

In the first place, it may be said, that official reports say that the highest number of persons to be employed at the peak time will be in the neighborhood of 1500.

Four tunnels are to be constructed first. The specifications provided that work was to begin on  $\blacktriangle$  before October 1, 1931. The tunnels are to be completed October 1, 1933, when work on the cofferdams above and below the dam site will begin. The cofferdams must be completed by May 1, 1934. Then the excavation for the dam must be dug and the pouring of concrete for the dam will start December 1, 1934, and be completed August 1, 1937.

The specifications provide that preference of employment shall be given to former service men and then to American citizens. The employment of Mongolians is prohibited.

Thousands of workers are in Las Vegas, Nevada, or in camps nearby awaiting an opportunity to secure employment. Many letters have been received by the American Federation of Labor asking what chance there is for employment at the dam. To all of these queries the answer has been that no one should go there seeking employment without first writing to the United States Employment Agent in Las Vegas, Nev.

### **FREE PRESS UPHELD**

The Executive Council was very much interested in the appeal to the United States Supreme Court of a law enacted by the Minnesota legislature permitting the suspension of any newspaper that contained matter offensive to the authorities.

The appellants contended that it was a violation of the constitution of the United States which guarantees a free press. In the opinion read by Chief Justice Hughes a majority of the Supreme Court said:

The fact that the liberty of the press may be abused by miscreant purveyors of scandal does not make any the less necessary the immunity of the press from previous restraint in dealing with official misconduct. Subsequent punishment for such abuses as may exist is the appropriate remedy, consistent with constitutional privilege.

The Court held that any one libeled had recourse to the courts. The Court also said:

Charges or reprehensible conduct, and in particular of official malfeasance, unquestionably create a public scandal, but the theory of the constitutional guarantee is that even a more serious public evil would be caused by authority to prevent publication.

The Executive Council believes that the decision is a great victory for free speech and free press and that it will have an effect on the issuance of injunctions in labor disputes forbidding strikers to talk to strikebreakers or to publish facts concerning the controversy.

The anti-injunction bill supported by the American Federation of Labor, which will be considered by the forthcoming session of Congress, provides for this protection in labor disputes as enunciated by the Supreme Court of the United States.

#### UNITED STATES EMPLOYMENT SERVICE

The employment system known as the United States Employment Service was created during the war by the Department of Labor. Each year Congress has given recognition to this service by appropriating funds with which to meet its expenses and to carry on its work. Congress especially directed that this employment service specialize in an endeavor to provide work for former service men. Unfortunately Congress failed to appropriate a sufficient amount of money to carry on the work of the Employment Service in a constructive, helpful and satisfactory way. The amount of money appropriated was very limited and for that reason the Employment Service functioned badly.

The Executive Council is of the opinion, however, that the Employment Service was helpful and that even though it was limited by reason of small appropriations it rendered valuable service with the limited amount of funds available.

Owing to a growing public demand that the Employment Service of the United States be made adequate and serviceable, the last session of Congress gave special attention to this matter. Bills were introduced providing for the enlargement of the facilities for service and of an organized national employment system. As a result of the support given this legislation by an aroused public opinion a bill introduced by Senator Wagner was passed. This bill provided for the organization and development of a comprehensive employment system in cooperation with state agencies. The President vetoed this measure. However, Congress responded to the need for a national employment system by appropriating more than one-half million dollars to be used in strengthening, in enlarging and in developing the existing United States Employment Service.

Immediately following the action of Congress the Department of Labor undertook to organize in every state, and to establish State Employment Agencies and to carry out the expressed will and purpose of Congress in a most expeditious and constructive way. A former member of the Executive Council, Mr. John R. Alpine, was appointed by the Secretary of Labor to organize and establish a nation-wide employment system. This work has been carried on under the direction of Brother Alpine until it has reached the point where employment agencies with subordinate branches have been created in every state. It is the opinion of the Executive Council that this action will mark the beginning of the organization and establishment of a national employment system which will be serviceable and helpful in a most satisfactory way to every state and to every community. We are firmly of the opinion that the government should render service of this kind and that all help possible should be extended to the unemployed free of cost to secure employment and to avail themselves of every opportunity to secure profitable and satisfactory employment.

We urge national and international unions, state federations of labor and city central bodies to avail themselves of every opportunity presented by the national Employment Service to secure work for the unemployed, and to cooperate in every possible way with

the United States Employment Service system and with the state employment agencies created by this national employment organization under the direction of the Department of Labor.

#### **AGE LIMIT GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES**

Resolution No. 2 of the Boston convention called attention to the age limit which applicants for government employes and asked that the convention declare for an extension of the age limit. The convention directed the Executive Council to confer with officials of all organizations having members in the government service for the purpose of endeavoring to formulate a new policy appropriate to the needs of each group of government workers. That conference was duly held with full and free discussion of all interested parties. As a result thereof we recommend to this convention that a clear and definite declaration be made in opposition to the government setting any maximum age limit in the applicants for appointment to government service.

When we oppose the age limit policy of private employes we are met with the position of the government as support for their position.

#### **PATENT LAW ADJUSTMENT**

Resolution No. 46 of the Boston convention proposed adjustment of patent laws to offset destructive effects of automatic machinery and scientific processes.

The convention directed that the Executive Council should study patent laws in relation to machinery and processes used in production and transportation with the thought in mind to recommend such changes in the laws as the result of the investigation might warrant. We submit the following:

Clause 8 of Section 8 of the United States Constitution gives to Congress the power to promote the progress of science and useful arts by securing for a limited period to authors and inventors the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries.

In a long series of cases, it has been decided that it is for Congress to determine for what time and under what circumstances protection shall be granted. While rights are to be secured for but a limited time, Congress may extend the term upon the expiration of the time originally specified and in doing so, protect the rights of purchasers and assignees. Congress may also modify rights under an existing patent, provided vested property rights are not thereby impaired.

This power to grant a patent is not given to Congress generally but only as a means to promote the progress of science and useful arts. Hence it appears that Congress is not empowered by the Constitution to pass laws for the protection or benefit of inventors except as a means to promote science and useful arts.

Under existing law, an inventor is given a monopoly of his patent for the term of seventeen years. That can be extended only by special act of Congress. Where foreign countries recognize American patents, the United States in turn extends the same courtesy.

Under the Constitution, Congress has full power to legislate upon the subject of patents but this power must be used with due regard for the Fifth Amendment which provides that no person shall be deprived of life, liberty or property without due process of law.

Should Congress enact legislation upon this subject which would be held inimical to the rights of patentors, there would be nothing to prevent such patentors from securing a patent in a foreign country and under the treaty existing between such country and this have his patent protected here, provided that it was found to be new and original. If such inimical legislation were passed, there is nothing to compel a patentor to secure a patent. He may take his chances of putting it on the market and having it infringed upon.

We are not prepared to make any recommendation except that the subject be given further study.

## MILITARY TRAINING IN HIGH SCHOOLS

The Boston convention referred to the Executive Council for investigation and report to this convention the subject matter of Resolution No. 90, Military Training in High Schools. We lay the following before you as the result of our investigation:

Where military training exists in public high schools, it is not because of any activity of the War Department in promoting it but because of the individual action and decision of the local school authorities, who have introduced military training for two purposes: First, to adjust growing youth to discipline and habits of orderliness and tidiness; and second, to improve his carriage and his physical condition in general.

Neither does military training in high schools imply connection with the War Department, except to the extent of assigning an instructor and military trainer when the War Department is formally requested to do so. Such high school then becomes part of the Reserve Officers Training Corps.

Official records of the War Department disclose that there are fifty-seven units comprising 151 high schools, with an annual average of 32,778 students now taking up military training under the direction of the Department. A unit is comparable to a city, so that it will be observed that there are only fifty-seven cities in the United States where the War Department is cooperating with high schools in military training. Naturally, the efforts of the War Department in this direction are to secure proper personnel for commissioned and non-commissioned officers in time of war. The schools are used as feeders for Citizens' Military Training Camps. Credit is given to those taking up military training. The completion of a three or four year course in high schools together with the training received in the Citizens' Military Training Camps, insures eligibility for a commission in the officers reserve.

In considering Resolution No. 90, it was deemed wise, first, to investigate as far as possible the situation as it exists today in the various states. A communication was addressed to all State Federations of Labor, requesting them to advise us how many high schools in the states have military training, the number of students affected thereby, whether military training is voluntary or compulsory, and if compulsory, what exemptions are allowed.

Responses to this letter show:

*Alabama*—Military training is not compulsory in any of the public high schools. There are five public high schools in the state which are doing Reserve Officers Training Corps work. Such military training is voluntary.

*Arkansas*—Military training in high schools is not compulsory. The Department of Education has no record of military training in any high school in the state.

*California*—For the years 1926-1927, there were thirty-three high schools with cadet work with a total number of 6,500 students. It is estimated that the number has been reduced to somewhere between 5,000 and 6,000 for the present year. Nine of the schools stated have cadet work and the others have Reserve Officers Training Corps. Every high school except one has placed the work on a voluntary basis.

*Colorado*—Denver is the only city in Colorado where military training is offered. Four of the five senior high schools have it with 306 boys enrolled. Such training is voluntary.

*Connecticut*—There are no high schools in Connecticut with military training.

*District of Columbia*—Eight high schools affecting approximately 2,000 cadets engaged in cadet activities. Activities are purely voluntary on the part of the students and have no connection with Reserve Officers Training Corps units.

*Georgia*—The following public schools have Reserve Officers Training Corps units: Academy of Richmond County, Augusta; Athens High School; Atlanta Public Schools; Fulton County High School; Griffin High and Lanier High, Macon; R. E. Lee Institute, Thomaston. All are voluntary.

*Idaho*—Boise High School is the only high school which has Reserve Officers Training Corps. One hundred persons are affected. Training is voluntary and is not given in the first year.

*Indiana*—No high schools in the state have military training except those in Indianapolis. Such training is not compulsory. The interest in this work is gradually decreasing.

*Kansas*—There are no public high schools in the state giving military training at this time. When it did exist it was optional with the students.

*Kentucky*—Two high schools in Kentucky have Reserve Officers Training Corps work. Nine hundred and twenty-five students are affected out of a total enrollment of 1,639. Training is optional.

*Michigan*—Only a few schools offer military training. In Detroit there are nine branches of the Reserve Officers Training Corps with a membership of 1,255 school pupils. Training is voluntary.

*Minnesota*—There are no high schools in the state having military training.

*Mississippi*—None of the public high schools has military training as a part of the course of instruction.

*Missouri*—There are no high schools having military training except on a very limited basis in connection with the physical education program.

*Montana*—There is no compulsory military training in the high schools of the state.

*New Jersey*—No high school is giving military training to the students. The New Jersey law is voluntary.

*New York*—There is no military training in any high school in the state, and no courses of that kind are approved by the Education Department for any school.

*North Dakota*—There are no high schools that have military training, either compulsory or optional.

*Ohio*—There are no high schools in Ohio under the public school system which have either compulsory or voluntary military training.

*Oregon*—There is neither compulsory nor voluntary military training in any of the high schools.

*Pennsylvania*—There are no records on file to indicate that any of the high schools of the state have military training. There is no compulsory training in the high schools and the State Council of Education has never been willing to approve military training as credits toward graduation.

*South Dakota*—The Superintendent of Public Instruction is positive that no high school in the state requires military training.

*Texas*—The State Board of Education reports that military training is practiced in the schools of the larger cities. There is no way of determining which schools teach it, but it is not compulsory under the Texas law.

*Virginia*—Four high schools have military training. It is not compulsory and it is not likely to become so, so far as the public school system is concerned.

*Wisconsin*—There is only one high school giving military training. Training is voluntary.

*Wyoming*—There are but two high schools in the state having military training, Casper and Cheyenne. The training in the Cheyenne High School is compulsory except in cases of physical disability or backwardness in class. In Casper, military training is also compulsory, exemption being granted upon a doctor's certificate. Three years are required for graduation. Approximately 275 students are affected in Cheyenne, all being in the three upper grades and 365 students in Casper.

Briefly summarized: Seventy-six high schools in the country have military training with an approximate enrollment of 10,000 students. In every instance, except the two high schools in Wyoming, this military training is optional. Of the seventy-six schools noted, forty-eight are affiliated with the War Department through Reserve Officers Training Corps activities.

## PROBLEMS OF RAILWAY WORKERS

The transportation industry has become increasingly competitive in the past decade. As improved highway mileage increases and the number of motor vehicles rises, motor vehicle competition becomes significant. Pipe line development has been rapid, the revival of waterways and long distance transportation of power have affected freight movements.

However, railways are our great arterial transportation dependence and the problems of this industry are of consequence to all others. Between 1920 and 1929 the number of employees on the class 1 railways declined from 2,022,832 to 1,660,850. This number has been further reduced until now there are only 1,317,399 employed. The payroll declined from \$3,681,801,000 to \$2,896,566,000. The ton-mile revenue freight increased from 413,699,006,000 to 450,189,000,000; 361,000 fewer workers handled 36,480,000,000 more ton-mile revenue freight; the number of pounds of coal per 1,000 gross ton miles decreased from 162 in 1921 to 125 in 1929 and 121 in 1930. The net ton miles per freight car day increased from 389 in 1921 to 547 in 1929. Freight locomotive miles increased from 49.5 per freight locomotive day in 1921 to 65.1 in 1929. Passenger locomotive miles per locomotive day increased from 103.4 in 1921 to 120.3 in 1929. These figures are a record of increased operating efficiency—fewer workers and higher productivity.

In 1930, freight traffic declined 14 per cent under 1929—net ton miles by 14 per cent and revenues 13.1 per cent. Passenger traffic declined 13.7 per cent. Total operating revenues declined 16 per cent—lower than in any preceding year back to 1919. Total operating expenses were 12.8 per cent lower than 1929 and below any preceding year back to 1917. The net operating income was \$885,000,000—a decline of \$390,000,000 or 30.6 per cent under 1929. The rate of return on railway property investment was 3.36 per cent—the lowest rate since 1921. Operating efficiency dropped slightly under 1929.

But the rate of progress on railroads has declined over the last decade. Between 1910 and 1920 the increase in freight ton miles was 62 per cent and the increase in passenger miles was 46 per cent. Between 1920 and 1929 the increase in freight ton miles was 8 per cent while the decrease in passenger miles was 34 per cent. As this change occurred in a period in which the volume of business increased, it is obvious that transportation has been going to other carriers. Three types of transportation have been cutting into the field of railroads; water transportation, motor carriers, and pipe lines.

Two long haul transportation agencies have increased their loads markedly during the recent past. In 1915 five millions of long tons passed through the Panama Canal; by 1929 the freight carried amounted to 30,000,000 long tons.

There are under way efforts to revive water transportation. With large appropriations for rivers and canals, and direct subsidies to government owned barges lines on the Mississippi and Warrior Rivers, water freight may be expected to increase. Water borne domestic commerce in the United States increased as follows between 1920-29:

Gulf and coast ports from 114,557,241 tons to 251,174,333.

Great Lakes ports from 98,750,979 tons to 141,185,669.

Rivers, canals and connecting channels from 125,400,000 to 245,894,000 tons.

There has been recent rapid extension of pipe line carriers, the total reaching 86,000 miles by 1929—an increase of 62 per cent over 1920. Excluding natural gas,

where the element of competition does not enter, these pipe lines carried approximately 250,000,000,000 barrels of oil, thereby reducing possible railway freight by 160,000,000,000 tons. Increasing use of oil has reduced the use of coal which in turn has cut into the coal tonnage carried by railroads.

**Short Haul Transportation by Motor Carriers**—Motor truck registration increased 235 per cent from 1920 to 1929. It is estimated that 15,000,000,000 ton miles of commercial freight were moved by truck in 1929.

In the decade between 1919 and 1929, receipts of live stock received by motor in 16 large markets increased 380 per cent while rail receipts declined 27 per cent. In 1929, in 12 large markets 13 per cent of the total carloads of fresh fruits and vegetables received were transported by motor trucks.

Passenger transportation by automobile and interurban buses has increased notably. Passenger mileage on steam railways in 1929 was less than 35,000,000,000 miles while the passenger mileage for motor buses was 145,000,000,000. Between 1926 and 1929, the number of passengers increased from 4, 375,000,000 to 6,797,000,000, an increase of 55 per cent.

**Aviation**—Developing air transportation introduced another competitive element. In 1926, the number of passengers carried by plane was 5,782, which increased to 173,405 in 1929.

**The Problem**—Steam railroads are still the principal commercial carrier of the country. The following table shows the relative load of each carrier in 1929:

|   |
|---|
| 75.8 per cent carried on rails  |
| 16.3 per cent carried on inland waterways (rivers and Great Lakes, also canals) |
| 4.9 per cent carried in pipe lines  |
| 2.5 per cent carried by motor trucks operating in interurban service            |
| 1.0 per cent carried by airplanes.  |

The railway industry which represents an investment of approximately \$26,000,000,000 has been experiencing a decline in both its gross and net earnings due to the economic depression. This in addition to the serious problem of growing competition threatens serious financial difficulties. Over a decade passenger revenues have declined and while freight revenues have continued to increase growing competition threatens their source of income.

Two major proposals are under consideration: consolidation on railroads and an increase in freight rates.

Recognizing the economies to be secured through consolidation, the railway unions interposed the condition that plans for mergers should include provisions to care for the equities of those employees who would be affected by the changes. Railway employees organize their whole lives around their jobs and pour into it all their work capacities. Changes in the industry must take into consideration the consequences to these worker investments as well as to communities. We believe that mergers whether brought about through holding companies or openly should be supervised by the Interstate Commerce Commission and that this consideration of the personal investment should apply equally.

Every industry that renders an essential service to society has a right to earn a fair return. We believe the development of competitive conditions in the transportation industry should be carefully watched and studied so that the best interests of the carriers and those served should be steadily maintained.

## HOME BUILDING AND HOME OWNERSHIP

In the summer of 1930, the President of the United States announced a White House Conference of Home Building and Home Ownership. The conference was held to consider the broad questions involved in this field, such as finance, design, equipment, city planning, transportation, etc. One of the important developments leading to the conference was the unsoundness in the credit system in home building emphasized by the business depression. In the words of President Hoover:

Commerce, industry, installment buying, and to a large extent farm mortgages, all have more effective financial reservoirs, there have been months during this depression when shortage of capital available for home building purposes has been so acute that this branch of construction has fallen off greatly while other forms of credit have been available throughout the depression. In order to enable the purchase of homes on what amounts to the installment plan, it is necessary to place first and, often enough, second mortgages. The building and loan associations have performed a great service in this field, but they can not without assistance carry the burden. First mortgages, carried so largely by the savings banks and insurance companies, have been affected by competition with bonds and other forms of investment. Second mortgages, which are also necessary to many people, have, if we take into account commissions, discounts and other charges, risen in rates in many cities to the equivalent of 20 or 25 per cent per annum, all of which not only stifles home ownership, but has added to the present depression by increasing unemployment in the trades involved.

The finance question, however, is only one of many. Greater comfort and reduction in cost of construction in many parts of the country through improved design, the better lay out of residential areas are all of first importance. The expansion and betterment of homes in its bearing upon comfort, increasing standards of living, and economic and social stability, is of outstanding importance.

The President of the American Federation of Labor was asked to act as an initial member of the Planning Committee for the conference, and also of the permanent committee of 30 members to carry forward the work.

Twenty-two small committees of approximately 15 members each were appointed to consider the following fields: city planning and zoning; subdivision layout; landscape planning and planting; utilities for houses; home ownership and leasing; second mortgages and foreclosures; taxation; blighted and slum areas; reconditioning houses; house construction; design; relative merits of different types of buildings; fundamental equipment such as heating, lighting, ventilation, plumbing, refrigeration, etc.; standards for kitchens, laundries, and other work centers; household management; home making; home furnishings and decorations; farm and village housing; negro housing; local service centers for home building and home making; relation between income and home; large scale operations in housing.

These committees will report to a conference to be held next November at which representatives of 48 states, and many national and state organizations both civic and commercial will be asked to consider what can be done to promote home building and home ownership and interest in programs for the improvement of existing conditions.

Wage earners have a special interest in this conference because our ability as individuals to do something about these problems is most restricted and in our collective capacity we need counsel and dependable information.

Home is a very fundamental force in shaping the lives of children and in conditioning the effectiveness of adults. Adequate and comfortable housing promotes

health, comfort, morals. Aside from the comforts and pleasure in a creditable home, that invaluable spiritual force—the spirit of home—has a fairer chance to fasten its roots in a home that offers substantial comforts and facilities for efficient living.

### CHILD WELFARE

An outstanding event in the work for child welfare during the past year was the President's White House Conference on Child Health and Protection.

Committees had been busy for months, assembling data and outlining recommendations for next steps. A notable group of about 3,000 men and women met in Washington, November 19-22, 1930. Inspiration growing out of the conference and the widespread publicity which it gave to the cause of child labor brought a new vision of the problem to conference members and to the whole nation. Representatives of Labor participated in the conference.

The American Federation of Labor devoted the May issue of the *American Federationist* to discussion of various aspects of child labor. It was a notable issue which assembled information on phases of child welfare of special significance to Labor.

During the past year the American Federation of Labor urged all state federations of labor to make a special effort to improve child labor and compulsory school attendance laws and their administration. In this period of unprecedented unemployment there is every reason to keep children in school.

Employment agencies report difficulties in finding jobs for children even those who already have work experience. During the past year some localities initiated back-to-the-school movements to persuade boys and girls from leaving school and to bring back those who had left. In every state unemployed minors of school age should be required to return to school. Only three states require boys and girls under 18 years of age to return to school when unemployed. These states are Colorado, Utah and Ohio. Delaware, Indiana, Massachusetts, and New Jersey require children under 16 years of age to attend full time school when not employed. New York requires all under 17 to attend school 20 hours a week when unemployed. To enforce such regulations, employers are required to return work permits to the issuing authority upon the termination of the employment.

The first step in an emergency program to send children back to school might be an executive order by the permit issuing authority of each state, requiring work permits to be returned upon the expiration of the work for which said permits were issued.

The supplementary step should be a public demand that no more work permits be issued to children of school age during this national emergency.

Forty-five states require employed children to have certificates certifying to their age compliance with school attendance laws. In most states the age limit for which a certificate is required is 16, a few extend the requirement to 17 and 18 years. In some states even yet, minors of 14 years are permitted to work in factories and other gainful occupations. But these laws are not effective without vigorous, efficient administration.

We urge all state federations of labor to undertake the amendment of their state laws so as to raise minimum standards and improve administration of the law.

A summary of child labor legislation shows:

Two states still allow children under 14 years of age to work in stores and factories; 12 states allow exemptions from child labor laws not limited to outside school hours to children under 14 years of age; 13 states and the District of Columbia fix the minimum work age standard at 14 with no exemptions; 5 states have a minimum standard of 15

years with exemptions not limited to out of school hours in 2 and limited to outside school hours in 3; only 2 states have established 16 years as the minimum and they grant exemptions not limited to outside school hours.

Twenty-eight states require children to attend school up to the age of 16, while some localities in 15 states require up to 17 or 18. But exemptions and faulty administration cut down even the opportunities for children.

The experts for child welfare have been urging the need of child labor laws in states prohibiting gainful employment to children under 16 years of age and requiring work certificates for all under 18 years.

By improving the protection given by child labor regulatory laws and compulsory school attendance, state federations would effectively prevent minors from taking the jobs of adults in addition to providing better equipped workers for the future.

We urge state federations of labor in states that have not already ratified the Child Labor Amendment to urge action upon it at the next session of their state legislature.

Authority to enact federal legislation is the keystone to effective regulation of child labor.

### THE BITUMINOUS COAL SITUATION

Although the nation as a whole has been in the throes of economic depression for the past two years, few of our political and industrial leaders appreciate the duration and extent of the merciless revolutionary changes which have taken place in bituminous coal during the past ten years.

Three and one-half pounds of coal were required in 1920 to produce a kilowatt hour of electricity, while the railroads consumed 170 pounds of coal to move one thousand gross tons of a freight a car mile. Today one and a half pounds of coal produce a kilowatt hour while the railroads have reduced consumption to 125 pounds of coal to move one thousand gross tons of freight a car mile. These averages are for the country as a whole. The objective for electricity is one pound per kilowatt hour and for the railroads between 70 to 80 pounds per thousand gross tons of freight per car mile.

Introduction of stokers is registering from fifteen to twenty-five per cent savings in commercial and domestic consumption. In the face of this diminishing market demand the man-day production of coal as a result of mechanized and strip mines has increased from fifty to seventy-five per cent while that of hand loading mines has increased fifteen per cent.

Protected utilities such as railroads, gas and electric companies consume two-fifths of the total bituminous coal output. With the great overdevelopment of the industry and through the joining of purchasing power, utilities and railroads are enabled to secure their coal in a buyers market. This condition has prevailed since 1924. The result has been profitless operation for the coal companies and pauperization of the majority of the mining communities.

The bituminous coal industry has shown by its sordid performance, and of late, some managements within the industry have confessed, its own inability to rescue itself through its own leadership from the mire and distress of cutthroat competition.

Investigation by state and federal commission, as well as the United States Senate, has proven over and over again the American standards of work and wages can only be brought about through the organization of the mine workers, collective wage agreements and through the medium of federal regulation.

The United Mine Workers of America has prepared a bill, which eminent counsel has passed upon as meeting every constitutional requirement, which classifies coal as a public utility and creates a Federal Coal Commission to regulate the industry on the basis of its interstate commerce characteristics. This measure has been introduced in two sessions of Congress and on each occasion was opposed by professional lobbyists, some orthodox economists and representatives of the National Coal and Manufacturers' Associations.

The opposition plea since 1928 has been that the industry was rapidly setting its house in order. Today the plight of the industry is worse than at any period of our industrial history. During the past year the officials of the United Mine Workers of America have made repeated attempts to have President Hoover convene a joint conference of operators and miners and assume the lead as President of the nation in commanding the leaders of the industry to reconstruct the wage and price structure of the industry so as to gear bituminous coal to American standards. Thus far the President has declined to act.

With the railroads and utilities consuming two-fifths of the total production, with the captive tonnage of steel and other manufactures averaging around eighty million tons a year and exports of fifteen million tons, less than one-half of the coal produced is consumed by domestic and commercial consumers.

The United Mine Workers of America is planning an aggressive fight at the forthcoming session of Congress to enact federal regulatory legislation. The Mine Workers are proceeding upon the theory that coal constitutes the basic natural resource public utility. Under the bill drafted by the United Mine Workers of America the federal government will not be called upon to make any financial outlay other than the maintenance of the coal commission. The United Mine Workers of America is not asking a government subsidiary to stimulate either home or foreign consumption. Regulation of bituminous coal will not put the government in business in competition with private enterprise.

The whole scheme of the bill is designed to end ruthless, cutthroat competition, the wasting of our natural resources, and the wanton depletion of our special purpose coals, which, when exhausted by unnecessary and unwarranted use, for steam power production, will seriously cripple our future by-product, steel, foundry, dye and various other manufacturing enterprises.

The benefits to be derived by the miners after the bill's passage will still be a matter of conference and bargaining through the various provisions of the measure which nullify the yellow dog contract and remove the coal companies from their buttressed positions behind the protective provisions of federal and state injunctions. Its enactment will enable the mine workers to exercise their constitutional rights of free speech and assembly and their inherent right to affiliate with a trade union for the mutual betterment of all employed in bituminous coal mining.

The Executive Council has kept closely in touch with all the developments which have taken place in the bituminous coal industry, and has given profound consideration to its difficult problems and to the numerous remedies which have been proposed, looking to a solution. We are convinced that the primary requirement necessary to the stabilization of the bituminous coal industry are a thorough and complete organization of the men employed in the industry, the establishment of contractual relations between employers and employes through the process of collective bargaining, and the adoption

of a just, equitable and fair wage scale which will in operation provide for a universal labor cost in coal production.

The Executive Council will give to the officers and members of the United Mine Workers of America full cooperation and a full measure of support in the development of the plans and policies proposed by the International Union United Mine Workers of America as partial remedies at least for the industrial ills which affect the coal industry. This includes both the economic and legislative plans originated and supported by the International Union, United Mine Workers of America.

The Executive Council expresses its great disappointment over the failure of the President of the United States to call a conference of representative miners and operators for the purpose of giving national consideration to the economic, social and industrial problems which affect the bituminous coal industry.

#### **OLDER WORKERS**

Business depression has added to the difficulties of older workers who have found industry ready to discard them rather than consider plans to help them adjust themselves to meet industrial changes. We have repeatedly called attention to the social injustice and economic waste of discarding workers with industrial experience and work judgment just at a time when their maturity has become a valuable asset.

The returns from the April 1930 unemployment inquiry—summarized under the section on unemployment—shows that of the workers over 20 years of age reporting 34 per cent were over 45 years of age and 16 per cent over 55 year.. This means that unemployment falls heavily upon workers most likely to have dependents and financial commitments.

We urge that planning to take care of unemployed shall include provisions for older workers and that state bureaus of labor statistics shall continue inquiries to get the facts of employment on older workers and to develop constructive plans.

#### **LEGAL INFORMATION BUREAU**

Since the last report upon this activity, the Legal Information Bureau has been functioning in a very able and capable manner. It has continued its policy of publishing court decisions of interest to Labor and at the same time, has sought to extend its activities in other fields. Where questions of a legal nature have arisen of interest to other organizations and industries, they have been referred promptly to the organizations concerned, not only for their information and guidance but also so that the Bureau might be in receipt of their thoughts and decisions upon the matter.

Since the adjournment of the last convention of the American Federation of Labor many interesting decisions, both favorable and unfavorable to Labor, have been rendered by both state and Federal Courts. The United States Supreme Court, in particular, has rendered several important decisions and reference to some of these is made elsewhere in this report.

A brief review of some of the more outstanding decisions not contained elsewhere is reported for the information of the convention.

*Chinese American Restaurant vs. Finnigan*—Supreme Judicial Court of Mass. 172 N. E. 510. Where a Musicians' Union has contracted with a restaurant to furnish music at a weekly price, it can not be restrained from terminating the services of these particular musicians and from furnishing others in their place. This right on the part of the union to change the orchestra can not be defeated by an allegation that it had been agreed that a certain orchestra would serve the restaurant.

*Van Dusen vs. Dept. of Labor and Industry*—Washington Supreme Court. An employe injured while attempting to move a switchboard used in connection with a radio station from which injuries, death subsequently occurred, was assisting in the removal of an apparatus which had previously been used as an integral part of a radio station which was engaged in interstate commerce. Consequently, the order of the State Department of Labor and Industries in rejecting a widow's claim for pension was correct.

*Gnatt Co. vs. Jackson*—Appellate Court of Indiana. Where the legislative intent is that penal institutions should only use prison labor for the purpose of manufacturing such articles as are used by the state and its political sub-divisions and to produce such articles as may be found practical, the penal institution must limit its manufacturing activities to the making of such commodities as can be made and sold on state account and where the sale of the surplus would be only a minor part of the articles manufactured and only incidental to the sale on state account. In this case, it was shown that the state farm had been manufacturing floral baskets of which approximately only one-fifth of one per cent was sold to the state, the remainder being sold on the open market.

*Crouch vs. Central Labor Council*—Oregon Supreme Court, 293 Pac. 729. As long as a labor paper confined or limited its publication referring to a non-union establishment to the ordinary printing of its paper and made no special display of any articles concerning the non-union establishment, it had a right to publish and sell its papers containing reference to this place of business. A decree which prohibited the union from exhibiting a copy of the paper containing any reference whatsoever was held too broad because it precluded the unions of the right of the free expression of their opinion.

*Seattle Hugh School Chapter 200 vs. Sharples*—Washington Supreme Court. A Board of Directors has the right and authority to exact conditions under which the teachers of Seattle might be employed. The Board had adopted a resolution under the terms of which no one, while a member of the teachers' union, should be employed and each teacher before employment was required to sign a declaration to the effect that he or she was not a member of any teachers' union and would not become such during the contract.

*Philippides vs. Day, Commissioner of Immigration*—United States Supreme Court, 51 Supreme Court 358. An alien who is unlawfully in this country may be deported even though he has been here for a longer period than three years. The Immigration Act of 1917 with its limitation of three years does not override or qualify the clear and definite terms of the Immigration Act of 1924.

*Master Builders' Association of Kansas vs. Carson*—Kansas Supreme Court, 296 Pac. 693. An agreement whereby members of a Builders' Association agree with the Association to be bound by a section of its by-laws whereby each member securing a contract within the state agrees to pay the Association a certain percentage of the full contract price is invalid and void as against public policy.

*Opinion of the Justices*—New Hampshire Supreme Court. The proposed old-age pension bill which provided that the judges of county courts should administer the law as a part of their professional duty is unconstitutional because the bill does not observe the principle of the separation of the three departments of government. The delegation of such authority to the county judges had the effect of making them administrative and executive officers as well as judicial.

*Missouri Pacific Railway Co. vs. Norwood*—U. S. Supreme Court, 51 Supreme

Court 458. The Full Crew Law as enacted by the State of Arkansas is not opposed to either the Constitution of the United States or any laws thereof.

*International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers vs. Western Union Telegraph Co.*—United States Circuit Court of Appeals, 46 Federal (2nd) 736. Where union electricians refuse to work on a shop with non-union employes of the Telegraph Company, such refusal to work amounts to an interference with interstate commerce. In this case, the employes of the Western Union Telegraph Company were engaged in installing call boxes and establishing branch offices. A petition for a writ of certiorari is now before the United States Supreme Court.

*Opinion of the Justices*—Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts. The Massachusetts Legislature had under consideration an anti-injunction bill. An advisory opinion of the Supreme Judicial Court was sought and in such opinion, the court held that the bill would be unconstitutional if enacted. One division violated the provisions of the due process clauses of the Federal Constitution, another division was held to be class legislation and to impair equality before the law while the third division was held to unduly interfere with the powers of the court to deal with contempt of court.

*Bayer vs. Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America*—Court of Appeals of N. J., 154 Atlantic 759. The union was held justified in placing on its unfair list the complainant in this case because he admitted that he furnished money for the purchase of a paint spraying machine in a corporation in which he was a stockholder. The court held that the union might conclude for itself what acts or things are for its economic welfare and it might also enforce its demands by strikes if it thereby violated no employment contracts.

*Long Island Railroad Co. vs. Department of Labor of the State of New York*—Court of Appeals of New York. The eight-hour day law and the prevailing rate of wage law for workmen engaged in grade crossing elimination is not a valid exercise of the state's police power, but the work is of such a public character that the state might legally prescribe these conditions for laborers thereon. A statute which requires railroads to pay labor in grade elimination work the prevailing rate is not unreasonable. However, a statute which prescribes the eight-hour day and prevailing rate of wages for this work is inoperative as to the employ of interstate railroads so engaged although as to contractors in state employ a statute prescribing these conditions is valid.

*Bevue vs. New York, New Haven and Hartford Railroad Co.*—Court of Appeals of New York. A roundhouse laborer engaged in working on a dismantled engine which had been used exclusively in interstate commerce is entitled to the benefits of the Federal Employers' Liability Act rather than subject to the provisions of the State Workmen's Compensation Act.

At the time of making this report, eight bulletins have been published and it is contemplated that others will follow at periodical times. An index of the Legal Information Bulletins as published to date is under way and will shortly be ready for distribution.

It is again requested that when unions are engaged in court cases they promptly advise the Federation office, furnishing it with briefs where possible and with copies of the decisions when rendered. Affiliated unions have been kindly cooperating to their fullest extent in the past and it is hoped that such cooperation will continue. It might be well, however, for the affiliated national and international unions to advise their local unions of the necessity of furnishing the Legal Information Bureau with information and details concerning any legal controversy in which they may become involved.

## EDUCATIONAL WORK

Since the Federation puts its dependence in constructive principles and efforts to work steadily toward better adjustments, our educational work is of fundamental importance. It is our function to know trends and conditions in industry, the problems and needs of wage earners, and how these two sets of forces are related to each other. Our work involves fact finding and fact interpretation.

**American Federationist**—During the past year the *American Federationist* has been our main medium for discussing the problem of unemployment. Worldwide business depression and the gravity of our own problems, have focused thinking upon this all important subject and raised very fundamental questions. A number of constructive suggestions have been published in the *American Federationist* for the purpose of stimulating search for methods to prevent unemployment. Much of public discussion deals only with plans to provide for the unemployed whereas we have undertaken to emphasize prevention of unemployment—security of jobs and stability of employment.

Because the magazine is recognized as the official journal of Labor and because it is the main source of economic statistics interpreting labor progress, it has widened its usefulness during the past year. The number of trade union readers has steadily risen. Inquiries from this country and abroad for special articles in the magazine have notably increased. Additions have been made to the number of universities and governments of foreign countries which regularly receive it. An increasing number of business men, industrial undertakings and research groups are turning to this magazine as an authoritative source for indispensable information. Collegiate courses in economic and study groups of trade unionists are using the *American Federationist* as a text book.

It is our plan to make the magazine increasingly useful during the coming year through the discussion of current problems of wage earners—problems of the home as well as the job.

During the past year we have added a supplement for children. We believe it is important that children should grow up with understanding and respect for trade unionism. The principles of unionism learned in childhood will bear fruit later in union membership.

**American Federation of Labor Weekly News Service**—The labor papers constitute a chain of sentinels on guard for the cause of mankind. They are an important adjunct of the organized labor movement in all branches of its activities. The *Weekly News Service* is published by the American Federation of Labor to assist the labor press in this work.

Employers and the public frequently forget that wage-earners and salary-earners constitute by far the largest economic group and that, therefore, their welfare expressed in wages and hours contributes very largely to the prosperity of the entire community. The local labor papers perform the valuable function of continually emphasizing this fact. They also are a very useful medium for persistently presenting the views of trade unions on industrial problems whose proper solution is of the highest interest to Labor.

The influence of the local labor press is considerably enhanced by bringing to local labor unions and national and international unions labor news and information which often assist in shaping and settling local labor policies.

Few labor papers have the equipment or resources to secure material of this char-

acter. The material is prepared with regard for the established policies and requirement of the entire labor movement. Responsibility for supplying this information and publicity is a proper and necessary function of the American Federation of Labor. To perform this function the Federation maintains the *Weekly News Service* and furnishes it to the labor press without charge. All possible support should be given to strengthen the labor press. In this work the *Weekly News Service* performs an increasingly valuable function.

Spot news of our conventions is also made available by the *Weekly News Service*. In addition it prepares for the labor press a digest of our annual reports and convention proceedings in a special edition. Copies of the special edition are sent to the officers of national and international unions, state federations of labor, city central bodies and local unions directly affiliated to the American Federation of Labor. In every campaign for the protection of Labor's rights in the industrial, judicial and political field the *Weekly News Service* contributes invaluable publicity.

The labor papers should be aided to give the best measure of service to the labor movement. We appreciate the importance of continuing the *Weekly News Service* as an effective agency in this direction. Everything that adds to the strength and circulation of the labor press contributes to the strength and power of the labor movement to advance the interests of all working people. It is also an acknowledgment of the fine work performed by the labor press, whose editors too frequently serve the cause of Labor without the inducement of adequate financial reward.

**Notes for Speakers**—This pamphlet, issued monthly, serves to help trade unionists to know what information they can get from Federation publications. Outstanding articles are summarized and pointed up by use of key sentences. The publication is widely distributed to officers and active trade unionists, and has brought many requests for our other publications and subscriptions to the *American Federationist*. We plan to extend the circulation of this publication during the coming year.

**Legal Information Bulletin**—This is covered in our report on the Legal Information Service.

**Reprints and Pamphlets**—A few carefully selected additions to our organizing and pamphlet literature have been made during the past year.

The cost of our pamphlet literature is reduced considerably by our system of reprints which at the same time makes possible a wider usefulness for valuable material.

**Monthly Survey of Business**—An important part of a union executive's equipment is accurate information on business developments which affect workers' interests. The Monthly Survey of Business brings our local union executives every month a brief outline of the most significant developments. Its circulation has more than doubled in the past year, showing that union officers are availing themselves of the opportunity to know business facts. The Survey has continually pointed out the danger of wage reductions, showing the importance of workers' buying power; compared wage losses with dividend increases, and shown the importance of reserves for wages as well as reserves for dividend payments. We have kept our executives in touch with developments abroad which affect workers in America, farmers' problems and special problems of certain industries, such as building and railroads. Reports on unemployment and workers' buying power also keep the losses of wage earners before the country.

A large number of requests for the Survey have come from groups outside the labor movement, such as business organizations, colleges, libraries, research groups. The Survey is a useful means of keeping before the public information on workers' problems which is fundamental in guiding business developments toward a balanced progress.

**Library**—Considerable progress has been made during the year in the development of the Library of the American Federation of Labor into a standard reference library of literature covering the history and work of Labor.

Labor literature falls into seven classes: Books covering the general subject of Labor in its broad application, convention proceedings of the national and international labor unions and state federations of labor, the labor press, labor legislation, federal and state bureau of labor reports, trade publications and periodical literature containing material on industrial conditions, and special trade union documents on wages and working rules.

In the constantly broadening field of labor literature, the Library of the American Federation of Labor now includes about ten thousand volumes. These books cover practically every labor subject from accidents to workmen's compensation. The collection of general books is maintained as complete as finances permit.

The proceedings of the conventions of the national and international unions and state federations of labor record the outstanding events in the history of Labor. Some of these convention reports go back to the middle of the last century. In addition to the current convention proceedings a constant effort is made to secure as many of the earlier proceedings as possible.

The labor press, consisting of the official journals of the national and international unions, the state federations of labor, and the weekly labor papers, records the current work of organized labor. The Library maintains a practically complete current file of these important documents. For permanent reference the official journals of the national and international unions are bound. The labor weeklies constitute a history of local labor conditions and trade union activities not found elsewhere.

Labor laws have been largely written through the political influence of Labor's organized strength. They are the indexes of Labor's struggle against political, judicial, and industrial tyranny and record the growth of protective labor legislation. The Library endeavors to keep a standard collection of literature covering this subject as well as current labor laws.

Much of the progress of Labor and important information regarding industrial conditions are contained in the reports of federal and state labor bureaus. The Library keeps a collection of the current reports.

A current file of periodical literature and the more prominent trade publications is maintained for reference purposes.

The Library should also have a large collection of the reports, special studies, organizing literature, wage agreements, etc., of all trade unions. Such material is important in measuring the work of labor organizations and valuable for research students interested in the development of labor activities. We urge labor organizations to cooperate with us in this direction by sending these documents to Federation headquarters.

The Library renders informational service to all of our offices and is of great value in our editorial work. It gives both specific data and sources of information.

The information service which the Library is capable of performing for the labor movement and labor students in general is immeasurable.

## THE WORKERS' EDUCATION BUREAU

Unemployment which was the keynote of the Boston Convention of the American Federation of Labor in 1930, has been as well the keynote of the education program of the Workers' Education Bureau during the past year. It has been the subject for consideration of study classes, the focal point of week-end conferences and labor institutes, and extended research by various educational agencies associated with the workers education movement.

Perhaps the most notable single project in the field of workers' education during the past year was the Labor Institute at Rutgers University which was held upon the campus of the State University of New Jersey the week following commencement in June of this year. Not only was the Institute in itself a notable success but there was a long period of planning preceding the holding of the Institute, which was highly educative. A year ago the secretary of the Workers' Education Bureau laid before the executive board of the New Jersey State Federation of Labor a plan for such an institute. The plan met with the approval of the board and was brought before the annual convention of the State Federation of Labor. By unanimous action the convention endorsed the plan proposed by the board and recommended wholehearted support by the unions affiliated with the State Federation of Labor. The trustees of the University approved the plan, tendering to the State Federation the facilities of the University for a week at a nominal charge the following June. A joint committee was then set up between the State Federation of Labor and the State University, together with the secretary of the Workers Education Bureau to serve as a planning board for the Institute.

The Department of Economics of the University authorized an expenditure of several hundred dollars for some preliminary surveys of both industries and unions in the state which were published and circulated among the various unions prior to the convening of the Institute.

The Institute opened June 8 and consisted of nine sessions, four of which were open sessions and five discussion periods. Representatives of the American Federation of Labor, State University of New Jersey, New York University, and Princeton University, participated.

It was recommended that the Institute be an annual effort.

A week-end conference on unemployment was held in Colorado at the end of May, under the auspices of the Colorado State Federation of Labor at Fort Collins. A conference was held under the auspices of the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor over the Labor Day week-end.

Among the group of related activities in the general field of adult education with which the Bureau has been associated during the past year, has been the formation of a labor committee to cooperate with the newly organized national advisory council on radio in education, under the chairmanship of Matthew Woll. John P. Frey, Thomas Burke, Thomas Kennedy, Victor Olander, Chester Wright, and Spencer Miller, Jr. were selected as members of a committee to prepare a series of broadcasts on various labor subjects.

The International Union of Operating Engineers developed an educational program in its three local unions in Boston, Springfield and Providence. A representative of the Workers' Education Bureau has cooperated with the plan of development of this program.

### ORGANIZING WORK

Despite the depression our organizers have been maintained on duty and our special Southern Campaign has been continued. The basic work of showing wage earners the value of the trade union and helping them to find out how to work constructively through a trade union, has been steadily in progress.

About a dozen national and international organizations have maintained organizers in the South during the past year. Both local unions and central labor unions have been organized.

The governors of Georgia, South Carolina, Florida have been persuaded to include representatives of Labor in the delegations to the Southeastern Economic Council—a body which will plan for the economic development of that section.

We believe that more thought and study should be given to methods and technique of organizing, so that our organizers shall be more effective in singling out latent capacity for leadership and in developing groups that will be able to carry on union activities on their own initiative. The essential thing is to develop understanding of what to do and how to do it. The affairs of a union are like the affairs of business—they require thought and sustained organized effort.

### LABOR'S OWN DAYS

Year after year in its annual reports to the conventions the Executive Council emphasizes and reiterates the importance and significance of Labor's own days—Labor Day, Labor Sunday, Labor's Memorial Day—the first Monday in September, the Sunday preceding the first Monday, and the fourth Sunday in May.

Of the three hundred and sixty-five days of the year these three days are dedicated to Labor.

Labor Day and Labor Sunday are now fully recognized and observed by the public generally and the churches as well as by the organizations of Labor. However, Labor's Memorial Day as yet is observed only by Labor.

It behooves us to make adequate demonstration and observance of Labor's three special days—the dignity and honor of Labor imply this.

We urge the various organizations at their regular meetings in ample time prior to Labor's Memorial Day, Labor Sunday and Labor Day to make the matter a subject of discussion in order that sufficient time and thought may be given to plans, ways and means of arranging for a proper and dignified observance of each day.

### SAMUEL GOMPERS' MEMORIAL

We are gratified to report that the design of the sculptor, Mr. Aitken, for the memorial was approved by the Samuel Gompers' Memorial Committee and your Executive Council, and it was also approved by the Commission of Fine Arts. The sculptor is now at work upon the memorial and hopes to have it completed within a year.

### CELEBRATION 200TH ANNIVERSARY BIRTH OF GEORGE WASHINGTON

Our 1930 convention unanimously endorsed the proposal for the celebration of the 200th anniversary of the birth of George Washington and directed the Executive Council to give such aid and assistance as may be possible in this patriotic work. After conferences with the representatives of the government commission which is charged with the duty of arranging adequate plans for this celebration, a letter was addressed

to all state federations of labor and city central bodies urging that these organizations, as well as all affiliated local unions, appoint committees to consider ways and means for proper participation in this celebration either as individual groups or in cooperation with other individual and community groups.

Labor yields to no one in patriotism and loyalty to our government and in our reverence for the memory of the great man, the grandeur of whose character and achievements grows with the passage of time and whose work, devotion, wisdom, and statesmanship made possible the government under which we live. We wish to give concrete demonstration of this through our hearty and helpful cooperation in all plans and projects for the proper and adequate celebration in 1932. George Washington was born February 22, 1732. The celebration will therefore begin February 22, 1932, and continue until Thanksgiving Day.

We recommend that every delegate to this convention consider himself or herself as a committee of one to work enthusiastically with community groups or individuals whose purpose is the proper celebration of the 200th anniversary of the birth of George Washington, or to inaugurate and advocate plans and programs for such celebration.

The officials in charge of the commission headquarters in Washington are prepared to help any group or committee with plans for pageants or other forms of patriotic celebration as may be desired. A letter addressed to the United States Commission for the Celebration of the 200th anniversary of the Birth of George Washington, Washington Building, Washington, D. C. requesting advice, suggestions or printed data will receive prompt reply.

#### **PORTO RICO**

The Free Federation of Workingmen of Porto Rico, which is the state branch of the American Federation of Labor, conscious of its mission has reiterated its most sincere support for all the American institutions in the island as, against those who have intended to create disruption, discredit and disloyalty of our form of democratic government.

Porto Rico is a part of the United States. The justice that this nation extends to Porto Rico has touched the hearts and the minds of the majority of the people in the island.

The Porto Rican Federation of Labor has indorsed unreservedly the plans of economic rehabilitation and social justice being developed by Governor Roosevelt to make the island a better community in which to live.

**Labor Legislation**—Since our last convention was held we pledged our cooperation to the people of Porto Rico and despite the antagonistic attitude of several reactionaries in the island, as well as in the United States, we succeeded in having a number of measures of interest to Labor passed by Congress. The greatest victory was the creation of a Department of Labor in Porto Rico, independent of the other departments. The head of this department is now a labor member, for the first time in the history of Porto Rico, in the cabinet of the governor. Other measures passed by Congress and signed by the President of the United States, have been extended to Porto Rico such as, the promotion of vocational education and vocational rehabilitation, the establishment of agricultural experiment stations, and the extension work between the agricultural cooperatives and agricultural colleges as well as other matters of great economic relief that have been obtained through the support of the American Federation of Labor.

**Department of Labor**—Labor in Porto Rico never in the past had a voice in the official councils of the government of the island. The Department of Labor of Porto Rico should prove the best instrumentality for protecting, fostering and promoting better conditions for the workingmen, women and children of the island. Eighty-five per cent of the adult population of Porto Rico are workers, and consequently this Department of Labor should become the most important public and social agency of the insular government to deal with the industrial and economic situation of the bulk of the population of the island. Besides, the insular legislature has already approved embodying in the Department of Labor, all labor bureaus such as the Mediation and Conciliation Commission, the Industrial Commission, the Homestead Commission, and the Unemployment and Child Protection Bureau and others.

**Commercial Importance**—It is of paramount importance that American labor should know that Porto Rico has made great progress since the American regime was inaugurated and that the island has been a good and loyal territory to the United States. Besides being a buyer of American goods ranking in this respect with powerful and rich nations, it also has helped to increase the commercial and industrial business of the United States. Official reports show that during the last thirty-one years, exports from the United States to Porto Rico amounted to more than \$1,300,000,000 and imports from Porto Rico to the United States amounted to over \$1,600,000,000. Two-thirds of the business and wealth produced by agriculture, commerce and industries are exported from Porto Rico to the United States.

**National Solidarity**—On three occasions since 1898, our American government, the American Red Cross, organized labor and civic organizations have appealed through the press to the sentiment of national solidarity in behalf of the victims of Porto Rico's cyclones. Governor Roosevelt lately exposed conditions which prevailed in the island before and after the cyclones.

**Economic Problem**—President Hoover and Congress have lately been requested by Labor and the insular legislature of Porto Rico to give their approval to a resolution which specifically asks that the United States refund the insular and municipal indebtedness of Porto Rico amounting to approximately \$50,000,000, the island repaying the United States, both principal and interest, over a long period of years; and that an equal sum of \$50,000,000, on similar terms be advanced in ten years to carry to completion the program of economic rehabilitation of the island on a sound basis. The resolution says in part: "From the standpoint of sound investment we believe such action on the part of the President and Congress of the United States is not only warranted but we are firmly convinced that in no other way will the 1,500,000 American citizens of Porto Rico, the largest group of citizens anywhere outside of the United States, commence to realize the hopes and aspirations which citizenship inspires. The advantages of such a program are by no means for the benefit of Porto Rico alone. The \$100,000,000 needed, in fact, represent no more than the total of our normal purchases from the United States annually, and is only about one-half of our normal yearly external commerce, the profits of which go largely to the United States and create sources of revenue for both the state and federal treasury. Nothing, we believe, would stimulate more the building of a sounder, healthier community of American citizens in the Caribbean, whose increasing welfare would insure a constantly growing market with

every prospect of enlarged profit for American business and further revenues for both the insular and federal governments."

We recommend careful consideration by this convention of this resolution.

**Labor Progress**—During the past year there have been 23 local unions organized and 5 reorganized. It is not necessary to point out the great value of the labor unions as an Americanizing influence in the Island of Porto Rico. No other agency can compare with them in instilling into the minds of the people of Porto Rico the spirit of America and developing in them the capacity for self-government. No other American institution so embodies the soul of America, the spirit of democracy. The program which the American people must carry out in order to live up to the theory under which the island was acquired and to improve the conditions of the laboring and other population of the island is necessarily an extensive one.

### PAN-AMERICAN RELATIONS

By a demonstration of intelligent friendship and by continued explanation of its principles and objectives, the American Federation of Labor won thousands of workers into a fraternal family of mutual trust and cooperation that laid the foundations upon which the Pan-American Federation of Labor was built and that has held our movement in close relationship ever since.

The Pan-American Federation of Labor has been in existence now for more than twelve years. Its principles, its policies and its good name are known throughout Latin America. For various reasons which have seemed unsurmountable it has been compelled to proceed slowly, often without the aggressiveness necessary to real progress and development.

**Special Report**—A special report of 38 typewritten pages in Spanish was sent to over three hundred labor centers, labor papers and dailies throughout the American continent and Europe. The report contains besides the activities of the Pan-American Federation of Labor, an exact description of the thought, ideals and spirit of the American Federation of Labor. The primary objective of this special report is to show once more the spirit that prevails in the American Federation of Labor conventions, its resolutions and actions, representative of the organized labor movement of the United States. The report was sent broadcast, for the benefit of the Labor centers throughout the Latin American Republics.

The report also contains a substantial history of the American Federation of Labor and the account of the "contemporaneous labor tragedy" together with the best selections of the various addresses and statement made in the convention in defense of the noble cause of labor that gives the greatest credit to the responsible leaders of the Federation.

Correspondence received from all the labor centers showed the appreciation for this report and many labor and other papers have published the same.

**Requesting Intervention**—Labor centers of two nations, Cuba and Venezuela, have requested us lately to make representations in Washington to get some kind of civil intervention on the part of the United States, in the affairs of those countries, meaning to formulate a strong protest against its rulers.

Of course, some of the Latin American governments are despotic and autocratic. The Pan-American Federation of Labor has been always ready to emphasize the rights

of the peoples and to secure for them economic, political and social freedom. At the same time the Pan-American Federation of Labor has endeavored by every honorable means and within the limits of the powers derived, voluntarily associated every effort to secure the cooperation of the various governments of Pan-America to firmly establish the principles of protection and liberty of their own peoples.

The working people of North America besides have given to the Pan-American Federation of Labor whole-hearted, personal and collective support to obtain social justice and political freedom for the workers. Unfortunately and very recently, social and political unrest arising out of widespread military revolutions and otherwise, have created a very exceptional condition that prevents the Pan-American Federation of Labor from following the requests of these labor centers that are suffering oppression and tyranny.

Requests for help coming from almost every labor center of Latin America are being addressed to the American Federation of Labor, in the hope that through the instrumentality of organized labor the United States will oppose dictatorships and all forms of oppressive governments.

Our generous attitude in defense of the oppressed peoples has created among them a feeling of trust in the American Federation of Labor, and has given it such prestige and reputation that from time to time in the past twelve years the representatives of the working peoples of several Latin American republics have come to Washington requesting the moral support of the American Federation of Labor in the protection of the civil rights of those peoples as against oppression and injustice.

**Sixth Congress**—In regard to the holding of the Sixth Congress of the Pan-American Federation of Labor some time in the near future, favorable answers have been already received from Mexico, Cuba, Venezuela, Guatemala, Haiti, Santo Domingo, Chile, Honduras, Puerto Rico, Colombia, Ecuador and lately the Railroad Brotherhood of Argentina for the first time says as follows:

With regard to the Sixth Congress of the Pan-American Federation of Labor we are glad to let you know that it is our desire to participate in such a great assembly. It would greatly facilitate the sending of our delegates to know with enough time in advance the date when the Congress is to be held. We will appreciate it if you communicate these facts to us.

In conclusion, there is a combined service to humanity and to our own country and its institutions that can be done by the Pan-American Federation of Labor in helping these great masses to achieve real freedom. For, in bringing Labor to a position of freedom and dignity we offset the exploitation of capitalists and help to still the cry that only exploitation comes from the United States. Such work promotes good will for America and for the great idealistic concepts of the masses of the American people.

#### **UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE**

Unemployment is the great fear that constantly shadows the life of the wage earner. Unemployment means loss of income. Working people must earn money in order to live and buy the things they need. They depend upon their wage earning power and wage earning opportunities to procure for themselves a decent living. They spurn charity and abhor dependency.

Invention, science and mechanical improvement have revolutionized factory production but while doing this they served to displace many workers during normal

periods of industrial activity. Technical progress has been very exacting. Even during the peak production period there were many thousands of working people suffering from technological unemployment. Now, with many millions of workers idle, it becomes imperative that we deal directly and constructively with this great social problem.

There are just two approaches to this problem: prevention and relief. Either we must make employment secure or provide an income for the unemployed.

The early experiments were made with various forms of unemployment relief in many cities and nations in Europe. Municipalities such as Berne, Basle, Cologne, Leipzig, gave assistance to voluntary insurance undertakings. Other cities undertook to subsidize trade union insurance as in the Ghent scheme. In some cases the government made loans to private industries.

Voluntary benefit systems were established in Denmark and Belgium, Norway, Czechoslovakia, Finland, France, Spain, Switzerland. Holland has municipal insurance.

Switzerland experimented with compulsory unemployment insurance as did individual cities. Great Britain was the first country to adopt compulsory unemployment insurance. It has since been followed by Australia, Austria, Bulgaria, Germany, Irish Free State, Italy, Poland and Russia.

With recognition of the responsibility of management for controlling business, have come efforts to distinguish economic forces and to find methods of control. Industries have been looking to stabilization. Regularization of production brings regularization of employment. To maintain steady industrial progress understanding of the principles of industrial balance is necessary. We have just begun studying this field. The possibilities of the prevention of unemployment have increasing significance and must be carefully safeguarded against policies that crystallize unemployment and habits of accepting it as inevitable.

Unemployment is the most urgent problem of business today. It is the great fear that stalks like a ghost in wage earners lives.

Because unemployment cannot be eliminated at once, there must be provisions for relief for the unemployed. Individual companies have been experimenting with stabilization. In a few localities the principle of stabilization has been extended to groups of companies. These local developments indicate the possibilities of applying these principles to wider areas. This means the development of industrial control. In the United States the movement toward industrial control is further: along than in most industrial countries.

**Unemployment Insurance in Great Britain**—In 1911 Great Britain enacted its first compulsory unemployment insurance act. This law made building, construction works, shipbuilding, mechanical engineering, iron foundering, construction of vehicles and saw milling insured trades. About 2,500,000 workers were covered. The benefit was 7s. (\$1.75) a week up to a maximum of 15 weeks in a year, subject to the proviso that no one should get more than one week's benefit for every 5 contributions. The employee paid 2½d. (5 cents) a week, employer 2½d. (5 cents), and the National Exchequer 1½d. (3.3 cents). The fund under this act remained solvent. The first change came in 1916 when an additional one and a quarter million of workers, chiefly women, making munitions, were brought under the provisions of the act. The workers would obviously not be needed after the war, so it was thought wise to get ready for adjustments.

To provide for ex-service men for the first year after demobilization out-of-work donations were authorized in 1918. In 1918 a Committee of the Ministry of Reconstruction, pointed out the probable widespread industrial dislocation that would follow peace, and suggested making the insurance provisions general in application. In 1919 the National Industrial Conference urgently recommended the universal extension of unemployment insurance. The administration decided to extend donations to the whole working population over 15 years of age, approximately 12,000,000. As the test of eligibility was the health insurance card—even agricultural and domestic workers were included. The payments were: employees and employers, 4d. (8 cents) each, and an equal amount from the Exchequer. The benefit paid rose to 15s. (\$3.65) for men and 12s. (\$2.92) for women, limited to one week of benefit to 6 weeks of contributions, and the future regulation of 15 weeks of benefit in one year. The main purpose was to forestall general discontent. The labor exchanges served as the administrative machinery. Out-of-work donations were discontinued for civilians in November 1919 and for ex-service men in March 1921.

The principle underlying the donation plan was in direct conflict with the unemployment principle. The donations were free gifts from the government while insurance was a right resulting from joint contribution. Dating from the provisions for the donation, the term "dole" has been indiscriminately applied to the gift and the insurance benefit.

The act of 1920 extended unemployment insurance to practically all wage earners except those in agriculture and domestic service. The introduction of general compulsory unemployment insurance came at a most difficult time. The shift from war-time to peace-time production caused Great Britain to lose many of her foreign markets. During the years of business depression that followed, the number of unemployed remained constantly above the totals which the fund could take care of. The insurance plan was based upon an estimate of 4 per cent as normal, while the actual average for the decade was over 12 per cent, which rose to 16.3 in 1930. In the effort to provide relief for the millions unemployed, the principle of insurance was lost in provisions for extended benefits. In meeting the problem of people who could not find work and who had exhausted their claim to insurance benefits, the government felt it ought to provide for their relief. This provision took the form of arbitrary extension of the right to benefit.

An official investigation in 1926 revealed that 52 per cent of the persons contributing to the unemployment fund drew benefits, the other 48 per cent made contributions from which they drew no benefits. The employers who maintained stable employment had a similar grievance.\*

In 1928, the debt of the insurance funds was very close to its statutory limit £30,000,000 (\$145,687,500) when the Government extended its borrowing powers by another £10,000,000, (\$48,562,500.)

Both the rates of unemployment benefits and the duration of payments were raised by successive cuts. Extended or uncovenanted benefit could be granted at the discretion of the Ministry of Labor until 1924, when the Labor Government made it a right. This provision was reversed by the Conservative Government in 1926, but returned by the Labor Government in 1927, when the distinction between standard and extended benefits was wiped out.

\*"The Unemployed," Davison, pp. 108-9.

Between 1920-30, more than 20 acts amending insurance rules were enacted. The net result of the changes was to raise the present liabilities of the unemployment insurance fund £8,000,000 (\$38,850,000).

In 1930, to relieve the unemployment fund, the cost of benefit paid as transitional provisions to those who had not paid 30 contributions in two years, was put directly on the Exchequer. With this arrangement it was expected that an average number of 1,160,000 unemployed would be taken care of.

In the period between 1920 and 1927, insurance lost its contractual quality. In the practice of relieving the unemployed indefinitely from an unlimited national Exchequer, every discouragement was given to efforts to prevent unemployment. Insurance was turned into a relief agency to deal with mass unemployment.

Between the years 1920 and 1930 the contributions from employers and workers, Exchequer, total:

| Year                     | Contributions from Employers and Employed Persons |                 | Contributions from Exchequer |                | Total       |                 |
|--------------------------|---|-----------------|------------------------------|----------------|-------------|-----------------|
| 1920.....                | £3,051,576  | \$14,819,215.95 | £912,701                     | \$4,432,304.23 | \$4,865,201 | \$23,626,632.36 |
| 1921.....                | 11,314,480  | 54,945,943.50   | 2,168,639                    | 10,531,744.52  | 14,234,262  | 69,125,134.84   |
| 1922.....                | 31,373,868  | 152,359,346.48  | 11,057,901                   | 53,699,931.73  | 43,024,085  | 208,935,712.78  |
| 1923.....                | 34,473,018  | 167,409,593.66  | 12,166,266                   | 59,082,429.26  | 46,673,306  | 226,657,242.26  |
| 1924.....                | 37,016,837  | 179,763,014.68  | 13,184,784                   | 64,028,607.30  | 50,226,440  | 243,912,149.25  |
| 1925.....                | 37,016,494  | 179,761,348.99  | 13,148,085                   | 63,850,387.78  | 50,179,250  | 243,682,982.81  |
| 1926.....                | 33,934,877  | 164,796,246.43  | 12,910,861                   | 62,698,368.73  | 46,864,746  | 227,586,922.76  |
| Mar. 1927.<br>(9 months) | 20,594,716  | 100,013,089.58  | 7,954,599                    | 38,629,521.39  | 28,562,431  | 138,706,305.54  |
| Mar. 1928.....           | 31,164,838  | 151,344,244.54  | 12,024,910                   | 58,395,969.19  | 43,199,800  | 209,789,028.75  |
| 1929.....                | 30,534,468  | 148,283,010.23  | 11,757,831                   | 57,098,966.79  | 42,309,292  | 205,464,499.28  |
| 1930.....                | 30,935,977  | 150,232,838.31  | 19,411,386                   | 94,266,543.26  | 50,367,395  | 244,596,661.97  |

The expenditures from the unemployment fund and its deficit for the same period were:

| Year      | Total      |                | Debt of Fund at the End of Year or Period |                 |
|-----------|------------|----------------|---|-----------------|
| 1920..... | £1,607,909 | \$7,808,408.08 |   |                 |
| 1921..... | 35,422,111 | 172,018,626.54 |   |                 |
| 1922..... | 58,510,072 | 284,139,537.15 | £14,323,068                               | \$69,556,398.98 |
| 1923..... | 47,880,264 | 232,518,532.05 | 15,315,121                                | 74,374,056.36   |
| 1924..... | 41,187,690 | 200,017,719.56 | 6,679,475                                 | 32,437,200.47   |
| 1925..... | 51,542,661 | 250,304,047.48 | 8,105,722                                 | 39,363,412.46   |
| 1926..... | 49,291,154 | 239,370,166.61 | 10,497,569                                | 50,978,819.46   |
| 1927..... | 42,752,653 | 207,617,571.13 | 24,710,000                                | 119,997,937.50  |
| 1928..... | 42,777,616 | 207,738,797.70 | 24,530,000                                | 119,123,812.50  |
| 1929..... | 53,693,356 | 260,748,360.08 | 35,960,000                                | 174,630,750.00  |
| 1930..... | 53,397,496 | 259,311,589.75 | 38,950,000                                | 189,150,937.50  |

Borrowing power of fund was extended as follows:

|                     |             |               |                       |              |               |
|---------------------|-------------|---------------|-----------------------|--------------|---------------|
| June, 1921.....     | £20,000,000 | \$97,125,000  | July, 1930.....       | £ 60,000,000 | \$291,375,000 |
| March, 1922.....    | £30,000,000 | \$145,687,500 | December, 1930.....   | £ 70,000,000 | \$339,937,500 |
| November, 1928..... | £40,000,000 | \$194,250,000 | February, 1931.....   | £ 90,000,000 | \$437,062,500 |
| March, 1930.....    | £50,000,000 | \$242,812,500 | June, 1931 (proposed) | £115,000,000 | \$558,468,750 |

In November 1930, the Royal Commission on Unemployed (Gregory Commission) was authorized to report recommendations for the future scope of the unemployment insurance system and provisions for the unemployed not eligible under this system.

This commission has made an interim report from which the following is summarized:

In May 1931 three sources of relief were available to the unemployed:

1. Insurance fund.
2. Transitional benefits.
3. Public assistance (out-of-door relief).

1. Insurance. A person is entitled to insurance benefit if he is able to satisfy the following conditions:

- (a) that he has paid at least 30 contributions in the last two years;
- (b) that he applies for benefit in the prescribed manner and proves that he is continuously unemployed;
- (c) that he is capable of and available for work;
- (d) that if so required he has attended an approved course of instruction.

2. Transitional benefits. A claimant who has reached the age of 18 years and is unable to show that he has paid thirty contributions within the preceding two years can qualify for transitional benefit if he is able to prove—

- (a) that eight or more contributions have been paid in respect of him during the period of two years immediately preceding the date of his application for benefit or that thirty contributions had been paid *at any time*; and
- (b) that he is normally employed in insurable employment and will normally seek to obtain his livelihood by means of insurable employment.

He must also show that he satisfies the other conditions for benefit and is free from disqualification.

In May 1931, the number in receipt of transitional benefits was 410,000.

*Public Relief*—Apply the principles of poor law relief, income and every source available to the household were taken into consideration.

The finances of the unemployment fund were so adjusted that income and expenditure balance when 900,000 persons are receiving benefits. The number of unemployed far exceeded this number and the Royal Commission on Unemployment did not feel justified in predicting less than an average of 2,500,000 for 1931-2. On this basis the Commission estimated £84,000,000 (\$407,925,000) necessary to pay unemployment benefits and £35,000,000 (\$169,968,750) for transitional benefits annually. The annual income of the fund would be about £44,500,000 (\$216,103,125) which would make a deficit of £39,450,000 (\$191,579,062.50) annually. As the deficit is increasing annually at a rate about equal to the income the Commission suggested the following changes:

1. A reduction in the period for which benefit is paid.
2. An increase of contributions.
3. A reduction of benefit.

The Commission suggested that the payment of insurance benefit be restricted to 26 weeks in a period of 12 months following application.

The Commission recommended the following rates for contributions which are contrasted with existing rates in the following table:

**Existing and Proposed Weekly Rates of Contribution to British Unemployment Fund  
in Terms of U. S. Cents in Respect to Each Employed person insured Against  
Unemployment**

| Classes of Employed Persons | From Employers |          | From Employees |          | From Exchequer |          |
|-----------------------------|----------------|----------|----------------|----------|----------------|----------|
|                             | Present        | Proposed | Present        | Proposed | Present        | Proposed |
|                             | c              | c        | c              | c        | c              | c        |
| Men, 21-64 years.....       | 16             | 18       | 14             | 18       | 15             | 18       |
| Women, 21-64 years.....     | 14             | 16       | 12             | 16       | 13             | 16       |
| Men, 18-21 years.....       | 14             | 16       | 12             | 16       | 13             | 16       |
| Women, 18-21 years.....     | 12             | 14       | 10             | 14       | 11             | 14       |
| Boys, 16-18 years.....      | 8              | 9        | 7              | 9        | 7½             | 9        |
| Girls, 16-18 years.....     | 7              | 8        | 6              | 8        | 6½             | 8        |

The proposed changes would result in a total saving of £31,800,000 (\$154,754,700).

*Transitional Benefits*—Provisions for present transitional benefits expire October 1931. Persons without resources would have to apply to the poor law authorities, who would not be equally prepared to assume the additional responsibility. As the Commission was not prepared to suggest a permanent plan to provide for these cases, it suggested that payments to them be regarded as unemployment relief and that resources be considered in fixing amounts paid. Estimates for transitional benefits under the new plan are £34,000,000 (\$105,461,000).

The English experience discloses that there are many in need of relief who do not properly come under compensation provisions.

**Intermittent, Short-time and Casual Workers**—Workers who work two or three days a week and pay contributions to the Fund are eligible to unemployment insurance. Unlimited benefits may be paid to persons who have made 30 contributions in 2 years. The continuity principle was intended to serve as a regulator, that is, a day's employment shall count for benefit purposes if it is one of at least three in a period of six consecutive days. Under the proposed plan expenditures would total £95,200,000 (\$463,290,800).

It has been the deliberate policy of the insurance authorities to permit linking up of days into continuous periods, so that short periods which would not have been compensable, were held as coming under the rule.

The Commission concluded: "The present continuity rule appears to encourage industries to maintain reserves far in excess of their maximum requirements at the expense of the unemployment fund." For example, the dock industry, the cotton, the textile industries, show no signs of contracting as a result of decline in exports. By subsidizing short-time, the mining industry still retains workers when need for their regular labor has disappeared.

The Commission sums up its criticisms of short-time workers:

- (a) that it enables industries to maintain a reserve of labor at the cost of the contributors to the unemployment fund;
- (b) that it is equivalent to a subsidy of wages;

(c) that many short-time workers receive benefit which they do not really need.

The Commission suggests an overriding limitation for short time progress: that in respect of any period comprising both days of employment and days of unemployment, the amount of benefit payable for the days of unemployment shall not be more than the full amount of benefit which would be payable for the whole period less half the earnings received for the period.

By this change the Commission hopes:

(a) to provide reasonable benefit for short time working where such working represents a loss of wages:

(b) to prevent the payment of benefit in those cases of high earnings where no reasonable claim to benefit lies; and

(c) to make it worth a man's while, whatever the amount of benefit to which he is entitled, to find or accept additional employment.

With regard to benefits for married women the Commission recommends that benefits shall be conditioned by ability to establish that—

(1) she has not abandoned insurable employment; and

(2) that having regard to her industrial experience and to the industrial circumstances of the district she can reasonably expect to obtain insurable employment in the district in which she is residing.

The Commission recommends that seasonal workers shall receive benefits only for days of unemployment occurring within the season of regular employment.

In conclusion the Commission said:

In this report we have dealt mainly with the finances of the scheme. We have taken this course because this aspect of the problem has been most urgently brought to our attention. But we should wish to add that the finance of the scheme is not more important or more difficult than other questions which arise in connection with it. The social and economic effects of the scheme as a whole deserve most careful consideration and we shall have something to say on these matters in our final report. Nevertheless in closing this part of our inquiry, we desire to say that in spite of difficulties and in spite of the criticism that may fairly be made against the present position and against some of the features of the unemployment insurance scheme, it has prevented serious distress in a period of unprecedented unemployment. To put the scheme on right lines for the future is worth some effort and sacrifice. We are convinced that the principle of insurance against industrial unemployment has an important part to play in the adaption of our industrial structure to changing needs.

A minority report disagreed with the recommendations to put the unemployment fund on a self-supporting basis.

*Administration*—The insurance is administered by the Unemployment Insurance Department of the Ministry of Labor. The department operates mainly through the employment exchanges.

Great Britain is divided into 7 areas with a divisional controller in each, responsible to central headquarters. In these divisions there are 417 employment exchanges and 752 branch employment offices. Each office has a department for juveniles under 18.

The exchanges have two functions, (1) to place workers, and (2) to pay unemployment benefits.

The insurance function is directed by a chief insurance officer appointed by the Minister of Labor. In 1929 there were 1748 insurance officers located in the 7 districts and at the main office at Kew.

When a worker is employed, his unemployment book is transferred to his employer

who holds it and enters contribution stamps weekly. The employer purchases stamps from the post office covering his own and the workers contributions prescribed from the fund. He deducts the worker's contribution from his wages.

When a worker loses his job, he gets his unemployment book from his employer and lodges it with the unemployment office. He registers for a new job and gives a record of his occupational experience. He is required to prove the continuity of his unemployment and his availability for work, by registering daily during work-hours. Casual workers may be required to register twice daily. If the distance to the worker's home is very great, special arrangement may be made.

The office at once begins to investigate the worker's record to determine his eligibility. The exchange officers also determine suitability of jobs available. If there is no work, the local office is authorized to pay benefits.

Doubtful claims are referred to the local court of referees. These courts are composed of a chairman and equal representation from employers and employees. Appeal may be taken to the chief insurance officer. Ultimate appeal lies with an umpire appointed by the Crown.

Many difficulties arise in trying to define suitability of employment and genuinely seeking work. Many employers are reluctant to notify the employment exchange of vacancies or to seek employees through this channel. This tendency is a handicap.

#### SUMMARY

Compulsory Insurance Act was adopted by Great Britain in 1911, first contribution payable July 15, 1912, and benefits to start 6 months later.

*Revenue*—Contributions by employers, employed, and Exchequer—one-third each. In the beginning employers and workers contributed 5 cents a week, the State paying  $3\frac{1}{2}$  cents, or one quarter of the total. Rates have been raised on several occasions until now the total cost for adult males is about 45 cents weekly, and the share of the State raised to one-third.

*Scope*—In original plan employees covered were building, construction of works, ship building, mechanical engineering, iron founding, construction of vehicles, saw-milling. 1920 revision included practically all except agriculture and domestics. All manual and non-manual workers up to \$1,217 yearly. The plan covered 12,000,000. 1930—13,300,000 insured.

*Administration*—Plan administered by Board of Trade through labor exchanges, under insurance officer appointed by Board of Trade. Appeal from decision of insurance officer possible to court of referees consisting of 1 employer, 1 workman, and 1 chairman. Industries may administer own insurance with similar grant from government. Contributions paid by buying stamps from post office. 1930—no 'contracting out' privileges granted to industries.

*Conditions for Benefit*—Original plan: claimant must have been employed 26 weeks in insured trade in the 5 years preceding claim; must prove himself capable of work but unable to obtain suitable employment. Vacancy due to a trade dispute or where job offered is less favorable than those prevailing in district need not be accepted. 1920 revision, 12 contributions to be paid following last full benefit (suspended by temporary amendment; December 23, 1920). Insurance lapses after 5 years of no contributions. 1927 revision: 30 contributions in 2 years preceding claim. Temporary provisions for emergency; 8 contributions in preceding 2 years, or 30 at any time. 1930

revision: 30 contributions in last 2 years. Temporary provision, 8 in last 2 years or 30 at any time. (Cost of this provision borne entirely by the State.) Other qualifications practically the same.

*Benefit*—Under original plan: waiting period one week. One week's benefit for each 5 contributions paid, maximum 15 weeks in an insurance year. 1920 revision: 3 days waiting period, 1 week's benefit allowed for 6 contributions (susp. by temporary amendment). 1921-26 revision: 6 days waiting period, uncovenanted benefit added in 1921, later increased to 26 weeks. 1927 revision: 1 for 6 system abolished. Slight change in rates of benefits. 1930 revision: 6 days waiting period—no maximum period. Benefits raised. Maximum benefit—men 1911—\$2.68, women \$1.34 per week; 1930 benefit, men (bet. 21 and 64) \$4.14, women (same ages) \$3.65. Dependent benefits added in 1921, \$1.22 for adult dependents, 24 cents each child. 1930: \$2.19 for adult and 49 cents for each child.

*Financial*—To 1922 the insurance fund remained solvent, having in fact, a surplus of \$100,000,000 in 1920. As a result of the widespread unemployment in Great Britain, the fund has accumulated a debt which now exceeds \$350,000,000 and increasing at the rate of \$5,000,000 a week. A Royal Commission, organized December 1930, now engaged in an inquiry to make recommendations with regard to the future scope of the insurance scheme, the provisions which it should contain and the means by which it may be made solvent and self-supporting (1) and, (2) the arrangements which should be made outside the scheme for the unemployed who are capable of and available for work.

The sum paid out of the unemployment insurance fund for November 8, 1920 to June 13, 1931 was approximately £602,000,000 (\$2,923,462,500).

**Unemployment Insurance in Germany**—In 1918, the Federal Office for Economic Demobilization took over all public employment exchanges for use in readjusting from war to peace basis. A vocational guidance service was developed to assist ex-soldiers and ex-war workers to find employment, only after the working time for all had been reduced to 30 hours per week. This regulation was later made 24 hours. In 1919 these municipal exchanges were turned over to the Ministry of Labor. By the law of July 22, 1922, local and state services put under the supervision of the Ministry of Labor were coordinated in a national employment office.

The Weimar constitution (Republican Germany) guarantees every citizen the right to work or financial support if work can not be found. Various bills proposed by trades to provide a subsistence for the worker and his family were the beginnings out of which grew the unemployment insurance act of 1927.

As the employment bureaus could not find jobs for many, a system of unemployment insurance was provided to relieve the unemployed and their dependents. On July 16, 1927, the employment service was made the executive agency of unemployment insurance (Gesetz über Arbeitsvermittlung und Arbeitslosenversicherung). Germany created an independent public corporation on a quasi-official basis to administer the labor exchange and unemployment insurance service. This corporation, an autonomous body with its own budget, deals with unemployment problems in accord with principles laid down by its central administrative committee. The principle of independent corporation had been tried out in the administration of health, accident and old age insurance set up by Chancellor Bismarck. The Reichsanstalt has unified the work of relieving unemployment without centralizing it.

*Administration*—The Reichsanstalt (federal institution) with a federal office in Berlin, has 13 district and 361 local employment offices. Local offices find employment for workers, provide vocational guidances, and pay unemployment benefits.

Every locality is served by a local office, the basis of the division being occupational and geographic, not political—that is a local office may serve more than one municipality. Groups of local offices constitute the second division called the district which also has an office.

The Reichsanstalt (or federal institution) has three administrative groups:

A. The governing bodies.

(1) Board of Directors, responsible for conduct of entire organization and can create or establish local and district offices.

(2) Administrative Council, consisting of President of the Federal Bureau and equal representations from employers, workers, and public authorities, helps to regulate the labor market; decides upon contribution rates, methods of paying benefits; hears appeals against decisions of local or district administrative committees and executives of the central office. The administrative committees of local and district offices have similar duties for their jurisdictions.

(3) Administrative Committees for local and district labor offices—consist of local chairmen with equal representatives of employers and employees.

The president of the Reichsanstalt, the executives of the central office, the chairmen of the district labor offices have the status of federal civil service officials.

Courts of Reference or Appeal—appeals from decisions of executives, may be carried to appropriate courts of reference. The final court is attached to the Federal Insurance Bureau.

The Reichsanstalt is protected against political control by its disregard of political boundaries and its autonomous power. Balancing power between employers and employees on its committees makes it definitely industrial.

*How it Works*—The employment exchange system is the essential element in the operation of the unemployment insurance act. There are 361 local labor offices. Branch offices often serve particular types of labor such as women, apprentices, professional workers.

The insured worker who loses his job is expected to report to the employment office in person. He presents a written statement from his last employer and applies for work. If no positions are available he is given an unemployment card, stamped for the day as evidence of unsuccessful effort to find him work. He must report within two days when his card may be stamped again if no job can be found.

One week after his first application he becomes eligible to benefits, and on the following Saturday he presents his card to the pay window of the local labor office and is paid benefits due him.

Vocational counsel is given to adults unemployed whose trade promises long-continued or permanent oversupply of labor. The unification of placement and insurance has been generally satisfactory with reciprocal efficiency. A successful working relationship has been achieved with the other insurance agencies. Collections are simplified and duplications of benefits prevented.

Trade union insurance and placement bureaus are giving way to public agencies.

The original insurance act was planned for 800,000 as the peak of unemployment. The personnel budget for the Reichsanstalt provided for a staff of 13,212: 169 in the main office; 733 in district offices and 12,314 in local offices. In March 1931 total unemployment was fluctuating around 5,000,000, and the staff totaled about 28,000.

The institution hopes to reduce the staff 414 to every 1,000 decrease in unemployed.

A summary of the original law follows:

*Revenues*—3 per cent of all wages paid jointly by workers and employers—(1½ per cent each).

Employer forwards to health insurance fund contributions for himself and employees to unemployment fund.

*Scope*—The law applies to practically all wage-earners and small salaried persons—all persons liable to health, old age and invalidity insurance and salaried employees insurance plans. Certain agricultural, forestry and fishing workers exempt. Seasonal workers are included under special conditions.

*Eligibility*—Claimant must have worked 26 weeks in an insured occupation in preceding year. Unemployment must be involuntary—"willing and able to work" is the test of eligibility. Persons in receipt of benefits must report to office three times per week during period of receipt of benefits. Persons refusing to accept jobs may lose benefits.

*Duration of Benefits*—Normally 26 weeks—then worker must establish new claim. Partly employed workers receive 1, 2, or 3 days benefits for 3, 4, or 5 days loss of time.

When he has received benefits for 9 weeks he cannot decline employment in occupations other than his own. If his work is highly seasonal he has to accept position outside his trade in less than 9 weeks, or lose benefits.

If after 26 weeks he has no job and can prove his income is inadequate he is granted emergency unemployment relief—Krisenfürsorge. After 39 weeks his only resort is charity.

Krisenfürsorge comes from a fund to which the locality contributes 1/5 and the state 4/5. Charity comes from a local fund.

*Rates of Benefits*—In addition to regular benefits there are additional provisions for families, varying from 75 per cent for the lowest wage class to 35 per cent for the highest.

Rates for benefits are based on wages or salaries. Average wages or salaries for three months are grouped in 11 classes and benefits calculated as in the table below:

**Standard Weekly Benefits Granted Unemployed Persons and Their Dependents Under the Act of 1927\***

| Wage Classes Designated by Act | Average Weekly Wage Rate for Three Months Previous to Unemployment (In Marks) |                   | "Representative" Weekly Wage for the Class (In Marks) | Benefits, According to Number of Dependents (as Percentage of "Representative Wage") |      |      |       |      |              |
|--------------------------------|---|-------------------|---|--|------|------|-------|------|--------------|
|                                |   |                   |   | None   | One  | Two  | Three | Four | Five or More |
| I.....                         | 10 or less  | \$2.365 or less   | 8 \$1.89  | 75   | 80   | 80   | 80    | 80   | 80           |
| II.....                        | 10.01-14  | 2.367- \$3.311    | 12 2.84   | 65   | 70   | 75   | 80    | 80   | 80           |
| III.....                       | 14.01-18  | 3.313- 4.257      | 16 3.78   | 55   | 60   | 65   | 70    | 75   | 75           |
| IV.....                        | 18.01-24  | 4.259- 5.676      | 21 4.97   | 47   | 52   | 57   | 62    | 67   | 72           |
| V.....                         | 24.01-30  | 5.678- 7.095      | 27 6.39   | 40   | 45   | 50   | 55    | 60   | 65           |
| VI.....                        | 30.01-36  | 7.097- 8.514      | 33 7.80   | 40   | 45   | 50   | 55    | 60   | 65           |
| VII.....                       | 36.01-42  | 8.516- 9.933      | 39 9.22   | 37.5   | 42.5 | 47.5 | 52.5  | 57.5 | 62.5         |
| VIII.....                      | 42.01-48  | 9.935- 11.352     | 45 10.64  | 35   | 40   | 45   | 50    | 55   | 60           |
| IX.....                        | 48.01-54  | 11.354- 12.771    | 51 12.06  | 35   | 40   | 45   | 50    | 55   | 60           |
| X.....                         | 54.01-60  | 12.773- 14.190    | 57 13.48  | 35   | 40   | 45   | 50    | 55   | 60           |
| XI.....                        | More than 60  | More than \$14.90 | 63 14.90  | 35   | 40   | 45   | 50    | 55   | 60           |

\*Adapted from Weigert, O., *Kommentar*, p. 299.

*Subsequent Revisions*—October 1929—more agricultural, industrial home workers and casual workers excluded. Salary limits raised.

January 1930—contribution rate raised to  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent; to  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per cent in July 1930; to  $6\frac{1}{2}$  per cent in September 1930.

In addition to regular subsidies the federal government loaned the Reichsanstalt 623,000,000 Marks (\$148,274,000) between 1927-30 and has cancelled the debt.

At the end of February 1931 the total unemployed were 4,971,834 distributed as follows: those receiving regular unemployment benefits, 2,589,344—50.1 per cent; those receiving extended benefits 907,665 or 18.3 per cent; welfare support 900,508 or 18.1 per cent.

*Extended Benefits*—One-fifth of these benefits are paid by the locality and four-fifths by the federal government.

For the current fiscal year 400,000,000 Marks (\$95,200,000) was included in the budget for expended benefits.

*Welfare Supported*—The budget for welfare support for 1931-32 was estimated at 1,250,000,000 M (\$297,500,000). This sum is raised by the localities. The welfare budget for Berlin for the current year amounted to 366,000,000 M (\$85,680,000). This figure of course includes all charities.

The communes are staggering under the burden of welfare support. The proportion of unemployed supported by the commune increased from 9.7 per cent in January 1930 to 21.2 per cent in September 1930 while the proportion supported by unemployment insurance decreased from 69.4 to 48.9 per cent.

### Receipts and Expenditures (in Millions) Under Unemployment Relief and Insurance System, 1924 to 1930

[Conversions into United States currency made on basis of mark=23.8 cents]

| Item  | 1924   | 1925   | 1926    | 1927                 |                     | 1928    | 1929    | 1930    |
|---|--------|--------|---------|----------------------|---------------------|---------|---------|---------|
|   |        |        |         | January to September | October to December |         |         |         |
| <i>German currency</i>                          |        |        |         |                      |                     |         |         |         |
| <i>Marks</i>                                    |        |        |         |                      |                     |         |         |         |
| Expenditures:                                   |        |        |         |                      |                     |         |         |         |
| Benefits and allowances paid <sup>1</sup> ..... | 285.8  | 217.8  | 1,077.2 | 499.6                | 122.4               | 819.3   | 1,118.1 | 1,651.1 |
| Cost of administration, etc.....                | 30.7   | 31.4   | 55.7    | 47.4                 | 17.7                | 83.7    | 108.0   | 121.3   |
| Productive emergency work.....                  | 14.2   | 16.1   | 79.6    | 56.0 <sup>2</sup>    | 5.8                 | 31.6    | 33.9    | 23.5    |
| Miscellaneous.....                              | 2.6    | 5.4    | 8.6     | 6.0 <sup>2</sup>     | .6                  | 6.9     | 6.6     | 3.8     |
| Total—  |        |        |         |                      |                     |         |         |         |
| Excluding productive emergency work.....        | 319.1  | 254.6  | 1,141.5 | 553.0                | 140.7               | 909.9   | 1,232.7 | 1,776.2 |
| Including productive emergency work.....        | 333.3  | 270.7  | 1,221.1 | 609.0                | 146.5               | 941.5   | 1,266.6 | 1,799.7 |
| Receipts:                                       |        |        |         |                      |                     |         |         |         |
| Insurance contributions.....                    | 222.4  | 165.0  | 523.6   | 499.9                | 190.8               | 823.7   | 868.4   | 1,061.7 |
| Subsidies—                                      |        |        |         |                      |                     |         |         |         |
| By Federal Government <sup>3</sup> .....        | 74.6   | .2     | 258.3   | 52.8                 | 50.0                | .....   | 396.3   | 729.4   |
| By States.....                                  | 74.6   | .2     | 243.0   | 53.8                 | .....               | .....   | .....   | .....   |
| By communes.....                                | 34.1   | 36.2   | 148.4   | 116.0                | .....               | .....   | .....   | .....   |
| Miscellaneous receipts.....                     | 6.7    | 7.7    | 6.5     | 3.0                  | 5.6                 | 28.1    | 6.3     | 7.0     |
| Total receipts.....                             | 412.4  | 209.3  | 1,179.8 | 725.5                | 246.4               | 851.8   | 1,271.0 | 1,798.1 |
| <i>United States currency</i>                   |        |        |         |                      |                     |         |         |         |
| <i>Dollars</i>                                  |        |        |         |                      |                     |         |         |         |
| Expenditures:                                   |        |        |         |                      |                     |         |         |         |
| Benefits and allowances paid <sup>1</sup> ..... | \$68.0 | \$51.8 | \$256.4 | \$118.9              | \$29.1              | \$195.0 | \$266.1 | \$393.0 |
| Cost of administration, etc.....                | 7.3    | 7.5    | 13.3    | 11.3                 | 4.2                 | 19.9    | 25.7    | 28.9    |
| Productive emergency work.....                  | 3.4    | 3.8    | 18.9    | 13.3 <sup>2</sup>    | 1.4                 | 7.5     | 8.1     | 5.6     |
| Miscellaneous.....                              | .6     | 1.3    | 2.0     | 1.4 <sup>2</sup>     | .1                  | 1.6     | 1.6     | .9      |
| Total—  |        |        |         |                      |                     |         |         |         |
| Excluding productive emergency work.....        | 75.9   | 60.6   | 271.7   | 131.6                | 33.5                | 216.6   | 293.4   | 422.7   |
| Including productive emergency work.....        | 79.3   | 64.4   | 290.6   | 144.9                | 34.9                | 224.1   | 301.5   | 428.3   |
| Receipts:                                       |        |        |         |                      |                     |         |         |         |
| Insurance contributions.....                    | 52.9   | 39.3   | 124.6   | 119.0                | 45.4                | 196.0   | 206.7   | 252.7   |
| Subsidies—                                      |        |        |         |                      |                     |         |         |         |
| By Federal Government <sup>3</sup> .....        | 17.8   | .05    | 61.5    | 12.6                 | 11.9                | .....   | 94.3    | 173.6   |
| By States.....                                  | 17.8   | .05    | 57.8    | 12.8                 | .....               | .....   | .....   | .....   |
| By communes.....                                | 8.1    | 8.6    | 35.3    | 27.6                 | .....               | .....   | .....   | .....   |
| Miscellaneous receipts.....                     | 1.6    | 1.8    | 1.5     | .7                   | 1.3                 | 6.7     | 1.5     | 1.7     |
| Total.....                                      | 98.2   | 49.8   | 280.8   | 172.7                | 58.6                | 202.7   | 302.5   | 427.9   |

<sup>1</sup> Including health insurance contributions paid for beneficiaries.

<sup>2</sup> Approximate.

<sup>3</sup> Including loans granted by the Government in 1929 and 1930 and the emergency reserve fund placed at the disposal of the Federal Bureau of Employment Exchanges and Unemployment Insurance.

From report made by Consul General at Berlin published the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics.

*June Decrees*—One of the points of difference in the reparations discussions has been the sums Germany has spent on insurance, public works and other undertakings to maintain standards of living.

However, the financial situation forced Chancellor Breuning to restrict unemployment provisions.

Hermann Dietrich, Finance Minister for Germany, in January pointed out that unemployment insurance was costing the country \$750,000,000 annually. This sum is normally being diverted from production. "Our problem is clear," he said, "How can we employ the unemployed instead of supporting them?"

The June 5, 1931 decree made the following changes in the German unemployment insurance law:

Unemployed persons under 21 years are entitled to unemployment insurance only if they have no claim to maintenance from their families.

For the unemployed in an occupation whose periods of unemployment are frequent, the maximum period for receiving benefits is 20 weeks.

A 40-hour work week is made the standard for calculating salaries and short time.

The following are changes in calculating ordinary unemployment relief:

|             |              |  |
|-------------|--------------|--|
| Class I     | rate of 75   | per cent of wages changed to 70 per cent                     |
| Class II    | rate of 65   | per cent of wages changed to 60 per cent                     |
| Class III   | rate of 55   | per cent of wages changed to 50 per cent                     |
| Class IV    | rate of 47   | per cent of wages changed to 42 per cent                     |
| Class V-VI  | rate of 40   | per cent of wages changed to 35 per cent                     |
| Class VII   | rate of 37.5 | per cent of wages changed to 32 per cent                     |
| Class VIII, |              |  |
| IX, X, XI   | rate of 35   | per cent of wages changed to 30 per cent of standard income. |

When current expenses of the Reichsanstalt threaten to exceed current income, the administration must balance financially in time by adjusting contributions, decreasing unemployment benefits (but not below poor relief rates) and reduce the duration of benefits. The administration can also make restrictions for specific groups.

The German system has the following outstanding good points:

(1) That it is an independent organization and relatively free from political necessities.

(2) Persons exhausting their insurance rights were put upon the *Krisenfürsorge* or the poor funds.

(3) That it has made an attempt to maintain itself as insurance and to determine insurable occupations.

(4) It has unified the administration of insurance and has coordinated vocational education and unemployment.

However, Germany as Great Britain, used its insurance fund to forestall revolution. As a result great amounts of capital have been invested in purposes that are not directly creative of wealth.

*Conclusions*—I. Payments to the unemployed are intended to serve as temporary need. The only source from which sustained income may be expected is through production. The only real remedy for unemployment is employment. The effect of insurance plans upon this ultimate objective is of greatest importance. Unemployment is a problem of management which can be solved by thought and organization. Both the German and the English experience indicate that employers who can turn employes upon the dole do not develop a feeling of responsibility for those on their payrolls.

The practices and policies that result in unemployment tend to become rigid when relieved of the necessity for finding a preventive. Unemployment insurance has en-

couraged industry to keep a work force larger than their needs and has encouraged workers to hang to a declining industry or to an obsolete trade. Thus, unemployment insurance may be the crutch that permanently weakens industry and keeps it from solving a problem whose solution is essential.

II. In Germany and Great Britain the percentage of wage earners organized in trade unions is much higher than in the United States and there is no aggressive organization of employers seeking to destroy or nullify union organization. Wage earners need not fear that the regimentation of a national service would be used to break down their union organization. This is in striking contrast to the situation in the United States.

III. Unemployment insurance has not made charity or relief unnecessary. Insurance rests upon the principle of limited liability and pooling of risks. The limited payments contracted for have not been enough for the emergency. England has extended benefits and provided transitional benefits—financed by subsidies from the National Exchequer. Germany has borrowed from the Reich, provided *Krisenfürsorge* and maintained local poor funds. Whenever the government provides limited aid for any considerable group of citizens, the tendency is for the practice to become fixed and to expand regularly.

#### RECOMMENDATIONS

During the past year many legislative measures providing for unemployment insurance were introduced in Congress and in the various state legislatures. The measures varied in character and form. Most of these measures were referred to the legislative committees created by act of the different law-making bodies for the purpose of making a study and report upon the subject of unemployment insurance legislation. These legislative committees will no doubt submit a report of their investigations and studies in due course of time.

While it is the opinion of the Executive Council that compulsory unemployment insurance legislation such as is now in effect in Great Britain and Germany would be unsuited to our economic and political requirements here and unsatisfactory to American working men and women, we recognize the fact that the owners and managers of industry through their failure to provide work for the working people of the nation who are able and willing to work have contributed much toward the creation of an increasing public opinion in favor of the enactment of unemployment insurance legislation. It is the opinion of the Executive Council that the owners and managers of industry will be largely responsible for the enactment of unemployment insurance legislation in the event public opinion becomes so crystallized as to demand unemployment relief through the enactment of compulsory unemployment insurance laws.

The Executive Council is directing its efforts toward the creation and enlargement of work opportunities. It believes that the owners and management of industry can plan and adjust the working time and their work policies so that all working men and women may be accorded an equitable share of all work available. Through the application of the five-day work-week and the shorter work-day the slack of unemployment could be overcome. As a result, work security would become an assured fact. The six million or more working men and women in the United States who are unemployed could be absorbed into industry, secure in their opportunity to earn a living, if the shorter work-week and the shorter work-day had both been put into effect by the owners and managers of industry when this period of unemployment came upon us.

During all the extended period of unemployment which has so seriously affected the social and economic well-being of the people of the United States, the owners and

managers of industry have failed to offer either a plan or a remedy for the evil of unemployment. No collective action of any kind has been taken and no response has been made to the appeals of labor to accord to the working people of the nation an equal opportunity to share in the work available by the employers or management of industry. The ruthless discharge of millions of working men and women without means of support, dependent upon such relief as may be extended by municipalities and by local relief agencies, is in itself an indictment of our unsound economic and industrial situation, unsound and uneconomic because the owners and managers of industry have miserably failed.

American working people want work. They demand work. They abhor charity and they resent the imposition of the dole. They are proud in spirit and resolute in purpose. They must not and they will not become the victims of a paternalistic policy. Work must be supplied to all who are willing and able to work. Managers and owners of industry must meet this social obligation and discharge this responsibility.

Working men have arrived at the point where they are firmly of the belief that they are as much entitled to work security, to enjoy the opportunity to work, as the owners of capital are to returns from their investments. Labor demands that these principles be recognized and accepted by the employers of labor. Obviously, the owners and management of industry must decide as to whether working men and women shall enjoy the opportunity to work, or, whether as a result of the denial of this opportunity to work, industry shall have fastened upon it compulsory unemployment insurance legislation. It must be work or unemployment insurance. Working people must be privileged to earn a living or be accorded relief. If compulsory unemployment insurance is fastened upon our industrial, political and economic life, it will be because industrial ownership and management have failed to provide and preserve work opportunities for working men and women.

The Executive Council, in contrast to the helplessness and failure of collective industrial management to offer a remedy for unemployment, renews the proposals which it has repeatedly offered as practical, constructive remedies for the unemployment situation:

First, we propose that a national conference of employers and labor be called by the President of the United States to deal directly and constructively with the unemployment problem and to devise ways and means by which and through which all working people may be accorded an opportunity to share in all work available.

Second, in order to accomplish this purpose we propose the immediate inauguration of the five-day work-week and the shorter work-day in all public and private industry.

Third, the maintenance of the wage structure and wage standards.

Fourth, work assurance—a guarantee to all those workers who are employed that they are secure in their positions and that through the application of the shorter work-day and the shorter work-week all would be accorded an opportunity to share equitably in all work available.

Fifth, the prohibition of child labor and the employment of adults in order that the slack of unemployment may be taken up.

Sixth, the stabilization of industry, with particular reference to those industries which are classified as seasonal in character. This would contemplate the application of a plan whereby improvements could be carried on during periods of seasonal recession when because of the seasonal character of the industry the demands for goods has substantially declined.

Seventh, the application of a more scientific plan of industrial production so that a stable balance may be maintained in order that production may be carried on systematically over longer periods of time.

These remedies for the unemployment situation have been submitted by the Executive Council and the officers of the American Federation of Labor to the owners and management of industry, but thus far there has been no response or no reply. We are firmly of the opinion that if they were accepted and applied in the manner herein outlined that the need for unemployment insurance legislation would disappear and that work opportunities would be accorded all men and women willing and able to work.

The practicability of the unemployment remedies herein proposed becomes increasingly apparent when we take into account the extent and capacity of our home market. In this particular respect the United States is exceedingly fortunate. Its greatest market is its home market. Its consuming abilities and its constant requirements are well-nigh incomprehensible. More than 90 per cent of all goods manufactured and produced in the United States is consumed and used in the home market. It has never been developed to its maximum capacity and for that reason its consuming power, which now seems well-nigh inexhaustible, can be further increased through the development of an increasing purchasing power on the part of the masses of the people.

The Executive Council understands and recognizes the fact that on all matters of social justice legislation, the Canadian membership of organized labor who are affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, are free to act in accordance with their own judgment and their own decisions. While the economic proposals of the American Federation of Labor as a remedy or remedies for the unemployment situation are as applicable to industry in Canada as in the United States, the Council fully recognizes the right of the Canadian membership of the American Federation of Labor to originate and support through the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress, such social justice legislation as in their judgment may be for the best interests of the working men and women in the Dominion of Canada.

**CONCLUSION**

The winter that lies ahead will be a difficult one. With millions facing dire need, our every resource and effort must be centered on finding adjustments that will restore coordination of economic activities.

The problems that lie ahead require coordination of effort and the application of the principles of balanced progress toward prosperity nationally and internationally. Upon each group constituting the whole of any joint enterprise or problem, rests responsibility for organizing to take part in meeting the situation upon a basis of mutual interests. Every group must organize not for exploitation or selfish interests but for advancement as a part of the whole undertaking.

Labor will seek to fulfill its obligation to organize and will stand ready to cooperate.

Fraternally submitted,

WILLIAM GREEN,  
*President.*

FRANK DUFFY,  
*First Vice-President.*

T. A. RICKERT,  
*Second Vice-President.*

MATTHEW WOLL,  
*Third Vice-President.*

JAMES WILSON,  
*Fourth Vice-President.*

JOHN COEFIELD,  
*Fifth Vice-President.*

ARTHUR O. WHARTON,  
*Sixth Vice-President.*

JOSEPH N. WEBER,  
*Seventh Vice-President.*

G. M. BUGNIAZET,  
*Eighth Vice-President.*

MARTIN F. RYAN,  
*Treasurer.*

FRANK MORRISON,  
*Secretary.*

*Executive Council*  
*American Federation of Labor.*

### REFERENCE OF SUBJECTS OF EXECUTIVE COUNCIL'S REPORT

Following is a list of subjects in the report of the Executive Council assigned by President Green to the appropriate committees:

#### Referred to Committee on Executive Council's Report.

(James Wilson, Chairman)

##### Introduction.

##### Jurisdictional Problems.

Teamsters—Railway Clerks.

Theatrical Stage Employes—Electrical Workers.

Technical Engineers—Draftsmen—Federal Employes.

Cigarmakers—Tobacco Workers.

Flint Glass Workers—Machinists.

Flint Glass Workers—Glass Bottle Blowers.

Engineers—Firemen.

##### Extension of Title.

##### Change of Title.

Benefit Services of National and International Unions.

Workmen's Compensation.

#### Referred to Committee on Resolutions

(Matthew Woll, Chairman)

##### Extent of Unemployment.

Unemployment Prevention by Co-ordinating Economic Development.

##### High Wage Philosophy.

Bankers and Wages.

Employment and Unemployment Statistics.

International Economic Situation.

Military Training in High Schools.

Problems of Railway Workers.

The Bituminous Coal Situation.

Unemployment Insurance.

##### Legislation:

Immigration.

Border Patrol.

Employment Service.

Employment Statistics.

Philippine Independence.

Injunction Legislation.

"Yellow Dog" Contract.

Old Age Security.

Modification Volstead Act.

Industrial Conseription.

Hoover Dam.

United States Employment Service.

Patent Law Adjustment.

Non-partisan Political Policy.

#### Referred to Committee on Organization

(Frank Duffy, Chairman)

Organising Work.

#### Referred to Committee on Education

(A. C. Wharton, Chairman)

Fifty Years of Service.

Legal Information Bureau.

Educational Work:

American Federationist.

American Federation of Labor Weekly News

Service.

Notes for Speakers.

Legal Information Bulletin.

Reprints and Pamphlets.

Monthly Survey of Business.

Library.

The Workers' Education Bureau.

Labor's Own Days.

Samuel Gompers Memorial.

Celebration 200th Anniversary Birth of George

Washington.

Legislation:

Maternity and Infancy.

Child Labor Amendment.

Free Press Upheld.

Child Welfare.

#### Referred to Committee on State Organization

(G. M. Bugniazet, Chairman)

Porto Rico:

Labor Legislation.

Department of Labor.

Commercial Importance.

National Solidarity.

Economic Problem.

Labor Progress.

Porto Rico.

Older Workers.

#### Referred to Committee on Building Trades

(M. J. McDonough, Chairman)

Road Construction.

Collusion in Building Contracts.

"Lowest Bidder" Fallacy.

Home Building and Home Ownership.

#### Referred to Committee on Shorter Workday

(M. J. Keough, Chairman)

Five-day Week.

Legislation:

Shorter Work Week for Government Employes.

Reducing Workday by Law.

#### Referred to Committee on Legislation

National Legislation.

Prevailing Rate of Wage Law.

Stabilization of Industry.

Seamen's Bill.

Naval Construction.

Canal Zone Retirement.

Oil Embargo.

Wages for Federal Employees.

Oleomargarine.  
 Credit Unions and Small Loans.  
 Post Office Laborers.  
 Wage Increases.  
 Taxation.  
 Convict Labor.  
 Proposed Classification Bill.  
 Age Limit Government Employees.

**Referred to Committee on International Labor Relations**

(Geo. W. Perkins, Chairman)

**Pan-American Relations:**

Special Report.  
 Requesting Intervention.  
 Sixth Congress.

The following resolutions were received and referred to the appropriate committees:

**Hotel and Restaurant Employees Request Assistance in Controversy With Cleveland Hotels.**

Resolution No. 1.—By Delegates Edward Flore, Robert B. Hesketh, Emanuel Koveleski, Conrad Schott, Agnes Quinn of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees' and Beverage Dispensers' International Alliance:

WHEREAS, The Hotel and Restaurant Employees' and Beverage Dispensers' International Alliance appealed to the Fifteenth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, held in the City of Boston in 1930, for their moral and financial co-operation and support in the fight being waged in the city of Cleveland, Ohio, against the hotels Statler, Cleveland, Allerton and Olmstead of that city; and

WHEREAS, The convention by its action referred said appeal to Executive Council with a request that they should render every possible assistance to bring about a satisfactory adjustment of this affair; and

WHEREAS, The Hotel and Restaurant Employees' and Beverage Dispensers' International Alliance, with the financial help of the affiliations of the Ohio State and Cleveland Federation of Labor, many city central bodies, a few international unions and the Railway Brotherhoods, were able to carry on this fight for a period of twelve months, demonstrating the loyalty of the locked-out workers to the principle of collective bargaining and their opposition to the "yellow dog" contract; and

WHEREAS, The Cleveland Hotels Associations, Incorporated, through the good offices of the Department of Labor did submit terms of settlement which were accepted by the organizations representing the locked-out workers, which terms of settlement were later repudiated by the Cleveland Hotels Association, Incorporated; and

WHEREAS, The hotels Statler, Cleveland, Allerton and Olmstead are on the unfair list of the Ohio State and Cleveland Federation of Labor; therefore, be it.

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be and is hereby requested to continue to render every possible assistance to the Hotel and Restaurant Employees' and Beverage Dispensers' International Alliance toward bringing about a satisfactory understanding and adjustment of the locked-out controversy in the city of Cleveland, Ohio; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That they use the good offices of the American Federation of Labor to the end that the major political parties and all good friends of labor will refrain from patronizing the hotels Statler, Cleveland, Allerton and Olmstead in the city of Cleveland, Ohio, while the said hotels are on the unfair list of the Ohio State and Cleveland Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Industrial Relations.

**Stove Mounters Protest Labor Policy of Auto Stove Company of New Athens, Ill.**

Resolution No. 2.—By Delegate Edw. W. Kaiser of the Stove Mounters' International Union.

WHEREAS, The Auto Stove Company of New Athens, Illinois, had always operated its mounting department under an agreement with the members of Stove Mounters' International Union Local No. 72, until January, 1929, when this firm leased a factory in National City, a part of East St. Louis, Ill., and declared its intention to operate such plant with non-union workmen at a rate of wages far below the rate prevailing in all union shops in the St. Louis district; and

WHEREAS, The Auto Stove Company then declared that the members of Stove Mounters' Union, Local No. 72, employed in its plant at New Athens must work for the same rate of wages and under the same conditions as they had established in their non-union plant at East St. Louis, Ill.; and

WHEREAS, Upon refusal of the members of the Stove Mounters' Union employed in the New Athens plant of this concern to work under the same non-union hours, wages and conditions that the firm had established in its non-union shop at East St. Louis, the Auto Stove Company locked out the members of the union in January, 1929, and since that time have kept the New Athens plant closed, but continued to operate the non-union plant at East St. Louis; and

WHEREAS, Every effort has been made by the Stove Mounters' International Union to bring about a satisfac-

ictory settlement of this trouble without result; and

WHEREAS, Committees of the Trades and Labor Assembly of New Athens, and of the Metal Trades Council of St. Louis and Vicinity, with the representatives of the Stove Mounters' International Union recently held a conference with representatives of this firm at which the management declared it would never again operate its mounting department under union conditions, or have any further dealings with the union, further stating that other organized crafts in their employ had better be careful or they would receive the same treatment given the Stove Mounters' Union; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, In view of the unfair attitude of the Auto Stove Company of New Athens, and East St. Louis, Ill., that the American Federation of Labor endorse the position of Stove Mounters' International Union, Local No. 72, in the controversy with this unfair firm and that this double be given all possible publicity; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be instructed to use their good offices at the earliest possible date in an effort to bring about an amicable settlement of the trouble.

Referred to Committee on Industrial Relations.

**Hotel and Restaurant Employees' Request Support of Efforts to Unionize Hotels and Catering Establishments.**

Resolution No. 3—By Delegates Edward Flore, Robert B. Hesketh, Emanuel Koveleski, Conrad Schott, Agnes Quinn of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees' and Beverage Dispensers' International Alliance.

WHEREAS, In these days of struggle and strife for improved working conditions and employment, many of the affiliations of the American Federation of Labor are found patronizing hotels and catering establishments that are unfair to and opposed to employing members of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees' and Beverage Dispensers' International Alliance; and

WHEREAS, Because they see fit to do business with these unfair institutions and thereby ignore the existence of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees' and Beverage Dispensers' International Alliance, it oftentimes happens that the local officials of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees' and Beverage Dispensers' International Alliance in opportune time demand the withdrawal of said business—banquet, social function or patronage—from such house; and

WHEREAS, While these demands are at times made just prior to the holding of the occasion, they for this reason

are not relished by those involved and are often classed as unfair. The action of the local officials of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees' and Beverage Dispensers' International Alliance in protecting the right of employment for their membership, even at the discomfort of those who proceed to carry on negotiations with hotels or catering establishments that do not employ members of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees' and Beverage Dispensers' International Alliance, is in every sense justifiable and fair and in keeping with the policy and principles of the American Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the convention of the American Federation of Labor endorse the efforts of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees' and Beverage Dispensers' International Alliance to organize all hotels and catering establishments within their jurisdiction and call upon all of its affiliations when holding banquets, functions, or patronizing hotels or catering establishments, that they see that said establishments are fair to organized labor and employ members of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees' and Beverage Dispensers' International Alliance.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

**Rehabilitation Plans for Porto Rico.**

Resolution No. 4—By Delegate Santiago Iglesias of the Free Federation of Workmen of Porto Rico.

WHEREAS, Disastrous economic conditions prevailing in Porto Rico, as denounced by organized labor, have been found to be true by the insular and federal authorities, and to the effect a general plan of rehabilitation has been agreed upon to relieve local conditions in the island; and

WHEREAS, The Free Federation of Workmen of Porto Rico has endorsed unreservedly plans of effective economic rehabilitation to make of the island a country which will give employment to the unemployed, where children should receive the greatest protection and where the wealth created by labor will be better distributed in order to attain the happiness and welfare of the great mass of that people instead of a small group, against the health and life of the many; and

WHEREAS, The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, in its report to this convention on Porto Rico (Page 146), contains a great suggestion to face the economic problems and to stimulate more the building of a sounder, healthier community of American citizens; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor was always ready at all times to give its worthy support to the cause

of labor in Porto Rico and to help our Island in every sense; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, By the Fifty-first Convention of the American Federation of Labor that we heartily endorse the proposals on Porto Rico above referred to, and pledge our moral support to the rehabilitation plans for the Island of Porto Rico; and, be it further

**RESOLVED**, That the President of the American Federation of Labor be authorized to earnestly urge the President of the United States and recommend to Congress to favor the petitions of Porto Rico on its general plans of rehabilitation as set forth in the report of the Executive Council and, furthermore, to instruct and direct the Legislative Committee of the American Federation of Labor toward the economic plan of the Porto Rican Federation of Labor so that the needs of the Porto Rican people be properly presented and duly heard, and so that the proper action might be taken before Congress to secure adequate means of rehabilitation from Congress.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

**Favoring Federal Appropriation for Public Works to Promote Employment.**

Resolution No. 5.—By Central Labor Council, Tacoma, Washington.

**WHEREAS**, The unemployment situation with which these United States is now confronted has reached the point where it is beyond the ability of the various city, county and state administrations to deal with; and

**WHEREAS**, The Federal Government is the only agency that is able to cope with the unemployment situation, which is nation-wide in its character; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the next session of the United States Congress be requested to make an appropriation of not less than five billion dollars, to be used in carrying out public works; and, be it further

**RESOLVED**, That the Central Labor Council of Tacoma, Washington, does hereby go on record in favor of the six-hour day and the five-day week, without any reduction in the existing weekly earnings, as being an absolutely essential measure in order to alleviate the distress from unemployment; and, be it still further

**RESOLVED**, That a copy of these resolutions be forwarded to the next convention of the American Federation of Labor for their endorsement and action.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

**Proposing Participation of United States in General Disarmament Conference in Geneva, February, 1932.**

Resolution No. 6.—By Delegate Florence Curtis Hanson of the American Federation of Teachers.

**WHEREAS**, Fifty-eight nations of the world, including the United States, have now, by signing the Kellogg-Briand Treaty, renounced war as an instrument of national policy and agreed to settle all international controversies by pacific means; and

**WHEREAS**, The General Disarmament Conference meets in Geneva, February, 1932, to consider the limitation and reduction of armaments by international agreement; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the American Federation of Labor petition the President of the United States to include a representative of Labor in the deputation of advisers to the General Disarmament Conference in Geneva, Switzerland, in February, 1932.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

**Favoring Representation of Joint Council of Women's Auxiliaries in St. Louis in A. F. of L. Conventions.**

Resolution No. 7.—By Delegate Samuel E. Snyder, St. Louis, Missouri, Central Trades and Labor Union.

**WHEREAS**, The Joint Council of Women's Auxiliaries in St. Louis is a delegate organization of the women relatives of members of the Trade Union movement of St. Louis, who belong to the auxiliary of the craft of their male relatives; and

**WHEREAS**, This same Joint Council of Women's Auxiliaries have been working for the benefit of the labor movement in St. Louis and other cities for the past several years; and

**WHEREAS**, We believe that a great deal of good can in the future be accomplished by the proper organization of the women relatives of members of the trade union movement in St. Louis and other cities, because of the concrete good that has already been accomplished, through the education of the women relatives of members of the movement through a clearer understanding of the aims, ideals and objects of the American Federation of Labor and affiliated Unions in the United States; and

**WHEREAS**, The proper organization of the purchasing power of the workers under the American Federation of Labor is so important to the success of the labor movement; and

**WHEREAS**, Because the women of this country spend fully 85 per cent. of the wages which is being earned

by the workers, and therefore the proper education of the importance of spending such money, so earned, only to the benefit of the movement will be a great step forward in the accomplishment of the purposes for which the American Federation of Labor is organized; and

WHEREAS, Conventions of the American Federation of Labor are the greatest educational factors in the American Labor movement, and to give these women the benefit of the educational facilities afforded by the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, The Joint Council of Women's Auxiliaries in St. Louis has been duly recognized and enjoy membership in the Missouri State Federation of Labor; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Fifty-first convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record as endorsing the work of the Women's Auxiliary movement as exemplified by the Joint Council of Women's Auxiliaries of St. Louis and elsewhere, by inviting the Joint Council of Women's Auxiliaries of St. Louis and elsewhere to send to conventions of the American Federation of Labor fraternal delegates, so that they may participate in the sessions of the American Federation of Labor, with all of the benefits and prerogatives accruing to fraternal delegates from any other organization, such as the Women's Trades' Union League, etc.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

**Wallpaper Crafts Request Support in Struggle Against Anti-Union Movement.**

Resolution No. 8—By the United Wallpaper Crafts of North America.

WHEREAS, The United Wallpaper Crafts of North America has done everything it could to stop the progress of the anti-union movement in Joliet, Illinois, in the wallpaper industry; and

WHEREAS, It has depleted its financial resources in so doing; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we respectfully petition the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, to urge all organized labor to refrain from purchasing any wallpaper made in Joliet, Illinois, by the following firms:

Star-Peerless Wallpaper Co., Flynn-Lennon Wallpaper Co., Mid-West Wallpaper Co., Joliet Wallpaper Co., Standard Wallpaper Co., Superior Mills (makers of wallpaper); and be it further

RESOLVED, That we also earnestly request that this apply to the Imperial Wallpaper Co. of Glens Falls, N. Y. This is the largest non-union mill in the country; it is also on of the firms

that left our union ranks during the 1921 anti-union movement.

Referred to Committee on Industrial Relations.

**Favoring Repeal of the Volstead Act.**

Resolution No. 9—By Central Labor Council, Tacoma, Washington.

RESOLVED, By the Central Labor Council of Tacoma, Washington, in regular session assembled, this thirtieth day of September, 1931, that this Council go on record as being in favor of the repeal of the Volstead Act; and be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution be forwarded to the next convention of the American Federation of Labor for their endorsement.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

**Textile Workers Urge Patronage of Pequot Products.**

Resolution No. 10—By Delegates Thomas F. McMahon, Francis J. Gorman, James Starr, William Smith of the United Textile Workers of America.

WHEREAS, Two thousand (2,000) union members of Local No. 33, of the United Textile Workers of America are employed at the Pequot Mills of Salem, Mass.; and

WHEREAS, The United Textile Workers of America and the Pequot Mills are parties to a signed agreement, which has provided for wages in excess of those paid in non-union sheeting mills; and

WHEREAS, The most mutual and harmonious labor relations exist between the parties to the agreement, a most serious condition has arisen; and

WHEREAS, The Pequot Mills and the union have had to resort to four-day-a-week basis in an attempt to balance production, we again call upon this convention to give its endorsement to an intensive co-operative plan of promoting the purchase of Pequot sheets and pillow cases; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor can call upon its affiliated membership to purchase and promote Pequot sheets and pillow cases; be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention reiterate the previous action of the American Federation of Labor in authorizing the promotion of the only union-made sheet in America (Pequot), and urge all international and national unions to assist the United Textile Workers in maintaining continuity of employment, preserving wages and conditions of employment and resisting the attack of the non-union sheeting mills; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution be sent to all affiliated organizations.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

**Favoring Legislation Restricting Competition of Enlisted Men in Navy With Civilian Workers.**

Resolution No. 11.—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department.

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in assembled convention at Vancouver, B. C., goes on record in opposition to the employment of enlisted men and officers of the navy in the performance of repair and overhaul jobs on vessels of the United States Navy, thereby depriving skilled mechanics and their helpers of the opportunity for continuous employment in the navy yards and stations of the country; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we favor the immediate passage of a bill to regulate and restrict such work, and give greater employment to civil employees of the navy yards and stations, on vessels of the navy.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

**Favoring Legislation to Provide That Construction and Repair Work on Naval Vessels and Parts Thereof Be Done in Government Navy Yards and Plants.**

Resolution No. 12.—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department.

WHEREAS, The Dallinger-McKellar amendment to the Fifteen Cruiser Bill (Act of Congress of February 13, 1929), provides as follows: "That the first and each succeeding alternate cruiser upon which work is to be undertaken, together with the main engines, armor and armament for such eight cruisers, the construction and manufacture of which is authorized by this act, shall be constructed or manufactured in the Government navy yards, naval gun factories, naval ordnance plants, or arsenals of the United States, except such material or parts as are not customarily manufactured in such Government plants"; and

WHEREAS, Considerable of the material and parts, similar in character to that customarily manufactured in the navy yards, is being purchased from private sources; and

WHEREAS, The Judge Advocate General, in his decision of July 3, 1930, held in substance that, "when it has been determined, by the chief of the proper bureau, that any such material or parts are not customarily manufactured in government plants, the Secretary of the Navy may lawfully proceed to procure such material or parts from other sources"; and

WHEREAS, It was chiefly because the heads of departments and bureau chiefs determined that certain material and parts for cruisers constructed under the Act of 1924, should be procured from private sources, when others considered it advisable to manufacture such parts in government plants, that

Congress found it necessary to insert the language of the Dallinger-McKellar amendment in the Fifteen Cruiser Bill of 1929; and

WHEREAS, Practically the same conditions exist today regarding the purchase of material from private sources, as existed when Congress passed the above quoted amendment to the Cruiser Bill of February 13, 1929; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, place itself on record as favoring the passage of a law which will provide that the construction and repair of naval vessels shall be done in Government navy yards, and that the structural and mechanical parts necessary shall be manufactured in Government plants; be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to put forth every effort to secure the passage of this legislation, and to urge that the language of the bill distinctly define the spirit and intent.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

**Opposing Classification Law Affecting Mechanical Trades Employed by the United States Government.**

Resolution No. 13.—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department.

WHEREAS, The craftsmen and mechanics employed by the United States Government and the International Trade Unions who represent them, have been actively opposed to any attempts by Congress to classify them; and

WHEREAS, Under the leadership of the Metal Trades Department of the A. F. of L. they have always been successful in preventing the enactment of classification legislation which would include them; and

WHEREAS, Congress specifically instructed the Personnel Classification Board to make no study of the mechanical trades for the purpose of classification at the time the Welch Bill was enacted, this action of Congress having been due to the activity of the organizations affiliated with the Metal Trades Department; and

WHEREAS, The final report of the Wage and Personnel Survey Personnel Classification Board contains a proposed bill relative to classification for action by Congress, which would place all mechanics, helpers and apprentices under classification; and

WHEREAS, There has been a developing tendency in certain governmental quarters to establish bureaucratic methods in the control of labor conditions in Federal service; be it

RESOLVED, That this convention declare its opposition to any attempt by

Congress to classify mechanics, helpers, and apprentices; and be it further

**RESOLVED**, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be, and is, hereby instructed to give its assistance to the International Unions which comprise the Metal Trades Department of the A. F. of L. in preventing the passage of the classification law which has been recommended by the Wage and Personnel Survey, Personnel Classification Board.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.  
**Favoring a Federal Licensing Law for Business Firms and Corporations.**

Resolution No. 14—By John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department.

**WHEREAS**, The conditions under which labor is employed are of profound importance to the welfare of the nation as well as the wage earners themselves; and

**WHEREAS**, It is inadvisable that industry should be carried on under circumstances which lower the standard of living in any community; and

**WHEREAS**, Many states have enacted legislation establishing sanitary and safety conditions in all forms of industrial and commercial establishments; and

**WHEREAS**, It is contrary to the welfare of the nation and to the sound development of our American institutions and our American civilization to have industry carried on in a manner which fails to protect the wage earners' health, life and limb, or under circumstances which deny him an opportunity of exercising a practical influence in the determination of wages and conditions of employment; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be, and is, hereby instructed to have prepared a bill for introduction in Congress which will create a Federal licensing law, such legislative measure containing, among other things, the provision that all corporations, partnerships and individuals whose product enters into interstate commerce, shall be required to secure a Federal license to carry on such manufacturing or commercial business.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

**Proposing Investigation Into Labor Policy of Firms Seeking Higher Protective Tariffs.**

Resolution No. 15—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department.

**WHEREAS**, It has been the practice of Congress to establish tariffs for the protection of American industries, with the understanding that the protection of industry carried with it protection to the American wage earners' standard of living; and

**WHEREAS**, A number of industries who have been granted most liberal

protection through tariffs have been notorious for the low wages paid to their employes, and the unjust and arbitrary conditions of employment forced upon them; be it

**RESOLVED**, That it shall be the policy of the American Federation of Labor when tariff legislation is being considered by Congress to have those who are seeking to secure a higher tariff for their industry subjected to questioning, which will make public the rates of wages paid to their employes, the hours of labor they are compelled to work, whether they believe in the right of wage earners to organize for self-protection, whether there are trade unions among their employes with whose representatives they are accustomed to discuss terms of employment and conditions of labor, and whether this is by means of collective action, without interference, influence, or coercion exercised by either party over the other self-organization, or designation of representatives by the other.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

**Grigsby-Grunow Company, Chicago, Illinois.**

Resolution No. 16—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department.

**WHEREAS**, The convention of the Metal Trades Department of the A. F. of L., held in Boston, Massachusetts, 1930, presented a grievance against the Grigsby-Grunow Company (manufacturers of Majestic radios and refrigerators) to the convention of the American Federation of Labor, requesting approval of the Metal Trades Department action in declaring the Grigsby-Grunow Company unfriendly and unfair in its attitude toward organized labor; and

**WHEREAS**, The convention of the American Federation of Labor, held in Boston Massachusetts, referred the subject to the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. with instructions to endeavor to bring about an amicable adjustment of the dispute with the Metal Trades Council of Chicago, the Chicago Federation of Labor, and the Grigsby-Grunow Company; and

**WHEREAS**, In November, 1930, negotiations with the Grigsby-Grunow Company were established through the friendly intervention of President Green and his representative, Mr. Paul Smith, which resulted in conferences with officers directly representing the Metal Trades industries; and

**WHEREAS**, These negotiations continued until May of this year, during which period the Grigsby-Grunow Company notified the trade that there was no dispute between it and the Trade Union movement as represented by the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, In the early part of May, 1931, friendly negotiations with the Grigsby-Grunow Company, the Metal Trades Council of Chicago and the Chicago Federation of Labor, ceased because of the final position taken by the Grigsby-Grunow Company; and

WHEREAS, About the same time the Grigsby-Grunow Company issued a letter to the trade, enclosing two letters signed by local trade union officials who represented neither the Chicago Metal Trades Council nor the Chicago Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, These two letters widely broadcast by the Grigsby-Grunow Company have created the impression in many localities that the Grigsby-Grunow Company has established friendly relations with the Trade Union movement; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federations of Labor be, and is, hereby instructed to forward a communication to all affiliated International Unions, State Federations of Labor, and Central Labor Councils, informing them that the dispute with the Grigsby-Grunow Company, the Metal Trades Council of Chicago and the Chicago Federation of Labor has not been adjusted, and that the action of the Chicago Metal Trades Council and the Chicago Federation of Labor in placing the Grigsby-Grunow Company upon the unfair list, has the approval of the Metal Trades' Department of the A. F. of L. and that of the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Industrial Relations.

**To Assist Laundry Workers in Organizing Work.**

Resolution No. 17 — By Delegates James F. Brock and John O'Keefe, Laundry Workers' International Union.

WHEREAS, The Laundry Workers of the United States and Canada are at this time only partly organized; and

WHEREAS, The finances of the Laundry Workers' International Union at this time will not warrant or permit in placing any additional organizer in the large number of cities and the various states to organize the unorganized Laundry Workers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor send out a circular letter to all the State Federations of Labor and City Central Labor Councils, and to all of the Organizers of the American Federation of Labor, requesting them to use their influence by making an effort to organize the Laundry Workers in their districts and localities.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

**Proposing Repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment.**

Resolution No. 18—By Delegates Edward Flore, Robert E. Hesketh, Emanuel Koveleski, Conrad Schott, Agnes M. Quinn of the Hotel and Restaurant Employes' and Beverage Dispensers' International Alliance.

RESOLVED, That we shall work first and foremost for the entire repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, to the end of casting out this solitary sumptuary statute, the intrusion of which into constitutional realms has so severely hurt our country. The question of whether prohibition or regulation is the more effective relation of government to the liquor traffic is utterly subordinate to the distortion of our Federal Constitution by compelling it to carry the burden of a task which is an affair for the police powers of each of our forty-eight separate and sovereign states, and never should be the business of the Federal Government.

The ultimate goal of the American Federation of Labor lies beyond the mere modification of any enforcement statute in any jurisdiction, state or federal. The cancer of the present and the threat of the future remain with us until this invasion of our Federal Constitution is repealed and removed. We will not stop in our efforts until the operation is complete.

In passing we favor any and all modifications of enforcement acts corollary to the Eighteenth Amendment which will temper the fanatical excesses and absurdities of these acts. Sensible and creditable modifications of this kind will soon become facts. But they will be aided by us solely as measures of temporary and partial relief, antecedent to the ultimate and entire repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

That, in place of the federal prohibition, we favor the installation by the states of a method of controlled and restricted distribution which will prevent the exploitation of the liquor traffic for unconscionable profits, and not only do away with prevailing speak-easies and secret drinking, but prevent the reappearance of any unregulated system and the political iniquities which accompany it.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

**Stove Mounters Protest Labor Policy of Cleveland Co-operative Stove Company.**

Resolution No. 19—By Delegate Edw. W. Kaiser of the Stove Mounters' International Union.

WHEREAS, The Cleveland Co-operative Stove Company of Cleveland, Ohio, manufacturers of Grand stoves, ranges and furnaces, locked out the members of

Stove Mounters' International Union on October 10, 1930, in a deliberate violation of the existing agreement for the purpose of enforcing a wage reduction of 25 per cent. and the so-called open shop; and

WHEREAS, Since that time this firm has been operating its shop with strike breakers and non-union workmen and has increased the hours of work from eight hours per day to nine and one-half and ten hours per day; and

WHEREAS, The Cleveland Co-operative Stove Co. has taken over the Buckeye Incubator Company, formerly of Springfield, Ohio, and has moved this plant to its Cleveland shop, manufacturing Buckeye chicken brooder stoves and incubators as a side line; and

WHEREAS, A number of conferences have been held with the management of the Cleveland Co-operative Stove Company in an effort to adjust this trouble, but without result; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor declare the product of this concern unfair and that it does not recommend Grand stoves, ranges and furnaces and Buckeye chicken brooder stoves and incubators to the members of organized labor and friends until this firm deals fairly with members of organized labor; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be instructed to use its good offices in bringing about a satisfactory adjustment, and failing to do so, that every possible publicity be given the attitude of this concern.

Referred to Committee on Industrial Relations.

**To Assist Ladies' Garment Workers in Negotiations for Renewal of Collective Agreements.**

Resolution No. 20—By Delegate Benjamin Schlesinger of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

WHEREAS, The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union is now approaching the expiration of the collective agreements with the dress and cloak manufacturers' associations in New York City and will soon begin negotiations with the employers' associations in these industries for the renewal of the collective agreements affecting many tens of thousands of workers; be it, therefore

RESOLVED, That the Fifty-first Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, in Vancouver, B. C., instructs the Executive Council to give the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union all co-operation and assistance in its negotiations with the employers' associations and also in the event of general strikes in these indus-

tries to safeguard the workers against the reduction of work standards, will become unavoidable.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

**World Peace.**

Resolution No. 21—Delegate Florence Curtis Hanson of the American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, The attention of the entire civilized world is at this time turned to the problem of world peace as a necessity in preserving civilization; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor give attention to the study of the methods of promoting world peace; the growing interdependence of men and nations; and the accomplishments to date of organized world-wide movements in the interest of human betterment.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

**Dedication of the Gompers Memorial.**

Resolution No. 22—By Delegate Florence Curtis Hanson of the American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, The dedication of the Gompers Memorial is an epoch in the history of the Labor movement; and

WHEREAS, All members of the American Federation of Labor delight in honoring their revered leader and are eager to honor themselves in honoring him; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor consider the advisability of having in Washington, at the time of the dedication of the Gompers Memorial, a pageant designed to give labor's story eloquently and dramatically, in which international, state federations, and other groups (auxiliaries) may participate.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

**Vocational and Continuation Schools.**

Resolution No. 23—By Delegate Florence Curtis Hanson of the American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, The vocational and continuation schools fill a long-felt social need; and

WHEREAS, In many localities there is a tendency to restrict the activities of the vocational or continuation schools; be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in national convention reaffirm its support of such schools and urge all its locals, component bodies, and members to support and protect the vocational and continuation school ideas nationally and in their own communities, securing active co-operation

of organized labor and other social groups interested in maintaining comprehensive educational opportunities for all children.

Referred to Committee on Education.  
**Age Standards for Compulsory Full-time and Part-time Education.**

Resolution No. 24—By Delegate Florence Curtis Hanson of the American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, The unemployment of the able-bodied adult is a continuing menace in the United States; and

WHEREAS, The employment of 1,000,000 children between the ages of 10 and 15 is a social crime; and

WHEREAS, It is possible in this period of potential prosperity to give an adequate education to every child; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor go on record as favoring compulsory full-time education to the age of sixteen and part-time education to the age of eighteen for all children in every state, and that adequate machinery for such law enforcement be provided and maintained.

Referred to Committee on Education.

**Unemployment Among Teachers.**

Resolution No. 25—By Delegate Florence Curtis Hanson of the American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, The condition of unemployment among young, recently licensed teachers is general, at least in the large cities throughout the country; and

WHEREAS, This condition leads to discouragement and waste in the lives of presumably well-qualified young teachers, in that many of them are obliged to wait for appointment from two to three years, and some miss appointment altogether, due to the lapse of licenses; and

WHEREAS, Many of these teachers are exploited by boards of education by being offered employment as substitute teachers when regular appointments are denied because they cost more; and

WHEREAS, This condition of unemployment is brought about by the policy adopted in many cities of accepting for training as teachers many more young persons than can be employed in school systems at existing rates of replacement and increases in number of posts in school systems; and

WHEREAS, The presence of many teachers who are not employed tends to discourage from taking up the career of teaching other potentially well-endowed young persons, thus depriving the schools of possible future benefits; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor urge upon its mem-

bers and other citizens throughout the country that they make demands upon boards of education to seek the advice of educational experts outside their several localities to reorganize their teacher training institutions for a normal growth of school systems, and in order that increasing efficiency in the training and a more enlightened professional outlook of the teachers may be assured; and be it further

RESOLVED, That immediate steps be taken to absorb unemployed teachers into school systems by making room for regular appointments through reducing the number of children in classes to a maximum of thirty children in a class.

Referred to Committee on Education.

**Denouncing Discriminatory Tactics in Employment of Teachers.**

Resolution No. 26—By Delegate Florence Curtis Hanson of the American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, The present industrial depression has caused school boards in certain sections of the country to make economic needs rather than teaching efficiency, the basis for selection in the employment of teachers; and

WHEREAS, Such practice is certain to lower the efficiency of the schools and create a deplorable condition in our educational system; and

WHEREAS, Such practice leads to unwarranted inquiry by school boards into the personal affairs of teachers in determining their needs for employment; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor that it declare that the basis for the selection of teachers should be their preparation and training for their work and their ability to render efficient service, and that the economic status of the individual should have no place in determining a teacher's fitness for employment; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor reiterate its declaration for equal opportunity for employment for workers, without discrimination on grounds of sex, race, creed, or other extraneous considerations.

Referred to Committee on Education.

**Demanding Enforcement of Civil Liberties in Accordance With Constitutional Guarantees.**

Resolution No. 27—By Delegate Florence Curtis Hanson, American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, It was recognized by the founders of our American institutions that no government, even though it be republican in form, is a free government if its citizens have not the right to assemble peaceably and the privilege of speaking freely, writing or printing their opinions, even though such opin-

ions may be offensive to a majority of their fellow citizens; that any government, no matter what its form, is a despotism if the executive officers may, at their pleasure and without warrant or authority under the law, arrest or imprison a citizen or enter his home and seize his goods, and that no person accused of offenses against the law may be condemned or punished otherwise than by the judgment of a jury after a fair and open trial, wherein he may be represented by counsel and meet his accusers face to face; and

WHEREAS, To preserve these rights of the citizen, Bills of Rights have been placed by the people in our Federal and State Constitutions; and

WHEREAS, Our executive and judicial officers, State and National, have been openly and flagrantly ignoring and violating the provisions of our Constitution which were intended to guarantee these rights, by the issuance of injunctions forbidding free speech and peaceable assemblage and other lawful activities; by imprisoning men and women in contempt proceedings without semblance of the kind of trial contemplated by the constitution; by forcibly and without warrant of law entering the homes and seizing the property of peaceable and law-abiding citizens; by clubbing and unlawfully dispersing persons engaged in peaceable meetings in public places; by arresting and imprisoning "pickets" who are in no wise breaking any law or creating any disturbance; and by the administration of the "third degree" to persons accused of crimes; and

WHEREAS, Our legislative assemblies have on numerous occasions enacted statutes intended to limit freedom of thought and speech in direct violation of our constitution; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor that we reiterate our firm faith and belief in the rights of the individual as set forth in the Bills of Rights of our Federal and State constitutions and our conviction that free government cannot be maintained unless these rights are preserved; that it is the first duty of the officers of the law themselves to obey the constitution and the laws, and that lawlessness on the part of such officials has a direct tendency to encourage lawlessness in others; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we use every effort to secure further legislation curbing the power of judges to issue arbitrary writs of injunction restraining lawful activities of the people and limiting the power of judges to imprison for contempt without jury trials, to defiance of the authority of the court in the actual presence of the court; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we denounce all attempts by police authorities to suppress free speech and peaceable assemblage, and demand the prosecution of all officers so abusing their power. We

further condemn all legislation intended to limit the freedom of the press or of the individual to express freely their opinions, and urge the repeal of any such statutes now in force.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

**Proposing Endorsement of Demand for Special Session of Congress and Appropriation for Government Construction Work to Promote Employment.**

Resolution No. 28—By Delegate E. N. Nockels, Chicago, Ill., Federation of Labor.

The United States of America is facing another winter of vast unemployment.

The optimistic press and the near-sighted politicians have told us over and over again that prosperity is just around the corner.

The radical press and the soap-box orators are predicting a social revolution.

We hope prosperity will win the race, but we are not unmindful of the fact that the politicians are fiddling while Rome is burning.

Government construction projects are all too slow in getting started to meet this great need.

RESOLVED, The Chicago Federation of Labor in regular meeting assembled, September 6th, 1931, endorse the proposed demand on President Hoover to call a special session of Congress and that said Congress, without red tape or delay, float a ten billion dollar (\$10,000,000,000) prosperity loan to meet this great emergency by starting government construction work without delay and employ the American wage earners at present wage standards; and be it further

RESOLVED, Copies of these resolutions be sent to President Hoover and his cabinet and members of the United States Senate and Congress; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Chicago delegate of the Federation of Labor be directed to present these resolutions to the convention of the American Federation of Labor in Vancouver in October, 1931, and that copies be furnished the press.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

**Proposing Creation of Labor and Industrial Board.**

Resolution No. 29—By Delegate Fred W. Suitor of the Quarry Workers' International Union of North America.

WHEREAS, There exists in our country a condition that is rocking the very foundation of our civilization; millions upon millions are out of employment and so cut off from their wage upon

which their welfare—yes, and even their lives as well as the welfare of all those dependent upon them—rests, homes are being lost, property and funds representing life savings are being sacrificed in a desperate effort to exist; and

WHEREAS, There is not only plenty of everything necessary for life and home for all, but an abundance of all such things; and

WHEREAS, We, in the United States, have had experiences during the late World War by which we ought to reap some benefits, in that we used the draft and some of our most patriotic organizations have gone on record in favor of a universal draft in the event of another war, we had a war Labor Board, and during the late war our government did deem it necessary and expedient to take over our railroads, unify these systems to make it possible for them to deliver their important job of transportation; and

WHEREAS, We believe that now, if ever, there is justification for our government taking far-reaching, immediate and drastic action in order to save our country, our homes, our property, our institutions and to serve all of our people; and

WHEREAS, There are great stores of all necessary products, millions of idle men and idle machinery ready and anxious to produce more which are a total loss at present, but if these supplies are distributed and industry made to function, jobs will be provided, production and consumption co-ordinated and all of this can be accomplished without making raids on our treasury, industry made to function for service; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By this Fifty-first Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor that we call upon the President of the United States to immediately call Congress into session to give relief to suffering humanity and solve our deplorable condition; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That we demand the creation of a Labor and Industrial Board, with equal representation of labor and industry, with power to regulate all industry and determine how they shall be operated or to take over all essential industries for a period of one year, or until the present national crisis has been solved, to establish minimum wage rates, which in all cases, shall not be lower than the highest weekly wage rates now in effect in said industries, establish a maximum six-hour work day and a five-day work week; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we believe that this plan honestly put into effect at once would prove a wise solution for our present deplorable conditions and give us valuable information to guide us in

incorporating into the fundamental laws of our country in the future, such laws as will best serve society, prevent recurrence of these depressions and preserve our American institutions; and be it further

RESOLVED, That this resolution be sent to President Herbert Hoover and our Executive Council instructed to use its efforts to have this plan carried out immediately.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

**To Assist Wall Paper Crafts.**

Resolution No. 30—By Delegate John J. Manning of the Union Label Trades Department.

WHEREAS, The United Wall Paper Crafts of North America are engaged in a campaign to resist the encroachments of the employers in this industry upon conditions which have existed for many years; and

WHEREAS, The above-named organization seeks and deserves the moral support of the American Labor movement in this campaign; be it

RESOLVED, That the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor be requested and directed to issue a circular letter to affiliated state and central bodies urging them to advise their members to purchase only wall paper bearing the union label of the United Wall Paper Crafts of North America.

Referred to Committee on Labels.

**Protesting General Order 86, Department of Labor, Governing Border Crossing of Mexican Immigrants.**

Resolution No. 31—By Delegate Wm. J. Moran of the Bricklayers', Masons' and Plasterers' International Union of America.

WHEREAS, Under our immigration system many aliens are now permitted to cross over the border for the specific purpose of employment in the United States though in many of these localities there are thousands of idle residents and citizens seeking employment; and

WHEREAS, During the now present depression such intercourse and passage of workers is of great detriment to our citizens, especially at points on the Mexican border; and

WHEREAS, Mexico has what is known as a 90 per cent. law for the employment of all of its Nationals within the confines of Mexico wherever industry is engaged in any endeavor; and

WHEREAS, At the port of entry of El Paso, Texas, there enter daily some 1,800 alien Mexican residents of Juarez, Chihuahua, Mexico, under what is termed General Order No. 86, same being issued by the Department of Labor, under our government, and which order is promulgated by the department, and was originally promulgated, solely upon

the theory that there was a shortage of labor in these border localities; and

WHEREAS, Such shortage of labor, if it ever existed, does not now exist, making it plain that General Order 86 is of great detriment to the many workers and citizens and idle of our own land; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention instruct that the American Federation of Labor, through its Executive Council, protest to the American Government—and to the Department of Labor especially—that either this pernicious General Order 86 be revoked completely or that in the event such is not possible under our laws governing immigration that then the port of entry of El Paso, Texas, be not opened until 10 a.m. of each morning through orders from the Treasury Department under customs which controls opening and closing of ports of entry.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

#### Unemployment Insurance.

Resolution No. 32—By Delegate Florence Curtis Hanson of the American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, Economic depression, causing untold suffering to American workers, still continues; and

WHEREAS, Millions of workers are walking the streets in the vain search for the opportunity to work, and millions of others who may not be altogether jobless are out of work or on short time; and

WHEREAS, Economists now generally recognize that no matter what measures for the stabilization of employment may be taken, there will be for years to come hundreds of thousands, or even millions, of workers unemployed; and

WHEREAS, The maintenance of these workers, many of them displaced by new machinery designed to benefit society, is rightfully a charge upon industry and society; and

WHEREAS, The conditions creating unemployment can be dealt with effectively only if society as a whole through governmental action concerns itself with the problem; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the A. F. of L. go on record as favoring a system of unemployment insurance, inaugurated and controlled by the states, and subsidized by the Federal Government.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

#### Income Tax.

Resolution No. 33—By Delegate Florence Curtis Hanson of the American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, Taxes on real property are largely inflexible, unchanging and

with little relation to the returns on capital invested as, for example, in the case of farm owners who are assessed on the taxable value of their land without regard to what they realize on it; and

WHEREAS, Such taxes have reached the limit of what can justly be exacted which makes it difficult to secure proper support for many public activities, notably the schools, which are suffering from insufficient revenue; and

WHEREAS, The burden of taxation on this form of property is becoming in many states an economic menace as well as an intolerable burden on homeowners and many forms of business; and

WHEREAS, Sixteen states have recognized in the income tax a means of increasing revenues as well as a more equitable tax, and that four states have set aside certain definite sums or proportions of the revenues derived from this source to be used for educational needs, and that Massachusetts and Delaware have devoted the entire proceeds for this purpose; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor approve in principle a tax on incomes for the benefit of states, levied in like manner as the Federal Income Tax, to be so graduated that it will be levied in increasing percentages on progressively larger incomes.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

#### Requiring the Use of American-produced Materials on Government Work in Canal Zone.

Resolution No. 34 — By Delegate Charles F. Wahl of the Balboa, C. Z., Central Labor Union.

WHEREAS, The Panama Canal, the United States Army and Navy, and private construction companies performing contract work for the above-named branches of the United States Government are not now required by law to purchase materials produced or manufactured in the United States; and

WHEREAS, A requirement that they should do so would tend to encourage our home industries; be it, therefore,

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled approves the principle that the Panama Canal, the United States Army, the United States Navy, and contractors performing work for the above-named branches of the United States Government, be required to purchase materials produced or manufactured in the United States, in every case where such materials of the quality required can be so purchased, irrespective of the cost of such materials; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor use their best efforts to have the Congress of the United States enact a law during its

next session providing for the purchase of materials on Government work in the Canal Zone as set forth above.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

**Providing for Saturday Half-holiday for Employes of the Panama Canal.**

Resolution No. 35 — By Delegate Charles F. Wahl of the Balboa, C. Z., Central Labor Union.

WHEREAS, An Act was passed by the 71st Congress of the United States and approved on March 3, 1931, providing that on and after the effective date of the Act four hours exclusive of time for luncheon should constitute a day's work on Saturdays throughout the year, with pay or earnings for the day the same as on other days when full time is worked, for all civil employes of the Federal Government and the District of Columbia, exclusive of employes of the postal service, employes of the Panama Canal on the Isthmus and employes of the Interior Department in the field, whether on the hourly, per diem, per annum, piece work or other basis; and further providing that if the service of such employes could not be spared on Saturday that they might be given equivalent time off on some other day of the week, and providing further that the provisions of the Act should not deprive employes of any leave or holiday with pay to which they were entitled under existing laws; and

WHEREAS, The 71st Congress approved a law similar in character to provide for the employes of the Postal Service; and

WHEREAS, The President of the United States on May 18, 1931, issued an executive order in which the provisions of the Act of March 3, 1931, were applied to a considerable extent to the employes of the field service of the Department of the Interior; and

WHEREAS, The employes of the Panama Canal on the Isthmus of Panama are now the only employes of the government who are not profiting by this shorter work week legislation; and

WHEREAS, There is no logical reason why employes of the Panama Canal on the Isthmus of Panama should not be accorded equal treatment in this respect with other employes of the United States Government; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled go on record as approving the application of the Saturday half-holiday or shorter work week provisions contained in the Act of March 3, 1931, to employes of the Panama Canal on the Isthmus of Panama; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to endeavor to have the Con-

gress of the United States enact legislation which will extend the privilege of the Saturday half-holiday or shorter work week to employes of the Panama Canal on the Isthmus of Panama.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

**Providing for Employment of American Citizens on Panama Canal Work.**

Resolution No. 36—By Delegate Charles F. Wahl of the Balboa, C. Z., Central Labor Union.

WHEREAS, The United States Government has spent vast sums of money in the construction and operation of the Panama Canal; and

WHEREAS, Funds are appropriated yearly to provide for the operation and maintenance of the Canal; and

WHEREAS, Such funds should be spent as far as practicable to provide employment for American citizens; and

WHEREAS, That on March 18, 1931, employes of the Panama Canal and the Panama Railroad totaled 16,385, and of this total, 3,358 were citizens of the United States and 13,027 were aliens, subjects of European nations, an approximate ratio of one United States citizen to four aliens; and

WHEREAS, There are more than 3,500 aliens in the Canal and Railroad organizations occupying skilled or semi-skilled positions, which should be held by United States citizens; and

WHEREAS, There are now six or seven millions of workers in the United States who are unemployed; and

WHEREAS, The Panama Canal is an important part of our system of national defense, vastly increasing the sailing radius of our naval vessels; and

WHEREAS, In time of war attempts might be made by citizens of foreign countries, with whom we might conceivably be at war, to injure or destroy the Canal, it is therefore essential that all positions of responsibility be filled by American citizens; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled protest against the employment of aliens in positions of responsibility on the Panama Canal, and approve the principle that all positions on the Canal above the grade of laborer or messenger be filled by American citizens; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to endeavor to have the Congress of the United States at its next session enact legislation providing that all employes of the Panama Canal in positions above the grade of laborer or messenger shall hereafter be required to be citizens of the United States.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

**Providing for Employment of American Citizens in Government Construction Work on the Canal Zone.**

Resolution No. 37—By Delegate Charles F. Wahl of the Balboa, C. Z., Central Labor Union.

WHEREAS, The plans of the United States Army and Navy provide for the expenditure of approximately twenty-five millions of dollars in construction work on the Canal Zone in the next ten years; and

WHEREAS, It is anticipated that the Panama Canal will have a considerable amount of construction work performed by contract in the near future; and

WHEREAS, Insofar as practicable the expenditure of these funds should provide employment for American citizens; and

WHEREAS, It is obvious that the United States Army and Navy should pay the prevailing rates of pay in the locality for all work performed by or for them, and that contractors for the United States Army, Navy, or the Panama Canal should follow the same practice; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, go on record as approving the principles set forth in the preceding paragraphs; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to endeavor to have the Congress of the United States at its next session enact a law providing that all employes of the United States Army and Navy on the Canal Zone above the grade of laborer or messenger shall hereafter be required to be citizens of the United States; that all employes of contractors above the grade of laborer or messenger performing contracts on the Canal Zone for the United States Army, the United States Navy, and the Panama Canal shall hereafter be required to be citizens of the United States, and that the United States Army, the United States Navy, and contractors performing work for the United States Army, the United States Navy or the Panama Canal shall be hereafter required to pay their employes rates of pay equal to rates paid by the Panama Canal.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

**Proposing Amendment to A. F. of L. Constitution Requiring Affiliation of Organizations with Respective Departments.**

Resolution No. 38—By Delegate M. J. McDonough of the Building Trades Department.

WHEREAS, A number of the Building Trades organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor do not see fit to affiliate and consistently retain their membership in the Building Trades Department; as from time to time we find

that some of them affiliated and then again perhaps, as their fancies choose, they relinquish such affiliation; and

WHEREAS, These inconsistent acts and practices of several International organizations are not only having a tendency to disrupt the harmony of the locally affiliated organizations, but further tends to tear asunder the morale of the rank and file of the Labor movement; and

WHEREAS, It appears evident that some of the generally recognized Labor representatives are rather inconsistently usurping their power in simply doing as they please regardless of the effect upon the Labor movement as a whole; and

WHEREAS, It is undoubtedly best for the great Labor movement to have a much closer affiliation of all the trades connected with the building industry, and believing that this can best be accomplished by a change in the fundamental laws of the American Federation of Labor and its departments; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That Section 5 of Article XV. of the American Federation of Labor Constitution be amended as follows:

Strike out all the words beginning with the word "should" in the sixth line and including and ending with the word "subject" in the eighth line, and inserting in lieu thereof the following: "shall be required to be part of such respective departments and should comply with their actions and decisions or be subject to forfeiture of their charters in the American Federation of Labor, all being subject however."

Referred to Committee on Laws.

**Eight-hour Work Day for Fire Fighters of Greater New York**

Resolution No. 39—By Delegates Fred W. Baer and Neil Macdonald of the International Association of Fire Fighters.

WHEREAS, The International Association of Fire Fighters and its affiliated local, the Uniformed Firemen's Association of Greater New York, Local No. 94, are agitating for an eight-hour working day for the firemen of the City of New York; and

WHEREAS, At the convention of the American Federation of Labor assembled in the City of Boston on October, 1930, the delegates at said convention went on record as endorsing this movement, and further instructing the Executive Board of the American Federation of Labor to see that the necessary steps were taken to actively co-operate with the firemen in furtherance of their project; and

WHEREAS, In accordance with their program the Uniformed Firemen's Association have caused to be introduced in the Municipal Assembly of the City of New York, a measure designated as B. of A. 32, having for its purpose the enactment into law of the eight-hour working day, or three-platoon system in the fire department of the City of New York, embracing all ranks in said department, from deputy chief to fourth grade fireman, both inclusive; and

WHEREAS, This measure was introduced in the lower branch of the said Municipal Assembly of the City of New York in March, 1931, and up to the present time it has not been acted upon by the legislative body in question, either favorably or unfavorably; and

WHEREAS, The Uniformed Firemen's Association have been attempting to have such a measure enacted into law at different times; and further that a whole year has passed since the last convention of the American Federation of Labor without favorable action; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor is sponsoring a program calling for a six-hour day and a five-day week in all industries in an effort to alleviate the present acute and disastrous unemployment situation; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled in the City of Vancouver, B. C., October, 1931, hereby endorses the program of the International Association of Fire Fighters and New York Local No. 94 in their effort to secure humane working conditions for a body of loyal public servants; and more particularly endorses the specific measure designated as B. of A. 32, which is construed to put the eight-hour day schedule into effect in the fire department of the City of New York; and, further

RESOLVED, That this measure is in conformity with the ideals of organized labor, and in addition will have the effect of placing a number of young American citizens in an honored profession; with a consequent effect on the unemployment situation in the area of Greater New York; and, further

RESOLVED, That every member local of the American Federation of Labor is hereby urged to give its whole-hearted support to this proposition and to officially call the matter to the attention of the properly constituted authorities of the City of New York, and to advise them that the measure in question has the endorsement and support of organized labor; and, further

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor are hereby instructed to actively co-operate with the representatives of the International Association of Fire Fighters and of the Uniformed Firemen's Association, Local No. 94; and as officers and leaders of the American Federation of Labor to militantly prosecute a campaign in support of the measure in question; and to use every honorable means within their power to see that such measure is enacted into law without further delay; and, further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this set of resolutions be inscribed on the minutes of this convention, and that His Honor, Mayor James J. Walker the members of the Board of Estimate and Apportionment, and the members of the Board of Aldermen, constituting the Municipal Assembly of the City of New York, be officially notified of the action of this convention.

Referred to Committee on Shorter Workday.

#### Open the 1932 Convention at Washington, D. C., on Labor Day

Resolution No. 40—By Delegates William P. Clarke and Harvey H. Harshman of the American Flint Glass Workers' Union of North America.

WHEREAS, The problems confronting the men and women directly affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, as well as the countless numbers of human beings whose progress, happiness and welfare, depends indirectly on the advancement made by the trade union movement; and

WHEREAS, Our people and our country are now suffering untold misery and mental anguish as a result of the most depressing and far-reaching

panic that has ever confronted our people, with present indications pointing to a continuation without any visible concerted effort being made to stem the tide; and

WHEREAS, It is of utmost importance that the workers formulate plans previous to the next presidential election with a view of focusing the attention of the common people on our problems, and to aid in ameliorating as well as advancing the interests of the masses; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That Section One (1) of Article Three (3) of the constitution of the American Federation of Labor be so amended as to provide for the 1932 convention convening in Washington, D. C., and that the opening session be held on Labor Day.

Referred to Committee on Laws.

#### Reaffirming Endorsement of Asiatic Exclusion Law and Proposing Extension to Include Filipinos.

Resolution No. 41—By Delegate John A. O'Connell of the San Francisco Labor Council.

WHEREAS, The "Christian Science Monitor," in the issue of July 22, 1931, carries the information that organized labor on the Pacific Coast has reversed its position on exclusion from the United States of persons who cannot become citizens of the United States, and that quota is now favored; and

WHEREAS, We are convinced that the paper has been misinformed, and that the dissemination of such information does an injustice to labor on the Pacific Coast; and

WHEREAS, The number of Orientals employed in the merchant marine is increasing, to the detriment of the nation as such, its seamen and its workers ashore; and

WHEREAS, The King Bill, the purpose of which is to stop the smuggling into the United States of such persons as cannot become citizens of the United States, is therefore based upon the exclusion law as it now reads; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we declare ourselves in accord with the present exclusion law, and that, in addition, we demand that it be made applicable to Filipinos.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

#### Organization of Postal Laborers

Resolution No. 42—By Delegate E. G. Hall, Minnesota State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, There are several groups of postal laborers organized into bona fide local unions, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and other groups of the same class into an independent organization; and

WHEREAS, If the American Federation of Labor is to be of any service to the bona fide local unions, it must be the result of a better organization of this group; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor pledges its active efforts to promote the organization of this group in all postal centers where they are employed, and calls upon its organizers throughout the nation to assist to bring about a better organization among the postal laborers.

Referred to Committee on Organization

### Unemployment Insurance

Resolution No. 43—By Delegates William P. Clarke and Harvey H. Harshman of the American Flint Glass Workers' Union of North America.

WHEREAS, There are, according to reliable reports, at least seven million unemployed in the United States, and a great number working part time—all of whom are depressed in spirit; and

WHEREAS, Up to the present there has been no constructive plan adopted to meet the situation with the result that our laboring people are in turmoil and facing hunger and want; and

WHEREAS, We believe that this situation, if allowed to continue, will not only be dangerous to society but a menace to our government, and a threat to our institutions; and

WHEREAS, We believe that the Unemployment Insurance Bill, introduced in the last session of the U. S. Senate by Senator Robert Wagner, is the best plan submitted for the prevention of future panics; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention go on record as favoring this plan and that the Executive Council use its influence to have this measure enacted into law.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### Favoring Calling of National Conference for Relief of Unemployment.

Resolution No. 44—By Delegate Edward McLaughlin of the California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Existing unemployment in the United States demands of Federal, State and Municipal Governments prompt and energetic measures of relief to care for the more than six million workers with their families and dependents; and

WHEREAS, The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor has proposed an extensive program for the consideration and adoption of the various governments and agencies of relief against unemployment, among the chief features of which are the following:

1. In order to create work opportunities, proposal is made that the five-day week be immediately introduced and accepted in private and government employment.

2. That the hours of work per day be reduced to six hours, if necessary, in order to supply work for all, and that, so far as possible, work security shall be accorded to working men and women.

3. That the standard rate of pay be maintained, so that the purchasing power of the masses of the people may fairly balance with their productive capacity.

4. That the federal, state and municipal governments inaugurate and introduce a government building and construction program which in operation will enlarge and create the opportunities for the unemployed to secure work; these plans should be sufficiently comprehensive to take up the slack of unemployment so that working people may become wage earners supplying their families with food and clothing out of their earnings rather than to be recipients of charity.

5. That a plan of stabilization of industry, of economic planning, of a thorough and accurate survey of economic needs and of the actual adjustment in working time required in order to supply

all with an opportunity to work, be formulated and put into effect; and

WHEREAS, We believe that such an economic program should be formulated and put into effect without any delay other than required to study and put same into active operation; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the delegates in attendance at the Fifty-first Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, that we endorse the said remedies proposed by the Executive Council, and to that end support their proposal for the calling of a national conference, at earliest possible date, such conference to be composed of leading representatives of Industry and Labor called together by the President of the United States for the purpose of working out a practical plan for submission to Congress, the various state legislatures, and local governments.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### Protesting Policy of Quartermaster's Department, U. S. Army of Displacing American Seamen with Filipinos.

Resolution No. 45—By Delegate Edward McLaughlin of the California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Notwithstanding severe unemployment among American seamen, the Quartermasters' Department of the United States Army has continued to give preference of employment to Filipinos; and

WHEREAS, According to a letter (dated February 17, 1931), signed by Brigadier-General A. E. Williams, Assistant to the Quartermaster General, Filipinos are employed because "native American seamen are unreliable and intemperate"; and

WHEREAS, This alibi, justifying the employment of cheap and docile Asiatics, is being copied by an increasing number of private ship operators with the result that American seamen swell the ranks of the unemployed, while Filipinos hold down the jobs on American ships; the official report of the United States Commissioner of Navigation showing that 8,709 Filipinos shipped and re-shipped for service on American merchant vessels during the last fiscal year—not including the Filipinos employed on army transports; and

WHEREAS, A protest to the Secretary of War, by the California State Federation of Labor, has brought no results except a repetition of extenuations, and a statement that "it is not likely the number of Filipinos seeking to better their conditions in the United States will at any time adversely affect the interests of American labor"; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, that we emphatically protest to President Hoover against the conditions outlined herein and demand that citizens of the United States be given employment on Army transports.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### To Assist Associated Assistant Directors Union No. 18096, Los Angeles, California

Resolution No. 46—By Delegate Edward McLaughlin of the California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The Associated Assistant Directors, Local 18096, was approximately 98 per cent. organized in February, 1930; and

WHEREAS, Persons, with malicious and wilful intent did attempt to disrupt and disband this said Local on February 24, 1930, thereby materially reducing the membership; and

WHEREAS, This said Local has made an heroic and valiant attempt, through its new officers, to rebuild said organization and having met with marvelous success; and

WHEREAS, At this time, there are new attempts being made to again disrupt this organization, by a company union known as the Assistant Directors' Branch of the Academy of Arts and Sciences, members of which are the balance of our former strength; and

WHEREAS, The necessary recognition is not being given this Local by the Motion Picture Producers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, that we hereby direct the Executive Council to render such assistance as may be possible in obtaining the recognition of the Associated Assistant Directors' Union, Local 18006, of the American Federation of Labor, on the part of the producers of motion pictures.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

#### Exclusion of Filipino Laborers

Resolution No. 47—By Delegate Edward McLaughlin of the California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The Filipino Exclusion Bill has not made much progress in Congress; and

WHEREAS, It required thirty years of agitation to persuade Congress to pass a Chinese Exclusion Bill, it took about twenty years to induce Congress to exclude Japanese by law; and

WHEREAS, It appears as if many years must roll by before the Eastern and Middle Western population of America can be educated to the fact that Filipino exclusion is necessary; and

WHEREAS, The conventions of the American Federation of Labor have repeatedly, by unanimous vote, declared for Filipino exclusion and for Philippine independence; and

WHEREAS, It seems that the campaign for independence has made more rapid progress than the agitation for Filipino exclusion, because the American sugar beet industry and other influential agricultural interests have, for reasons of their own, joined with the A. F. of L. in demanding Philippine independence; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled in Vancouver, B. C., that we reaffirm our declaration for Philippine independence, with the stipulation that any Congressional measure granting independence now, or hereafter, must contain a clause for the immediate exclusion of Filipino laborers.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

#### Proposing Legislation Requiring the Printing of Producers' Names on Containers of All Food Products Sold in the United States.

Resolution No. 48—By Delegate Edward McLaughlin of the California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Several cases have come to the recent attention of the Central Labor Councils in

California in which firms on the "We Don't Patronize" list are supplying food products to the chain stores, making it practically impossible to recognize unsanitary, unhealthful and unfair products; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in Fifty-first Annual Convention Assembled at Vancouver, B. C., that steps be taken by the Executive Council to secure legislation to provide for the printing of the producer's or manufacturer's name on the containers of all food products sold in the United States.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

#### Protesting Labor Policy in the Construction of Hoover Dam.

Resolution No. 49—By Delegate Edward McLaughlin, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, During the month of March, 1931, the Bureau of Reclamation, United States Department of Interior, awarded the contract for the construction of Hoover Dam to The Six Companies, Inc., of San Francisco; and

WHEREAS, During the past six months, The Six Companies, Inc., have been actively engaged in the work of building Hoover Dam and its appurtenances, employing hundreds of men of the crafts necessary to that work; and

WHEREAS, The Six Companies, Inc., have to date taken full advantage of the country's unemployment situation, by hiring men to work on work of the most hazardous nature and at wages from 25 to 40% below the established scales of the respective crafts; and

WHEREAS, The Six Companies, Inc., have since they received the contract for building Hoover Dam, consistently refused to meet or discuss wages with any representatives of Labor; and

WHEREAS, The ability of The Six Companies, Inc., to complete the work of building this project is to a certain extent contingent upon the Congress of the United States voting additional funds; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in Convention assembled, that we authorize the Executive Council to petition Congress to refrain from voting further funds to carry on the construction work of this project, until such time as The Six Companies, Inc., are willing to establish wage scales on the project that will conform to the prevailing wage scales that have been established by the respective crafts.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

#### Protesting Labor Policy of Proctor & Gamble Company in Construction of Its Plant in Long Beach, California.

Resolution No. 50—By Delegate Edward McLaughlin of the California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The Proctor & Gamble Company of Cincinnati, Ohio, manufacturers of Ivory Soap, and of Crisco Cooking Compound, have received worldwide publicity upon the labor policy of that company in the operation of its plants located in several cities in the United States; and

WHEREAS, This company has built a plant in Long Beach, California, during the past year and

a half, and said plant is now just about completed; and

WHEREAS, In the construction of this factory, the Proctor & Gamble Company condoned, and apparently encouraged wage cutting contractors on the work, and, with one or two exceptions, all crafts employed received from 50c to \$1.50 below the wage scale, and in many instances they were employed for nine hours a day, despite repeated interviews and protests from representatives of organized labor in Long Beach and Los Angeles; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, that the widest possible publicity be given to the unfair attitude of the Proctor & Gamble Company in the construction of its plant in Long Beach, California.

Referred to Committee on Building Trades.

**Proposing that Quota Provisions of Immigration Law Applied to Mexico.**

Resolution No. 51—By Delegate Edward McLaughlin of the California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The Mexican Government is now enforcing its ninety per cent. "preference to citizen" law, and has cancelled the passports of almost all American citizens who were working in Mexico, while at the same time Mexicans are permitted to enter the United States and secure employment here in competition with citizen labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, that we favor an amendment to the Immigration Laws so as to place immigration from Mexico under the quota as applied to immigration from European Countries.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

**Proposing That the Federal Prevailing Wage Law Be Made Applicable to All Federal Projects**

Resolution No. 52—By Delegate Edward McLaughlin, State Federation of Labor of California.

WHEREAS, The present Federal prevailing wage law applies only to public buildings of over \$5,000.00; and

WHEREAS, A large portion of the many millions of federal funds appropriated for public works in California is for public works other than buildings; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, that the Executive Council is hereby authorized to petition Congress to amend this law, so as to make it applicable to all federal projects.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

**To Assist Associated Motion Picture Costumers' Union No. 18067, Los Angeles, California.**

Resolution No. 53—By Delegate Joseph P. Tuohy, of the Associated Motion Picture Costumers' Union No. 19067, Los Angeles, California.

WHEREAS, The Associated Motion Picture Costumers, Local No. 18067, are engaged entirely with motion picture work; and

WHEREAS, Local 18067 is and has been practically 100% organized throughout the Hollywood Studios; and

WHEREAS, Through lack of recognition on the part of the producers of motion pictures, Local 18067 is finding it increasingly difficult to hold its membership; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor working in co-operation with the officers of International Unions interested in motion picture production attempt to bring about the recognition of this Local Union by the Motion Picture Producers.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

**To Assist the Associated Assistant Directors Local Union No. 18096, Los Angeles, California**

Resolution No. 54—By Delegate Dick L'Estrange of the Associated Assistant Directors' Local No. 18096, Los Angeles, California.

WHEREAS, The Associated Assistant Directors, Local 18096, the work of whose members is recognized as an integral part of the Motion Picture Industry, is functioning under a charter issued by the American Federation of Labor, in order to improve the condition of its members and all eligible prospective members, to assure the maintenance of a fair rate of wages for services, competently rendered, and to assure their employment in this field; and

WHEREAS, At this time, there are attempts being made to disrupt this organization by an organization known as the Assistant Directors' Branch of the Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences, a company union, some members of which were former members of Local Union 18096; and

WHEREAS, The proper recognition is not being given this Local by the Motion Picture Producers; and

WHEREAS, The California State Federation of Labor at their Thirty-second Annual Convention, at Santa Barbara, California, on September 14, 1931, to September 18, 1931, did adopt proposition No. 24, presented to that convention by the Associated Assistant Directors Local 18096, urging full support and co-operation of each and every organized Union and Central Labor Council in the cause of the Associated Assistant Directors, American Federation of Labor, Union Local 18096; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor working in co-operation with the officers of international unions interested in Motion Picture production attempt to bring about the recognition of this local union by the motion picture producers.

\* Referred to Committee on Organization.

At 4 o'clock the rules were suspended and the convention adjourned to 9:30 o'clock Tuesday morning, October 6th.

## Second Day — Tuesday Morning Session

Vancouver, B. C., Canada,  
October 6, 1931.

The Convention was called to order at 9:30 o'clock by President Green.

**Absentees**—Dulzell, Bowen, Schulte, Coulter, Zaritsky, Greene, Lawlor, Gordon, Onyett, Scully, Gorman (P. E.), Lane, Lewis, Murray, Kennedy (T.), Hartneady, Fagan, Boylan, Brennan, Hannah, Britton, Burke (J. P.), Sullivan (H. W.), Soderberg, Gorman (F. J.), Starr, Smith, Howard, Hatch, Fay, Provost, Gross, Rosqvist, Sullivan (J.), Kmetz, Garrison, Possee, Joel, Campbell (G. C.), Driscoll, Coleman, Barger, Augustino, Long, Foster, Quinn, Sisson, Bower, Smethurst, Welsh, Martinez, Reed, Wood, Covert, Alifas, Thomas, Bohm, Stephens, McElligott, Randolph, Webster, Hampton, Galvin, Mitchell (T.), Elliott.

President Green: I will call upon the Secretary of the Credentials Committee for a further report.

### SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

Delegate Collins, Secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

October 6, 1931.

Your Committee on Credentials have examined the following credentials and recommend that the delegates be seated:

International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union—Benjamin Schlesinger, 475 votes.

Reno, Nevada, Central Trades and Labor Council—J. D. Clinedinst, 1 vote.

In accordance with instructions received from Secretary-Treasurer Dennis Lane of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, we recommend the seating of Joseph Hofmann, who will act as alternate delegate for M. J. Kelly.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### COMMUNICATIONS

President Green: The Chair begs leave to announce this morning that a cordial invitation was extended to Secretary of Labor W. N. Doak to visit

with us, be our guest and address the convention. When the invitation was extended a few weeks ago Secretary Doak was of the opinion that he could arrange his affairs so as to make the trip to Vancouver. This morning I received a message advising me that it was impossible for him to come, transmitting to the delegates fraternal greetings. The Secretary will please read the message.

Secretary Morrison read the following telegram:

Seattle, Washington,  
October 5, 1931.

Hon. William Green,  
President American Federation of Labor,  
Convention Hall, Vancouver, B. C.

It is a matter of deep personal regret that circumstances unforeseen and over which I have no control will prevent my leaving here in time to attend the convention of the Federation at Vancouver. May I take this opportunity through you to express my cordial greetings to the delegates about to begin their duties as representatives of their fellow workers of America. I realize with you that the present time is one when deep and serious consideration must be given to many grave problems which affect all the citizens of this country. Labor has met the present day trials with courage and has contributed most helpfully to all plans for the restoration of former conditions. This is realized, I am sure, by the great body of the American people.

With all good wishes to you, your associate officers and the delegates, and with the hope that the Vancouver convention will be a most successful one, I am

Most cordially yours,

W. N. DOAK,

Secretary of Labor,  
Washington, D. C.

President Green: I have a telegram from an old friend, an old trade unionist, a former member of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, one who was pressed into service to assist Secretary Doak in the organ-

ization of the Employment Service of the United States. I refer to our old friend, John R. Alpine, former President of the Plumbers and Steamfitters and former member of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor. I will ask the Secretary to read his message to the convention.

Secretary Morrison read the following message:

Washington D. C.,  
October 5, 1931.

William Green,  
President American Federation of Labor,  
Vancouver Hotel, Vancouver, B. C.

Please accept for yourself, your associates in office and the delegates of the American Federation of Labor Convention my sincerest best wishes together with the belief that your convention will be of much real benefit generally. It had been my intention to be with you in order that I might meet the old friends of yesterday whose friendships have remained unchanged and for whom I shall always entertain feelings of real friendship and affection. These feelings increase as the years pass. Due to illness in my family I have been denied the pleasure of being with you in person but I am with you in spirit.

JOHN R. ALPINE.

President Green: I have a telegram of felicitations from the Hon. G. D. Robertson, Minister of Labor of the Dominion of Canada. The Secretary will read it.

Secretary Morrison read the following message:

Cochrane, Ontario,  
October 4, 1931.

William Green,  
President American Federation of Labor,  
Hotel Vancouver, Vancouver, B. C.

On behalf of the Government of Canada and Canadian Labor I warmly welcome the officers and members of American Federation of Labor to Vancouver. To yourself as president, to Secretary of Labor Doak, to Senator Davis and many other personal friends, Canadian labor extends hearty greetings. May I express the sincere hope that your convention will be harmonious, successful and useful in further promoting industrial peace and prosperity throughout the North American Continent.

G. D. ROBERTSON,  
Minister of Labor.

President Green: I have a message from Senator Robert M. LaFollette, Jr. He was invited to address the convention. Unfortunately it is impossible for him to be present, but he has sent a message of explanation, which the Secretary will read.

Secretary Morrison read the following:

Madison, Wisconsin.

Hon. Wm. Green,  
American Federation of Labor.

I deeply regret that speaking engagements accepted prior to receiving your invitation to address convention make it impossible for me to accept, much as I would welcome the opportunity. I do not feel I can cancel these dates because they have already been advertised. Assure you of my appreciation for the invitation and with kind personal regards.

ROBERT M. LaFOLLETTE, Jr.

President Green: In like manner I have one from Senator Wagner of the State of New York. Senator Wagner was invited to address the convention. Those delegates who were in attendance at Boston one year ago will still recall the very inspiring address delivered by Senator Wagner at one of our sessions. It is impossible for him to be present, but he has sent a message which Secretary Morrison will read.

Secretary Morrison read the following telegram:

New York, New York,  
October 3, 1931.

William Green,  
President American Federation of Labor,  
Vancouver Hotel, Vancouver, B. C.

Because of the pressure of work on me at this time I find I will be unable to accept your kind invitation to attend the convention at Vancouver and to address the gathering.

ROBERT F. WAGNER.

President Green: An invitation was extended the National Commander of the American Legion to be our guest and to deliver an address. The new commander was elected at the convention of the American Legion held in Detroit recently. He found it impossible to be present, but the National

Adjutant of the American Legion has sent us a telegram. Secretary Morrison will read it.

Secretary Morrison read the following telegram:

Indianapolis, Ind.,  
September 8, 1931.

Wm. Green, President,  
American Federation of Labor,  
Convention Headquarters,  
Vancouver, B. C.

Deeply regret it will be impossible for National Commander Henry L. Stevens, Jr., to attend your convention. However, he has designated National Vice-Commander Frank N. Brooks, Bellingham, Washington, as the official representative of the American Legion, and he will arrive in Vancouver not later than the morning of October fifth to address your convention in accordance with your invitation. Best wishes for a most successful convention.

JAMES F. BARTON,  
National Adjutant.

The following telegram was read:

Atlantic City, N. J.,  
October 5, 1931.

Frank Morrison, Secretary,  
American Federation of Labor in convention assembled,  
Vancouver, B. C.

The Commission of Atlantic City extends a most cordial invitation to the American Federation of Labor to meet in Atlantic City in Nineteen Thirty-two. As evidence of our being qualified to act as host we call attention to our unequalled hotel accommodation and convention facilities. All Atlantic City unites in urging acceptance of this invitation and I pledge you my complete official co-operation in the event that Atlantic City's invitation is accepted.

HARRY BACHARACH,  
Mayor.

#### Committee to Escort Senator Davis

President Green: Senator James J. Davis of Pennsylvania, former Secretary of Labor, accepted an invitation to be our guest and address the convention. He is in the city and in this hotel and he will address the convention in a short time. I wish at this time to appoint a committee to escort Senator Davis to the convention hall. I appoint on that committee Brother M. F. Tighe, of the Iron, Steel and Tin Workers; Brother Bert M. Jewell, of the Railroad

Employees' Department, and Brother James Shanessy, of the Barbers' International Union. I ask this committee to call upon Senator Davis and escort him to the platform.

#### Presentation of Badges to Fraternal Delegates

President Green: It has been the custom of the American Federation of Labor to supply special badges for our fraternal delegates who attend these conventions. We always feel that these badges are very highly appreciated by our fraternal delegates, not only because of their intrinsic value, but because of the sentimental value attached thereto. I am going to take advantage of this opportunity to present to our friends, the fraternal delegates, these special badges which were made especially for them. The first one will be to Brother Beard. You know I introduced them all to you yesterday, so you know just who they are. I know Brother Beard will very greatly appreciate this beautiful badge as a remembrance of his delightful visit. In like manner I present a badge of the same kind to Brother Wolstencroft. And in like manner to our good friend, Brother McDonald. We hardly realize he is a fraternal delegate because he seems to be one of us.

Accept these badges as a remembrance of your services as fraternal delegates.

President Green: I know you all share with me my feeling of satisfaction and pleasure over the fact that our old friend, Senator Davis of Pennsylvania, former Secretary of Labor, found it possible to make this long trip across the continent to be our guest and to bring a message to those in attendance at this convention. The fact that he made this long trip to come here and accept our invitation must be construed as evidence of his deep interest and friendship for the American Federation of Labor. He has appeared before the conventions of the American Federation of Labor on many occasions. He always brought to us a message of inspiration and of hope, filled with constructive suggestion.

He is a trade unionist, having joined the organization having jurisdiction over the trade and calling he followed when he came from the Old World, a young boy, a steerage passenger, to the United States of America. I stated when introducing him on a former occasion, that it was a long way, a long span from the immigrant boy coming in the steerage from Wales to the United States of America, to the New World, to a seat in the cabinet of the President of the United States. Now he comes to us as a distinguished senator from a sovereign state, a great industrial state of the United States, the great State of Pennsylvania. Surely a man who makes such progress as that, that lifts himself as it were, by his own efforts, deserves very, very great credit. We are glad to welcome him as a trade unionist, as a fellow worker. We are glad to welcome him as the former Secretary of the Department of Labor, and we are happy to welcome him as a distinguished senator from the State of Pennsylvania.

I now introduce to you Hon. James J. Davis.

**HON. JAMES J. DAVIS**

(United States Senator, Pennsylvania)

Of the many problems confronting people of the world today, the most pressing one is finding profitable and continuous employment for those who are ready, willing and able to work.

What brought about this unemployment? To my way of thinking, it is the reaction of the world war.

Prior to the world war, we had a depression. In July, 1914, war was declared between the Allied and Central Powers. Immediately after we began to feel the effects of it in the United States in the form of new markets for war material. As the conflict waged, the world opened its markets to the United States as the principal industrial and agricultural country not engaged therein. In Europe, overnight, farms were made into battlefields. Factories which furnished products for normal use were converted into munition plants for the production of war materials. The world turned to America for food, clothing and war material, and prosperity came to us without any effort. Factories that had been idle for some time before war was declared were put to work running 24 hours a day making war materials.

The United States entered the war, and we began to cry out to our laborers on farms and in factories and in commerce: "Produce! Produce! Produce!" New acreage was opened up to produce agricultural products. New factories sprang up like mushrooms overnight, and the wheels of industry began to hum in an unprecedented manner. Prices shot skyward, and we, as consumers, began to economize so that the fighting men of the allied armies might be served. You remember the slogans of the day: "Food will win the War"; "Cash and Carry"; "Lick the Plates and Lick the Kaiser," and other slogans preaching economy.

Four millions were placed under arms in the United States by conscription, and from the Census Bureau we learn that four million women began to work on farms, in factories and other lines of business. We called upon our people to sacrifice money, blood and morals, and they did. We called upon our men and women of genius to invent machines to save labor, and they did. Since that time machines have displaced two million workers. There are those who argue that the machines which have displaced the two million have also created two million new jobs. That is a highly debatable question and very difficult of definite ascertainment.

A special appropriation has been made by the United States Congress to enable the Secretary of Labor to make a survey in an effort to throw light upon that debatable subject.

When our four million conscripted men laid down their arms and returned to their homes, they found their places largely occupied by others. Industry had so adjusted itself that it was capable of carrying on without them. Four million others had taken their places, including men who ordinarily were superannuated, women and the youth of the land. We built industrial and agricultural machines capable substantially of supplying the demands of the world. The war ended, and the fighting forces returned to civil life, but the machines speeded up their pace. Little by little, battlefields were reconverted into farms and factories returned to peaceful pursuits to claim a part of the world trade which had been almost wholly ours during the four years of war. Our man-displacing machines were taken abroad to speed up the production of the rest of the world, and they not only displaced workers there, but they are now in competition with their creators for a market which was ours during war time.

Modern machinery has entered every line of industry, and right now, in six months, we can produce our needs for a year. Agriculture has developed with such rapidity that we now produce more than we need. Labor-saving farm ma-

chinery has also supplanted the laborer, and left in his place the iron farmer who plows, harrows, seeds and harvests foodstuffs which burst our granaries and barns.

Much has been said about stabilizing industry. Can we stabilize it? We can if we think in terms of workmen in conjunction with machines.

In this period of unemployment many suggestions are made by way of remedies. One is unemployment insurance. That there must be stabilization of employment there can be no doubt. I favor a sound, practical form of employment assurance—one that will function in times of depression as well as in times of prosperity. As yet I have been unable to reconcile my own best judgment with any suggested or existing form of Government operation of unemployment insurance.

My examination of the many plans that are in operation in some of the leading countries in Europe leads me to adopt the axiomatic belief that it is unemployment insurance in good times, but it becomes a dole in times of economic depression. In Great Britain and Germany, in many cases, it is but a premium on "in-dole-nce."

As I look over the unemployment insurance systems in Europe, and I have gone there to study them, it seems to me that they only dispose to temporize—to shut the eyes of all to the future, while hugging to their hearts the injunction that "SUFFICIENT UNTO THE DAY IS THE EVIL THEREOF."

The unemployment insurance schemes of Europe were inaugurated during normal and fairly even industrial and social conditions. The amount of money required to maintain this insurance was based upon a normal and regular volume of employment. The premium rates were not high; the costs were not excessive; the results were socially helpful and believed to be fairly just. A man who was giving his whole time and effort to the production of national and social wealth and who was paid for such effort a wage which supported him only when he was actually working full time, was believed to be entitled to sustenance when out of work. Besides, someone had to take care of him between jobs, and the plan was devised by which he should contribute a certain percentage of his wages—which, generally speaking, was three per cent.—the employer contributed to the same fund three per cent of his payroll, and the government, if necessary, contributed an additional three per cent.

This did very well when two or three per cent. of the working population were idle at a time, but when the percentage rose to ten, fifteen and, in some countries, twenty-five per cent. of the total working force unemployed, the funds were inadequate; the workmen

could contribute no more, the employers were called upon to contribute as long as they could, and the State was obliged to supply the deficiency.

The various resulting schemes of taxing wealth to support the unemployed were based upon an admitted unequal and inequitable distribution of the wealth created by labor during normal and prosperous times. Admittedly there has been unequal and, in many instances, a grossly inequitable and unfair distribution of wealth. The taxing power has deliberately and intentionally been called upon to force a redistribution of this uneven and unjust distribution of the wealth created in the past.

But let us see what this is doing. It is drawing upon the stored wealth of the countries involved to cover current living expense. It is doing just what the old farmers used to mean when they said they were living on their seed corn. That is to say, they were forced to consume today the means needed to enable them to live tomorrow. Wealth is being forced to give up large blocks of its accumulations to carry the people and the nation along from meal to meal, with the situation becoming more desperate each day, and nothing being planned to prevent the necessity of something more being done in the way of day-to-day feeding of the people.

In Berlin, I am reliably informed, there are 3,000 street-car men, bus drivers, et cetera, employed by the City of Berlin, in excess of its needs, and the Government tells the City of Berlin it cannot discharge these men because that would throw them on the national unemployment fund, and the Government is not in a position to take on 3,000 more under its unemployment insurance benefits. Thus the municipality of Berlin is doubly taxed—once for the national unemployment fund, and again for the operation of its street transportation system which must carry on the payroll these unproductive workmen.

It has also been brought to my attention, by a responsible informant, that in Czecho-Slovakia, workers are kept on the payroll, in some instances receiving not more than ten or fifteen cents per day, because to drop them from the payroll would put them on the Government insurance fund which the Government is now under the utmost strain to carry without additional numbers.

Such a plan only teaches men and women to be satisfied with the bare necessities of life, and surely you will all agree with me that this is not suited for men and women who toil in the United States and in Canada.

Virtually the same condition exists in Italy. While on paper the French situation seems to be much better, France has a way of creating paper situations

that are quite distinct from the facts. This condition applies to other countries.

The real situation as I see it, my friends, is this: Are we wise enough, are we farsighted enough, to use our national reserve wealth while we still have it, to end unemployment; to create employment opportunities, and to promote sound economic projects which will tend to revive our economic activities; or shall we pursue a cheese-nibbling policy which would continue until our national reserve wealth will have been totally squandered? Any reasonable man or woman knows that such an unsound economic policy would ultimately result in economic chaos for our nation and the collapse of our modern civilization, plunging our people back into the abyss of primitive human existence. No other result could be expected if a nation permits its wealth to be siphoned dry by prolonged dole demands.

Our most conservative leaders have said that we must revise our economic system to keep pace with the progress of civilization. There are those who want to revise it in such a way that co-operation of the laboring man will be impossible. They want to set up an employment plan which does not take into consideration the full right of the worker who contributes to it to participate in its management.

This would be a sort of dictatorship that would place the worker in the role of a supplicant. Such plans of unemployment insurance are not in keeping with the spirit of America, because the American people do not want to become supplicants. They want work. They have no desire to become recipients of a charity known as "the dole." As I see it, management, men and money should get together and work out on a mutual basis some plan to provide for the worker when work is slack. If that is not done, the Government will probably do it, and may be that will be something in the order of a dole, which we do not want. I have faith sufficient in the wisdom, the judgment and the patriotism of the leaders of industry, both employers and employees, that co-operatively they will avoid the dole, and will work out a practical plan that will recognize the right of every person, ready and willing to work, to a dependable income.

When worker and employer have agreed to an employment assurance plan, the fair way would seem to be to have all interested parties share in the responsibility of management, as well as the benefits.

The co-operative movement in America between management, men and money, will bring all three factors together, and each will have its full and equal share of the benefits.

If we do not follow the co-operative plan, which develops the individual initiative of those engaged in industry, we will drift into a dictatorship that will destroy the individual and send us back more or less to serfdom.

Co-operation has made the United States of America the remarkably successful nation it is today. We want to continue to let individualism control our national life, in accordance with the principles of the Constitution of the United States.

If the Government takes control of such matters as social welfare and economic conditions, our Constitution, which brought into existence our Republican form of government will be weakened, and we will be on our way towards communism. Our National Government is representative and maintains the right of everyone to express himself, and if we follow that policy in industry in America, we will stand on firm and solid ground.

I am sure we will continue to recognize in America the doctrine that the worker invests his toil in industry and must receive for that, as President Harding said, "enough for his comfort, enough to make his house a home, and enough to ensure him that the struggle for existence will not crowd out the things worth existing for." Because, after all, the workmen, and in classifying workmen I mean all who toil, whether it be in the factory, on the farm, or in the counting house, are the buying power of the nation, and the extent of our national prosperity is woven tightly into their incomes.

What does it profit the larger industries, such as the steel and automobile producers, to cut the wages of their employes, thus depriving them of the power to purchase the very products they produce? The make-up of an automobile is about ninety per cent. steel and its alloys. Hence the restricted sale of motor cars will have a potent effect on the curtailment of the sale and production of steel. Furthermore, the curtailment of the buying industries will reflect itself seriously in nearly every other strata of our economic structure. The workers will have less to spend for farm and dairy products, clothing, shoes, life insurance, et cetera, and consequently, the production and sales volume of these industries will be restricted on that account.

For example, how can the farmer and dairy farm operator buy modern mechanical equipment—most of which originates in steel plants—if the wage earners of our nation are compelled to cut down their purchases of farm and dairy products? The gravity of such a reaction in the farming regions may be fully realized if we consider that the existence and welfare of more than

30,000,000 persons are linked to agricultural activities.

We read in the papers of urging people to buy until it hurts, but how can one buy when his reduced wage takes him down to the point where he is hard put to secure even the meagre necessities of life?

We will sink to the European and Asiatic standards of living, which will mean chronic unemployment and oppression along with utter extinction for many industries, for all time to come. Examine the newspapers and magazines, or read the sign boards along the highways; do they largely advertise the necessities of life? No; usually they advertise the luxuries. The staples need but little advertising; they are purchased as needed. Should the buying power of these advertised products fall, the producers, the advertising companies, the printers and lithographers, the sign builders and the newspapers will be hard hit by economic depression and many will go out of existence. Such a catastrophe would show our future citizens a great industrial nation in ruins.

I have been taught that all wealth was created by labor—and when I say labor I mean the labor of the factory and the field—and that all tax burdens are paid by labor directly or indirectly. So anything that comes to us from any relief source comes off the backs of the men and women who are engaged in the creation and distribution of wealth. I believe in extending help in times of need. If we have a catastrophe, an epidemic or any condition beyond the control of men or the government set up by man, I would be willing to hock the gold on the dome of the Capitol at Washington to take care of the distressed people. But to syphon money out of the treasury for a continuous dole, and thus place a heavier burden of taxation on the backs of the workmen—as is the vogue now in foreign countries and which, to my mind, destroys individual initiative and ruins the morale of a nation—I am opposed to it.

Our Canadian workers, in the Building Trades Council, sum up the dole in the proper manner. They say that they are strongly opposed to unemployment insurance, except as a last resort. That last resort would be the time when we are all prepared to go back to living off our seed corn and nibbling at the cheese of national wealth until both are gone and civilization is lost.

Fear—what a terrible word! Fear today of those many millions who are gainfully employed reduces our buying power, because they are afraid that they too will soon join the ranks of the unemployed. Fear of our men of wealth, our bankers, make them call in loans that are being used for productive wealth. Few loans are being made today. The laziest thing in America

today, because of fear, is the dollar. It too is out of work because of fear. The workman's money in savings banks is paying but little interest because the banker is afraid to put the dollar to work. After all, who is the best banker?—the banker who is afraid to make loans for fear his depositors will call for the money and he has not it to give? But what is a good banker? In one of our large American cities today there are two bankers. One, through his work, has made the city the second greatest home-owning community in the United States. He has helped ten thousand people by loaning them money to build a home. All who did business with him said he was a fair man. His name was known throughout the city as one who did much for his city. No high rate of interest or commissions was charged for his loans. Out of this depression comes the fact that men who were thrown out of employment, could not meet their payments on their homes—the bank closed. The banker was in great distress.

The other banker across the street gave his money out on short time paper, and watched the ups and downs of the bond and stock markets. He kept his resources liquid. He was ready and could pay every depositor. He reduced his interest rates on savings, and in many instances refused to pay any at all. He was one of those bankers who lived in fear. He was considered a mean man. When the bank of the man who served for the good of the community closed, his customers went to the banker across the street. Which of the two bankers was the best in the eyes of the people?

Fear! Every man now at work who is over 50 does not know when he is to join the ranks of the unemployed. Even in prosperous times he wonders whether it will all end in the poorhouse. Fear today prevents many millions of our people who are able and have the money to buy shoes, clothing, automobiles and dresses—but they are afraid to spend, and are storing it up. Even those who never paid their bills heretofore have ceased buying!

Much has been said about government work. I am for a program of doing all the government work that is possible today, but that alone will not give continuous employment. It will encourage us to have more faith in ourselves. It will encourage us to have more faith in our country, to buy more, and we might just as well make up our minds that, not until then will permanent prosperity return. Let the employers of labor get the word "fear" out of the hearts of their employes who are at work, and then they will get back into the market to buy.

Many of us were born abroad and have been watching the labor movement in the countries of our birth for half a

century. We can see now in any one of these countries that labor has reached the place where it had control of the government, and its own forces split on the dote. Friends of half a century have parted because one faction wanted to eat the seed corn and the other wanted to save it.

I have been twitted many times by my labor leader friends from abroad on the lack of political policy by American labor. I have informed them that I thought American labor acted wisely by keeping out of partisan politics, and, from the results, I am satisfied that my opinion has been justified. May the American Federation of Labor continue to keep out of partisan politics and work for the betterment of our wage-earners. Helping American Labor improve the existing conditions is much better than gratifying their own personal ambition for political glory.

The labor movement in North America has proved itself to be an asset for the uplift and betterment of civic conditions and the promotion of national prosperity. I am sure the forces of labor in Canada and the United States of America will wisely adhere to the high ideals and practical policies which have made them vital and respected factors in the sound progress of their respective nations.

But how about Europe's labor forces? From personal observations which I made while serving as Secretary of Labor under three Presidents, namely, Harding, Coolidge and Hoover, I am convinced that political labor in Europe centers its thoughts on the national treasuries, instead of concentrating on ways and means to better its own welfare in factories, mines and other fields of employment opportunities, besides encouraging the development of market and production outlets for the products of the workman's toil. This attitude is out of harmony with the ideals of labor in North America, whose belief is centered on the sound economic fact that a healthy industrial and agricultural treasury means not only good wages for themselves but general prosperity for their national treasuries.

America is still a Government of the People, through parliamentary procedure, while Europe has coalition governments, dictatorships and synthetic monarchies.

I am sure the people of Canada and the people of the United States of America, in every walk of industrial and social life, will act in harmony to prevent the intrusion of undemocratic governmental policies as are practiced now in foreign lands. The people of these two great nations have too much in common to encourage makeshift economic moves which might lower the high standards of living and the sound economic and social customs associated

with their progress. With the passing of each year the United States and Canada are drawn closer together by the bonds of friendship and mutual understanding.

In the United States of America it is generally conceded that all are in accord that our economic system needs scientific and sound adjustment to assure enough stabilization to guard against the periods of depression, and that drastic wage reduction policies are as much a fallacy towards the solution of our economic problem as is the dote. A sound and just readjustment can be made without entailing financial hardship upon a single legitimate industry.

One forward step would be the elimination of wildcat financing and stock juggling which load upon legitimate business and industry the top-heavy financial burdens which reflect over-capitalization and over-speculation, both of which contributed largely to the collapse of the world's economic structure. To bring this about we must turn back to the Golden Rule and set aside the Law of the Jungle.

What does it profit industry to have high-pressure production, high-power salesmanship and high-tension collection methods if they convince a man to buy a Rolls Royce when his income permits him only to buy a Ford? Common sense must be used in production and sales policies to stop price-cutting. Stick to the wage rate and stick to the selling price that will permit the payment of a wage scale to enable a worker to maintain his self-respect and decency! Salesmen should be directed to get a price that will pay the wage and use no skulduggery or secret pacts to get the business.

Such subterfuge as selling "good measure tons" the weight of which often goes far in excess of the 2240 lbs. standardized in the long ton, and cutting the pay of the workman to neutralize this loss on selling below cost must be halted to assure honesty and fair play in business intercourse and transactions.

I am speaking from memory now, and I would like to have the right to revise what I say in regard to tonnage and prices from 1893 to 1896, when they began doing that in the industry I worked in. If I remember—and I want the President of my organization, Mr. Tighe, to check me up if I am wrong—steel bars were thirty dollars a ton, but they cut them down three or four dollars and cut the wages down fifty cents a ton. Then they went into this cut-throat competition until they brought those steel bars down to \$17.00 a ton and our wages down to four dollars. Then I said, "If this is going on I will quit," and I went out and looked for another job. That cut did not make us one more day's work, but it made us less work and we got less money for it.

Let us stop this wage cutting and price slashing and let us live as Americans ought to live.

However, we know that the spirit of fair play and justice involved in the relationship between the workman and his employer grows stronger. A graphic example of this meritorious condition is reflected in the growing repudiation of the type of contract which prohibits workmen from peacefully discussing matters relevant to their employment problems and conditions. Few employers, however, have ever insisted on this form of contract, which is foreign to American ideals and which attempts to nullify one of the chief trinites of our Constitution, namely, the right of free speech, the right of a free press, and the right of free thought. This type of contract blazed its own trail to popular contempt when the aid of courts was sought to enforce its autocratic provisions. And, according to present indications, it will soon be entirely eliminated from our economic structure.

Thanks to that sacred document—the Constitution of the United States—which is enshrined in the hearts of the American people and which actuates the national ideals, the right of free speech and free thought still prevail in our land despite the sinister moves which have been made against it by such unsound things as the misuse of court injunctions.

Our Constitution, besides being one of the greatest humanitarian documents in the history of the world, is a vibrant, living factor in the heart of every loyal American. Each one of them visualizes the Constitution of the United States as "my Constitution" and, collectively, Americans call it "our Constitution." They realize that it is an instrument of service for the uplift of mankind and not a rigid edict, the provisions of which are unalterable. The American people love their Constitution because they know it reflects our national ideals and the will of the people of the United States of America. Its main strength lies in the fact that it can be altered to comply with the will of the people whenever a majority signifies such a desire.

Our love and affection for the Constitution was revived vividly in my mind by a dramatic spectacle which I witnessed recently near my home city. Many thousands of men, women and children, hungry and jobless, were silently marching in orderly manner to seek relief from their local governments. As they plodded along the line of march, their eyes scanned the well filled market places, jammed and crammed with the products of the farms and orchards, together with tempting displays of meats, poultry and provisions. Also they observed clothing, shoes, dresses, blankets and other necessities of modern life which were conspicuously displayed in the windows of department stores. They

would urgently need many of these articles when winter comes, many of them mused. But while their eyes lingered on these good things of life, this pathetic army marched on, orderly and silent. Along the line of march numerous banks were passed, every one of which had vaults well filled with the coin of the realm. The eyes of the marchers casually glanced at these treasure houses, but their weary feet kept plodding steadily onward toward the goal of hope. What a glorious demonstration of law observance these marchers presented! Not one among them made an effort to take one cent's worth of property that did not belong to them. Though they were hard pressed with the elemental demands of life, they suffered privation in silence while they marched on.

They proved that they were God-fearing men, women and children, respecting and loving the Constitution of the United States of America. And, yet, as they marched, they reflected the thought that they had not lost faith in our country and were sure of better days soon for themselves and their children, the latter of whom may some day manage the institutions which I have just described to you.

But in the meantime we must keep in mind the fact that when too many wrinkles appear in the stomachs of men, their ears become deaf to law observance pleas, and their brains become numb to every other thought but that concerning the preservation of the lives of themselves, their children and their wives. Under such circumstances the germs of communism and anarchy flourish.

What a tragic indictment of modern civilization and our system of economic distribution was depicted in this pathetic march of those jobless thousands! Surely such deplorable parades of misery should arouse the nation to its fullest activity to provide ways and means of providing employment for our jobless people, who are more anxious to work for a living than they are to accept charity or doles.

What a contrast between America and other countries! The press tells us that similar marching crowds did not wait to go to the public officials to ask for relief but they stormed the stores and shops of their community, and helped themselves.

This spirit of national fidelity is of great aid and comfort to the United States of America as it fights its way out of the mire of depression. It had potent influence in relieving the effects of the great economic storm upon the welfare of our nation, a fact which was confirmed recently by the expressions of two world-famous men. One of them, a noted American publicist said: "The economic crust of the United States of America has hardly been dented by the

worldwide business depression in comparison to the abject woe suffered by the rest of the world," while a celebrated British financier, who came to America last summer to perform a confidential mission for his Government, said: "If this is what the United States of America calls hard times, I pray God that the British Isles may be fortunate enough to enjoy such conditions, which, in face of our economic woes, would be looked upon as a period of prosperity."

We all want to be kind and helpful to the rest of the world, particularly in matters involving the uplift of humanity and the stabilization of economic procedure, but it must be remembered that we have in our own land many vital problems to solve and many people to aid through this period of economic reconstruction. Our nation must be careful not to be drawn into the quicksands of international politics; otherwise, we would be kept so busy trying to free ourselves that we would have little time to help our own people or the rest of the world.

The Government of the United States was wise when in 1921, by the so-called "Quota Act," it reversed its ancient policy of free and unlimited immigration from all the world.

The "Percentage Law" marked the beginning of actual restriction or limitation of European immigration to the United States. The restrictive Chinese Law was in operation since 1882; the Japanese Agreement, under which laborers were admitted from that country, became effective in 1908—it was known as the "Gentlemen's Agreement"—between President Roosevelt and the Japanese Government.

The so-called "Immigration Law" of 1917 closed the doors to the people of India and other countries of southern Asia, but actual restriction of immigration from Europe, Africa, Australasia was never before attempted. The 1917 Act provided the illiteracy test, and it opened the doors of the schoolroom abroad to begin educating those who desired to come to the United States.

What a time we had to administer that law! It was said that the "Percentage Law" could not be enforced, but it was. And as years go by the organization is becoming more perfect.

When the "Percentage Law" went into effect, because of monthly quotas the ships raced across the ocean to see who would get under the wire first; and Ellis Island and the ports of the land became so congested that it was most difficult to administer the Act. On every hand people were saying the law could not be enforced, but it was.

All examinations were made at the port of entry, and these examinations involved three departments of govern-

ment. The question of passport was in the Department of State; the question of health in the Department of the Treasury; and the final step was the examination by the Labor Department Bureau of Immigration as to the qualification of the alien under the Immigration Law, which was a very elaborate piece of machinery.

It was a difficult law to administer. How these appeals would come to the Secretary of Labor! Men bowed under years of oppression; women whose life had been a continued struggle for existence; children who had known little or nothing of the joys of childhood, stood with appealing hands begging for admission. Rejection for many of them meant utter poverty, a long ocean journey, and despair. But the Law is inexorable. And so we brought about the examination abroad, until today that examination controls the inflow of our immigrants.

President Hoover put into effect a section of the law that now practically excludes all immigrants who depend upon their labor for a living from entering the United States.

All this suffering has been ended by examinations abroad. It was a step in the direction of humanity in government.

This restrictive legislation, as all strongly restrictive measures do, stimulated the ingenuity of those who seek to circumvent the law. When I was Secretary of Labor we found wholesale forgery of passports; forging of birth certificates; forgery of marriage certificates; marriages performed by unlicensed people claiming to be licensed; forgery of naturalization certificates; forgery of return permits; forgery of every conceivable document that has to do with the legal entry of aliens. And as long as we have restrictive immigration I presume that will go on.

As being one of those who sponsored the bill for the payment of the prevailing rates of wages, I talked to the officers who managed that in the Department of Labor, I have talked to a number of men in the building trades here, and they say the law is being administered about as well as human beings can do it. I wonder, with all this great building program of the government and with the troubles we are having, what would have been the result if it had not been for the passage of that law. I am sure that President Hoover, Secretary of Labor Doak and his able assistants, from Hugh Kirwan down to the commissioners who have charge of it, will do all in their power to see that the prevailing wage rate will be paid.

I wonder if many of you stop to think of just what the President did when he prevented immigrants coming in. What did that mean to the men belonging to the organizations represented here?

When I was Secretary of Labor we started to deport people who were illegally in this country. The first year we deported eight thousand, the next year it was nine thousand, and the last year I served we deported seventeen thousand. This year I believe about nineteen or twenty thousand will be deported.

I am sure that the Department of Labor, under the leadership of our Secretary of Labor, will drive on and on until every man who is illegally in the United States of America will be given his papers back to the country from which he came. And so the great problem of being the administrator of the laws that apply to the Labor Department is a human affair. You are not dealing with bars of steel and sacks of flour, you are dealing with human beings. However, they do not have all the power, they can only persuade, and I think they do a fairly good job of persuading under the leadership of that fellow, who I think is the greatest conciliator in the government service today, Hugh Kirwan. And so I say this to you again, let us keep at it, and in the end I am sure we will be satisfied with what we are doing.

We will be proud of the gain made by the workers as we look back over time and find that 750 years ago a carpenter received five cents a day for his work. After all, it has been a question of education, and isn't this movement of yours more or less an effort to disseminate your ideas of the general conditions of the country and of our people? Education has taught the worker that he has a soul, a doctrine which some of the ancients laughed to scorn; and it was education that created in the worker a hundred wants that he had never known before. Yes, education of the worker was a veritable revolution in human life. The gain from education never can be lost. Education did something for labor that will never be obliterated to the end of time. Let us ever keep in mind that we should support with all our heart those who are engaged in the gainful occupation known as "teacher."

I congratulate the A. F. of L. on the great work it has done in helping to make America the happiest, and most contented spot in the world in which to live. And I hope your great organization will continue to be free from the maelstrom of partisan politics, and that it may continue to give special effort to the promotion of humanitarian programs, besides continuing to work for better wage scales, which mean better homes, better schools and better nations.

President Green: I wish to express, in behalf of the officers and delegates at this convention, our deep appreciation of the inspiring visit of Senator

Davis with us this morning. Furthermore, I wish to thank him in your behalf for his message and for the earnest manner in which he has submitted it. We are glad to have him present, we are pleased to have his visit, and we wish to assure him that his message will be given the most thoughtful and serious consideration in this convention. We hope he may enjoy his visit with us and that he may safely return to his home and to his work again.

The address delivered by Senator Davis will be included in the printed proceedings of today's session.

We are fortunate in being permitted to hear from an associate of Senator Davis, Judge Henning, who served with him as Assistant Secretary of Labor, and who was later appointed to serve as a federal judge in California. He is now associated with the motion picture industry. I asked the judge if he would not speak to the delegates this morning and he has gladly consented to do so. I take very great pleasure in presenting to you Judge Henning.

**MR. EDWARD F. HENNING**  
(Former Assistant Secretary of Labor)

Mr. President and members of the American Federation of Labor—Senator Davis saluted the chief of his organization, and I wish the chief of mine were on the platform that I might do likewise. President Steward, of the Federal Employes' Union, is the head of my organization, and we are affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

I have no message of any kind to give you this morning. The President merely asked me to say a word or two and I am very happy of the opportunity. I have been wanting to express some words of thanks to the American Federation of Labor for nearly ten years and have not had the opportunity before, and I wish to do it this morning.

Senator Davis spoke of the difficulties involved in the change of policy with reference to our immigration laws at the time that the quota laws, so-called, were first enacted. As Secretary of Labor I had direct charge of the Bureau of Immigration work and dealt with the mechanics of that law. Public sentiment as expressed by newspapers and by big business was opposed to the policy, and in addition to the difficulties of a difficult act, we had the difficulty of meeting very, very unjust criticisms to make our work more difficult. But there were always two

groups that we could depend upon and who stood up and were our backing in those days of fighting. One was the American Legion, the other the American Federation of Labor. Those two organizations have done more to change public sentiment on the matter than any other groups, so I want to thank you this morning for standing with us and behind us and giving us the benefit of your fearless attitude when we were in dire distress.

The President referred to the fact that I have associated in a way with one of the great industries now having resigned from the bench. I want to say I have had my office in New York city for the last year and a half, dealing with industrial matters of certain motion picture theater circles, and I am proud of my clients in this: That whenever difficulties arise, labor disputes in the theater, they never think of putting in non-union labor, they never even suggest it. They will close the theater if they can't do anything else, but they will not employ non-union labor.

I have been the beneficiary in an unusual degree of the school system of the United States, not only its common schools, but its universities, and I appreciate the opportunities which those institutions have brought to me, but I must honestly confess that in the years since, in my associations with great labor leaders, I have learned more of the practical, hard-headed side of life than I have been able to learn in the universities—associated with Jim Davis for a quarter of a century, associated with old Terrence V. Powderly for many years, and then that wonderful association with that great labor leader, Samuel Gompers. It was a sad hour for the American labor movement when Samuel Gompers was called. The labor movement, however, was fortunate in the fact that when the reins of government of this organization fell from the palsied hands of the dying Gompers, they fell into the virile hands of the brilliant William Green.

With the leadership in the office of President, with the old war horse of nearly half a century as secretary of the organization as a background, with your wonderful Executive Council, the Labor movement has progressed and will progress as the years pass.

I confess to you frankly that not one of you reads more carefully the pronouncements which emanate from time to time from the Executive Council of this organization than do I. I know of nothing in America, no single unit where sounder economic principles are adopted and pronounced than in the American Federation of Labor.

I have expressed my thanks to you, I am proud of my association with you.

Even though I left the Government service, I did not sever my membership with my union. I still keep it up. I want to keep up my contact with you. I have learned in the last year and a half, down in New York, where the financial situation has been so bothersome, the economic world upside down, not to go to the bankers any more for a true analysis of the situation. I go to Joe Weber, of the American Federation of Musicians, and Bill Canavan, of the International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees, and get from either a much better analysis, a more accurate picture of the financial situation than I can get from any Wall Street banker.

And so I wish you in this convention abundant success. The economic world is in the balance, and the greatest sufferer always in such a situation is the wage earner. The greatest wisdom is needed in this hour to work out a program that will bring us back to where we were, and at the same time to endeavor to build a foundation, so that depressions like the one we are in may ultimately entirely disappear. I have faith as I read what you say, and then I read what the great organized industry heads say, that the day is near when the two of you, the leaders of labor and the leaders of business will, on stated occasions, sit down at the same conference table and jointly make our economic program.

I thank you.

President Green: I am sure we all feel grateful to Judge Henning for his visit, for his address, for the sound logic of it and for the very fine opinions he expressed, and for his evident friendship for the American Federation of Labor. We thank you very sincerely, Judge, for your visit and for your address.

We have another distinguished visitor this morning. I know we will all appreciate very, very greatly his message. He comes to us as a personal representative of the National Commander of the American Legion, and of the American Legion itself. As I explained this morning, the new National Commander, Commander Stevens, found it impossible to come and meet us and be our guest. However, he has designated one of the Vice-Commanders to come and speak to us. You all know that we have established a fraternal relationship between the two organizations. The American Federation of Labor was represented at the American

Legion convention, which was held in the city of Detroit recently. Our own fellow worker, the President of the Printing Pressmen's Union, Major George L. Berry, carried to the American Legion convention the greetings and felicitations of the American Federation of Labor. Now in reciprocal fashion we have with us this morning Vice-Commander Brooks, who comes with his message to us. I am sure you will be pleased to hear what he has to say, and I am happy, indeed, to present to you Mr. Frank N. Brooks, Vice-Commander of the American Legion.

**MR. FRANK N. BROOKS**  
(Vice-Commander, American Legion)

President Green, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen of the American Federation of Labor:

Since the very inception of the American Legion it has been the uniform custom of your organization to send to our national convention either your president or one speaking in his behalf, and the American Legion has, each year, sent either its Commander or one of its Vice-Commanders to deliver its greetings and felicitations to you. This custom has been an altogether happy one, and has greatly aided in fostering and perpetuating the most friendly relations between the two organizations.

I have attended eight national conventions of the American Legion, and have had the pleasure of hearing both your late, beloved president, Samuel Gompers, the friend of every man, woman and child not only in America but in all the world, and likewise that distinguished patriot and gentlemen, your present president, Honorable William Green.

I was in Indiana last week when the present National Commander of the American Legion, Honorable Henry Stevens, of North Carolina, called me and asked me to attend this convention as the representative of the American Legion. He stated that it was with the greatest reluctance that he found himself unable to make the trip himself due to conflicting engagements that could not be cancelled. I come, therefore, before you with an apology on my lips and a prayer in my heart; the apology given in behalf of the Legion due to the inability of the National Commander to be here, and the prayer in my heart that I may find words adequate to express to you not the usual felicitations and greetings from one organization to another, but words that embrace all the respect, all the admiration, yes—all the

love that the American Legion holds for its comrades in the American Federation of Labor.

It was a dramatic moment at the Detroit convention when the announcement was made that your representative to us at that convention, the Honorable Peter J. Brady, of New York, had met an untimely death while on his mission to the American Legion. Many of my comrades at the convention knew Mr. Brady, and we all looked upon him as one of our own. Your comrade, and my comrade, the Honorable George L. Berry, of Tennessee, delivered a message to the convention of a most inspirational character, and was accorded the warmest of welcomes. As long as you have the memory of such men as Samuel Gompers and Peter Brady to sustain you, and the splendid leadership of such men as William Green and George Berry to aid and guide you in your deliberations, your membership back home, and the people of America as a whole, need have no fear for the results of any program that may be formulated at any of your conventions.

While returning quickly from Indiana to Vancouver at the behest of Commander Stevens I encountered many men who expressed doubt and fear as to the outcome of your deliberations here. My answer to them I will state to you now: That your fifty years' record of splendid achievement is for many, and should be sufficient guarantee for anyone, that your program which you will adopt here will not only be calculated to serve the highest interests of your own membership, but will, likewise, serve at this critical moment the best interests of your country. We must remember always that the radicalism of today is the conservatism of tomorrow. I am certain that the wonder of future generations will be that there could be anyone in America opposed to your program, which calls for a job, at a living wage, for every man willing and able to work, and protection and a living for dependent widows and mothers, and a fair chance for education and happiness for every child in America. Any government worthy of the name surely must sooner or later guarantee such opportunities for all.

I think it is peculiarly fitting at this time that you should be meeting in Canada, the home of our late comrades and allies. We speak of that line at the South of us as dividing Canada and the United States, but to me it is the line that joins us together. After all, we are but two children of a common mother, and both of us have derived the very foundations of our social, economic and political systems from that same mother overseas, now harassed on all sides by most perplexing problems.

In closing I say again that the American Legion, with its more than a million

members, has the utmost confidence in the results of your deliberations here. Assailed as you are during this major emergency that confronts not only our nation, but all the nations of the world; assailed, I say, on one side by entrenched privilege and on the other by the subtle voice of Bolshevism, you will point out the way to new security, greater prosperity and more complete happiness. I feel sure that you will agree with me when I say that, although our present form of government is far from perfect, and many wrongs remain to be righted, the future hope of our peoples, and the world itself, lies enshrined in the cross, enfolded in the stripes and emblazoned in the stars of those two flags which hold the place of honor in your meeting place today. Under the protection of those two flags you will, I am sure, bring forth a program that will permit and insure that the American Legion and the American Federation of Labor will then go down behind it, hand in hand, shoulder to shoulder, with the conviction that they are fighting their good fight together for God and country.

Mr. President, I thank you in behalf of the American Legion for the privilege of coming before you today.

President Green: I am sure I fully express the feelings of the officers and delegates in attendance at this convention when I say to Commander Brooks that we very, very deeply appreciate his visit. We are grateful to him for his message. We thank him for his expression of confidence and for his message of good will. We want to develop a most happy, profitable and cordial relationship between these two great organizations, for we want to demonstrate to the people in the United States and Canada that the men and women who make up these two organizations have set up an instrumentality which will safeguard our free institutions against those destructive forces which would destroy them.

Democracy, the right of the people to govern, the exercise of orderly freedom will always be safe in the United States and Canada so long as these two organizations live and function. We ask you to carry back to your colleagues, Commander Brooks, our expression of good will and a determination to cultivate and develop the cordial and friendly relationships which exist between these two great organizations.

I thank you.

Delegate Martel, Typographical Union: As a point of personal privilege before the Vice-Commander of the American Legion leaves the hall, I would desire the attention of the delegates of this convention for just a moment. I have the utmost admiration for the American Legion and the splendid manner in which it has stood shoulder to shoulder with the American Trade Union movement for the advancement of those ideals in which we are jointly interested. I appreciate the splendid tribute paid to the Legion by Senator Davis this morning in speaking of securing a proper enforcement of our immigration laws, but I want to call to the attention of the American Legion and to the attention of the delegates of the American Federation of Labor that there is a condition growing up which, if not given serious attention by those charged with responsibility, is going to provoke a conflict between the American Legion and the American Federation of Labor.

I have reference, Mr. Chairman, and Mr. Vice-Commander of the American Legion, to the action of the Legion Convention Corporation in the City of Detroit this year. The representatives of labor of Detroit pleaded with the representatives of the Legion Corporation to include in their contract provisions for the employment, first of ex-service men, and secondly at the prevailing rate of wages of the city of Detroit in the work necessary to make the Legion convention a success. Our pleas in that respect were received with deaf ears on the part of those in charge of the American Legion Convention Corporation. The printing of their souvenir was given to one of the most notorious scab printing shops in the city of Detroit, and the printing of the badges that the members of the union labor posts of Detroit, Chicago and Los Angeles were asked to pin upon their breasts to designate that they were American Legion men, was likewise done in scab shops, in spite of the fact that union shops submitted a lower bid for the job.

It is a rather unpleasant thing for me to have to bring this here this

morning, but I say to you, my friends, and I hope the trade union movement and those friendly to us in the American Legion will see to it in the future, that the American Legion—not the American Legion, but the American Legion Corporation that handles their conventions, will not go out of its way to slap labor in the face when they come as a visitor to an industrial community in their next convention. I hope this will be eliminated and that labor will continue to be friendly with the American Legion, working in harmony with them on things in which we have a common cause.

President Green: I am sure that the leaders of the American Legion are deeply in sympathy with the aims and purposes of labor, because I have frequently discussed the very subject raised by Delegate Martel with them. We must always distinguish between these business bodies, and I presume there are many men, I know there are, many men included in the representatives of the American Legion, who are not in sympathy with all things done by these separate entities and corporations. I am sure that we will overcome all these difficulties eventually, and I am sure we can do it through understanding better than through the pursuit of any other policy. I know that Vice-Commander Brooks will bring this matter to the attention of his associates and we will be glad to take it up also when the opportunity presents itself.

President Green: Now it seems we have just about reached the conclusion of our morning session so far as our immediate business is concerned. Opportunity will be given for announcements.

Delegate Donnelly, Ohio State Federation of Labor: I ask that the delegates to this convention from the various state federations of labor and the city central bodies or those interested, meet at this table immediately after adjournment.

Delegate Woodmansee: The Labor Press will meet tonight in the Italian Room at 7:30 o'clock.

Announcement was made on behalf of the Entertainment Committee regarding the sightseeing trip for the ladies in the afternoon and the meeting of the New Westminster and District Trades and Labor Council in the evening.

President Green: It seems there are no committees ready to report and I question very much whether we will have much business to transact this afternoon. I am wondering whether the convention would deem it wise to suspend the rules and adjourn until tomorrow morning, or do you wish to have a session this afternoon?

Delegate Koveleski, Hotel and Restaurant Employes, moved that the rules be suspended and that adjournment be taken until 9:30 o'clock Wednesday morning, October 7. The motion was seconded.

President Green: We will call upon the fraternal delegates to transmit to you their various messages on Thursday forenoon, and tomorrow we will hear from some other distinguished visitors who will attend our convention.

**Proposing That Stone Used in Federal Building Projects to Relieve Unemployment Be Prepared in Localities Where Buildings Are Erected**

Resolution No. 55—By Delegates M. W. Mitchell and P. J. Cullen, Journeymen Stone Cutters' Association of North America.

WHEREAS, The wave of unemployment is becoming evermore general and permanent without the faintest hope of relief for the multitudes of jobless workers; and

WHEREAS, At the present time both the House of Representatives and the Senate of the United States have appropriated millions of dollars out of the public treasury in order to overcome the present economic crisis; and

WHEREAS, The intent of such appropriations is to give work to the biggest number of unemployed workers, the benefit of getting a job and relieving them from the fear of becoming public charges or criminals; and

WHEREAS, In the said appropriations is included a building program of Post Offices, Custom Houses, Hospitals, etc., in which natural stone is largely to be used; and

WHEREAS, One of the causes of unemployment among the workers connected with the stone industry is the concentration of the same in a few places where the stone is quarried, fabricated, dressed and carved by men working in most cases under unfair conditions; and

WHEREAS, The money for the contemplated building program shall ultimately be paid by all the American workers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor petition and ask all persons vested with authority in letting out contracts for Federal work in Washington, that it be distributed more evenly so that it will relieve hundreds of skilled mechanics in different parts of the country and relieve them from the fear of an endless period of unemployment and untold suffering. The following criterion could be adopted by those in authority to awarding all Federal projects in the future; that all stone used in Federal buildings should be fabricated, dressed, cut and carved in the locality where the contemplated building is to be erected. And that the working hours shall not exceed eight hours per day and five days a week for all men working on Federal projects; and further, be it

RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution shall be sent to all persons in authority connected with awarding of all Federal projects in Washington.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

**To Endeavor to Have Oil and Gas Corporations Employ Union Labor in Construction Work**

Resolution No. 56—By Delegates L. P. Lindelof, Clarence E. Swick, James P. Meehan, H. Kaufman, Joseph P. Hunter and Christian M. Madsen, Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America.

WHEREAS, Many oil and gas corporations doing business throughout the United States are contributing to the disastrous conditions existing by employing unskilled labor at low wages to take the place of practical journeymen; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention instruct the incoming Executive Board to use every effort to get these corporations to use Union Labor for the construction and maintenance of their buildings.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

**Protesting Labor Policy of Shell Oil Company in Construction Work.**

Resolution No. 57—By L. P. Lindelof, Clarence E. Swick, James P. Meehan, H.

Kaufman, Jos. P. Hunter, and Christian M. Madsen, Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America.

WHEREAS, The labor organizations throughout the United States have been circularized by the International Oil and Gas Workers' Union of California, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, requesting Union men to purchase products of the Shell Oil and Gasoline Company, on the ground that they are fair to organized labor; and

WHEREAS, This Company does not employ Union building craftsmen or members of the Sign Painters' craft in its work throughout New York State as well as many other parts of the country; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention instruct its officers to do all in their power to have the Shell Gasoline Company use Union Labor on all its work in conformity with the circularized letter sent out by the Oil and Gas Workers' International Union.

Referred to Committee on Industrial Relations.

**Application of National Federation of Federal Employes for Extension of Jurisdiction**

Resolution No. 58—By National Federation of Federal Employes' delegation.

RESOLVED, That the jurisdiction of the National Federation of Federal Employes be defined so as to include all employes in the civilian branch of the U. S. Government, except postal employes and those persons employed at Navy yards and stations, the Bureau of Engraving and Printing, and the Government Printing Office, who are exclusively eligible to existing National or International Unions.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

**To Secure National Cleared Radio Channel for WCFL**

Resolution No. 59—By Delegates H. H. Broach, D. F. Cleary, Charles M. Paulsen, E. Bieretz, E. Preiss and G. M. Bugniatet, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers.

WHEREAS, The President of the United States has said: "The question of monopoly in radio communication must be squarely met. It is not conceivable that the American people will allow this new-born system of communication to fall exclusively into the power of any individual, group, or combination. Great as the development of radio distribution has been we are prob-

ably only at the threshold of development of one of the most important human discoveries bearing on education, amusement, culture and business communication.

"It cannot be thought that any single person or group shall ever have the right to determine what communication may be made to the American people. We cannot allow any single person or group to place themselves in a position where they can censor the material which shall be broadcast to the public.

"Radio communication is not to be considered as merely a business carried on for private gain, for private advertisement, or for entertainment of the curious. It is a public concern impressed with the public trust and to be considered primarily from the standpoint of public interest to the same extent and upon the basis of the same general principles as our other public utilities"; and

WHEREAS, Under the authority delegated to it the Federal Radio Commission has licensed and allocated the overwhelming majority of the ninety available "wave lengths" which includes the forty "cleared wave lengths or channels" to private corporations; and

WHEREAS, Evidence of the tendency of the Federal Radio Commission to allocate the most desirable wave lengths with unlimited time and super-power to private corporations and groups in disregard of the public interest, necessity, and convenience, is demonstrated by the fact that the forty "cleared radio broadcasting channels" established by the Federal Radio Commission have been allocated as follows (some for part time only):

- (1) To corporations formed for the specific purpose of operating a broadcasting station, twelve channels.
- (2) To corporations manufacturing radio equipment and supplies, seven channels.
- (3) To corporations dealing in merchandise of various kinds, ten channels.
- (4) To corporations publishing newspapers, eleven channels.
- (5) To public utility corporations, three channels.
- (6) To insurance corporations, five channels.

WHEREAS, It is charged that a great Radio Trust alone has been granted six or seven national cleared channels by the Federal Radio Commission, as well as chain-station rights which permit it to broadcast its program over the entire United States, and it has been granted the aforesaid six or seven channels for unlimited use, with tremendous power of from twenty-five thousand to fifty thousand watts, while

the station of organized labor, Station WCFL, located in the center of the United States at Chicago, Illinois, has been limited in time and to one thousand five hundred watts; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention hereby petition the Congress of the United States to appoint a joint committee of Senators and Representatives to investigate the Federal Radio Commission's allocations of channels, wave lengths, and radio facilities, and to inquire into the administration and interpretation of the radio laws of the United States by the Federal Radio Commission and recommend to the Congress of the United States appropriate legislation whereby organized labor will receive its proper share of the radio channels, wave lengths, and facilities equal to that of any other firm, company, corporation or organization.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

#### Mooney Case

Resolution No. 60—By Delegate J. W. Buzzell, Los Angeles Central Labor Council.

WHEREAS, It has come to the attention of the labor movement that a committee in San Francisco, known as the Tom Mooney Molders' Defense Committee, is circularizing the labor movement of America, for funds, to be used by that committee in its campaign to secure a pardon for Thomas J. Mooney; and

WHEREAS, The Mooney and Billings cases are primarily a California problem; and

WHEREAS, This committee, the Tom Mooney Molders' Defense Committee, owes no responsibility to the Labor movement; and

WHEREAS, It has been practically impossible to secure an accounting of the funds already collected from the members of organized labor in these cases; and

WHEREAS, The San Francisco Labor Council and the California State Federation of Labor, have adopted the following resolution, thereby assuming the responsibility of passing upon all collections of money on behalf of these cases:

"WHEREAS, The Mooney and Billings cases and convictions for murder growing out of the Preparedness Parade, at San Francisco, California, July 22, 1916, after fifteen years of controversy, sensational developments and endeavors to secure pardons and vindication for these defendants, are still pending before the Governor and the people of California, with no immediate prospects of a satis-

factory solution of the legal problems involved; and

"WHEREAS, Popular prejudice against Mooney and Billings has been aggravated by what we deem legalistic and unsound opinions of the majority of the judges of the California Supreme Court, and in no less degree by the impassioned and ill-advised propaganda issued in the name of Tom Mooney, his various defense committees and others claiming to be his partisans; and

"WHEREAS, It is clear that the question of vindication of Mooney and Billings is essentially a California problem, and that the organized labor movement of California owes a duty to take a part in the solution of that problem; it is also clear that organized labor, as represented by responsible labor bodies and officials, at no time has sanctioned or approved appeals made in behalf of these men advocating general strikes, boycotts of California products, or denunciations of governments, institutions and individuals; and

"WHEREAS, In view of most recent developments, at the hearings in the Billings case before the members of the State Supreme Court, and from the report of the Wickersham Commission, it is made obvious and plain that complete and full vindication and pardons for these two men are not likely to be had under our law and pardoning procedure as now constituted and circumscribed, and that therefore it will be necessary to start and conduct a general movement to make the necessary changes in the laws of California affecting these and similar cases; and

"WHEREAS, Notwithstanding all the confusion, mistakes and wrongs endured in connection with these cases, there appears, nevertheless, a grave duty on the part of all Californians, irrespective of political economic or social conditions or creed, to do all within their power to render full justice to these men; therefore, be it

"RESOLVED, First, That we reiterate our belief in the innocence of Thomas J. Mooney and Warren K. Billings of the crime for which they have been convicted and suffered imprisonment.

"Second, That we shall continue by all honorable and lawful means to secure their vindication and restoration to liberty, and hereby renew our application to the Governor of California for an immediate and unconditional pardon of Thomas J. Mooney.

"Third, That we shall support and endeavor to have enacted such changes in the criminal law and procedure of this state, including the administration of pardons, as will remedy the defects and omissions brought to light through the circumstances and revelations of these cases.

"Fourth, That we deem the Executive Council of the California State Federation of Labor to be the properly qualified representatives of the organized labor movement of California to carry out the intent and purposes of this resolution.

"Fifth, That to prevent indiscriminate appeals and collection of funds from labor unions of California for the carrying out of the intent and purposes of this resolution, which are contained in the preceding four resolves, we recommend that every such financial appeal first receive the sanction of the Executive Council of the California State Federation of Labor"; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in its 51st Annual Convention, that the President and Secretary be instructed to communicate with all national and international unions, state federations of labor, and central labor bodies, advising them that no appeal for funds on behalf of the Mooney-Billings cases receive any consideration unless such appeal bears the approval of the California State Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

#### Advocating Exercise of Constitutional Rights Denied by Injunctions Issued in Labor Disputes

Resolution No. 61—By Delegate J. W. Buzzell, Los Angeles, Calif., Central Labor Union.

WHEREAS, The continued use of the injunction in labor disputes has developed an industrial government by injunction that has been extended even to the activities and funds of the trade union movement of the United States, until the rights of the workers to act in concert for their mutual protection and advancement is practically destroyed; and

WHEREAS, Practically every effort to prevent issuance of an injunction in the courts has met with defeat there; and

WHEREAS, Legislation that will confine the use of the injunction to the protection of tangible property and to entirely remove labor unions and their activities from the jurisdiction of the equity courts seems impossible of accomplishment; and

WHEREAS, Nowhere in the history of all the world do we find that any reform in the courts has come from the courts, nor reform in government from the government, but that all such reforms have come as result of protests by the oppressed; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the 51st Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, that it shall be its policy hence-

forth to exercise for its members all the rights guaranteed to the citizens of the United States by its constitution, to strike, to boycott, to band together and act in concert for their mutual aid and advancement; injunctions by the court to the contrary notwithstanding; be it further

**RESOLVED**, That the American Labor movement here declares that it will never spend one cent more of its funds in court opposing the issuance of injunctions, but instead it will use its funds to secure the release of any of its members should they be arrested for the violation of such an injunction.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

**Endorsing Legislation Providing for Shorter Workday for Seamen.**

Resolution No. 62 — By Delegates Andrew Furuseth and Victor A. Olander, International Seamen's Union of America.

WHEREAS, S. 306 of the last Congress, a bill to amend certain laws relating to seamen, and for other purposes, was improved and recommended for passage by a sub-committee of the Committee on Commerce by four out of five members of such sub-committee; and

WHEREAS, The main objection to the bill in the full committee was that it provided for three watches for the sailors in vessels of five hundred tons or more; and

WHEREAS, The vessels are either keeping two watches, which means 84 hours per week, twelve hours per day, seven days per week or else a system of calashi watches in which the vessels are running in the night with sometimes one man on the lookout and sometimes not and very often no man at the wheel, the steering being done by a steering machine, known to the seamen as "the iron mike" the rest of the crew sleeping at night and working all day; and

WHEREAS, Such manner of operating vessels disregards all safety rules and causes great losses paid for in premiums on insurance and therefore makes it more and more difficult to compete with vessels properly manned; and

WHEREAS, The bill is to be reintroduced and has previously been endorsed by the American Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That this bill be again urged upon Congress for immediate adoption in the interest of safety at sea and for the purpose of placing our vessels in a more competitive condition and for the further purpose of reducing the unemployment among seamen.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

**Protesting Labor Conditions Imposed on Boulder Dam Project**

Resolution No. 63—By Delegate H. C. Juneman, Central Labor Union, Clark County, Las Vegas, Nevada.

WHEREAS, We believe it is time that labor conditions existing at Boulder Dam should be known to the country at large as well as governmental officials who have this project in charge; and

WHEREAS, We know that conditions complained of by the employees of the Six Companies who have the contract of this project, are true conditions, and that the Six Companies have made denials and endeavored to create alibis and excuses, by telling the press and public that it was only dissatisfaction brought on by a few I. W. W.'s that caused the temporary tie-up, and they were trying to create public sentiment against the workers with the wrong impression; and

WHEREAS, It is our desire that the public should know and Governmental Department heads should be informed that the Six Companies have established a wage scale of their own far below the uniform wage scale throughout the entire Western country, paying plumbers \$6.00, carpenters \$5.60, painters \$5, and other crafts in proportion, thereby creating a natural condition of unrest among the workers; and

WHEREAS, We believe that a great injustice is being done to the working classes and the standard of living is being unreasonably lowered by permitting such a condition to exist over which our Government has supervision, more especially in this time of depression and unemployment; and

WHEREAS, We believe this contract was awarded the Six Companies on the prevailing wage scale of this community and they are taking advantage of present conditions of the great number of broke and hungry men to establish a wage scale which is entirely unreasonable. It is almost impossible for men to work in the outrageous heat that they encounter at Boulder Dam, especially at a mere pittance, barely enough to feed and clothe them without any consideration of a living standard; therefore, we feel that if the condition continues at Boulder Dam, it is going to react on other communities, which will likely affect the American organized labor movement as a whole; and,

WHEREAS, We have referred this to the State Labor Commissioner of Nevada, who replies that they have no jurisdiction over this Government project; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED,** That the Los Vegas Central Labor Council and affiliated organizations voice our protest against these conditions, and we appeal to the sense of justice and fair play among men to help labor hold its place and maintain standards of which we believe are essential to good citizenship and contentment; and, be it further

**RESOLVED,** By the American Federation of Labor assembled, that we authorize the Executive Council to petition Congress to refrain from voting further funds to carry on construction work on this project until such time as the Six Companies are willing to establish wage scales that will conform to the prevailing wage scales that have been established by the respective crafts.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

**To Petition the President of the United States to Create a Committee of Public Works**

Resolution No. 64.—By Delegates M. J. Collieran, J. J. Rooney, W. A. O'Keefe, J. H. Donlin, M. J. McDonough, Operative Plasterers' and Cement Finishers' International Association.

WHEREAS, The question of unemployment and how to cope with it is one of the major problems of this convention; and

WHEREAS, Consistently for the past twenty-eight years we have been visited by a depression every seven years; and

WHEREAS, In 1921, President Hoover, acting as Chairman of a Committee to study future unemployment appointed by the late President Harding, brought back twelve principles of a probable solution; and

WHEREAS, The sixth principle of the twelve proposed a long range planning Committee of Public Works;

**RESOLVED,** That the President of the American Federation of Labor, with the Presidents of the other Departments, call on the President of the United States and request that a long range planning Committee of Public Works be created so as to avert future unemployment.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

**Requesting Financial Assistance for Mooney Defense**

Resolution No. 65.—By Delegate Samuel E. Snyder, St. Louis, Mo., Central Trades and Labor Union.

WHEREAS, Thomas J. Mooney, a member in good standing of the International Molders' Union for twenty-nine

years, now serving a life sentence in San Quentin Prison in the State of California, has but one hope of regaining his full freedom and that is through a pardon; and

WHEREAS, The present situation in the Mooney and Billings cases is unparalleled in the court history of American Jurisprudence as all of the witnesses for the prosecution have either confessed to having committed perjury, or have been definitely exposed and wholly unworthy of belief; and

WHEREAS, Judge Griffin, the trial judge, has denounced the methods employed to convict Mooney as "one of the dirtiest jobs ever put over" saying, "I resent the fact that my court was used for such a contemptible piece of work," a special commission of inquiry, appointed by President Wilson in 1918 to investigate the case, reported that Mooney's conviction was obtained on perjured testimony; Jury Foreman Mc-Nevin and every living member of the jury since the trial have signed appeals for a pardon based upon their firm belief in Mooney's innocence; the Wickersham report has stated "such a state of law that keeps innocent men in prison is shocking to one's sense of justice"; and

WHEREAS, The Governor of the State of California has the power and authority to open the gates of San Quentin Prison and restore to full liberty our brother unionist, Tom Mooney; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED,** That the American Federation of Labor brand as a public disgrace the continued imprisonment of our brother, Tom Mooney, and demand in the name of justice and liberty that this innocent man be granted a full and unconditional pardon; and be it further

**RESOLVED,** That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled in Vancouver, B. C., this 5th day of October, 1931, do hereby petition the Hon. James Rolph, Jr., Governor of the State of California, to immediately grant Tom Mooney a full and unconditional pardon; and that he initiate measures to amend the law and hereby bring about a pardon for Warren K. Billings; and be it further

**RESOLVED,** That this convention of the American Federation of Labor, in order to assist materially in defraying legal expenses and preparing appeal for pardon of Mooney, hereby donate the sum of One Thousand Dollars, the same to be forwarded to the Tom Mooney Molders' Defense Committee, P. O. Box 1475, San Francisco, California; and be it further

**RESOLVED,** That we send copies of this resolution to the American Federation of Labor Convention, October 5, 1931.

Endorsed by the International Molders' Conference Board of St. Louis and Vicinity, International Molders' Locals No. 10 and No. 59, and the Metal Trades Council of St. Louis and Vicinity.

(Signed)

CHAS. BLOME, Pres. No. 59.  
WM. STEPHENSON, Pres. No. 10.

RESOLVED, That the Central Trades and Labor Union of St. Louis, Missouri, in regular meeting assembled August 9, 1931, endorse this resolution and send copies of same to the American Federation of Labor convention which meets in Vancouver, B. C., October 5, 1931.

(The resolution was endorsed.)

(Signed)

CHAS. BLOME,  
CHAS. PETSCH,  
JOE MORAN,  
MARTIN A. DILLMON,  
E. EBENHOH.

Delegates, C.T.L.U.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

#### **Proposing Amendment to Liberalize United States Compensation Law**

Resolution No. 66—By Delegates J. A. Franklin, William R. Walter, J. N. Davis, Harry Nacey, International Brotherhood of Boilermakers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America.

WHEREAS, The United States Compensation Law as interpreted by the Compensation Commission, does not allow or provide for loss of compensation through inability to continue trade or rating caused by injury or disease in following such trade or rating and which necessitates change of employment at a loss of earnings; and

WHEREAS, The commission's interpretations do not permit compensation for rehabilitation when change of vocation is found necessary to preserve health and life; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention goes on record and instructs its officers to urge upon Congress the amendment of the U. S. Compensation Law to provide compensation where physical condition necessitates change of employment at lesser wages, so that no loss of earnings will occur through such change; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the amendment provide further for compensation where rehabilitation is found necessary, and that such rehabilitation be provided.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

#### **Proposing Designating Special Day to Establish Six-hour Day and Five-day Week**

Resolution No. 67—By Delegate James D. Graham, Montana State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, A situation exists in this country which demands immediate action for the relief and employment of several millions of idle workers; and

WHEREAS, A large portion of such unemployed were idle even during the years of prosperity, by being displaced by modern machinery, and this vast number of unemployed was a contributing factor in bringing on the present depression, as no nation can long remain prosperous with millions of its citizens unemployed; and

WHEREAS, Before we can enjoy prosperity and industrial stability, permanent employment must be provided for the workers, and the only way this can be accomplished is by shortening the working time; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, go on record as favoring a six-hour day and a five-day week, and that we use every means in our power to establish such a system of shorter working time in all industries throughout the United States and Canada; and be it further

RESOLVED, That a certain day and date, be designated as "Proclamation Day" and that upon said day all unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor shall proclaim and start on a shorter working time.

Referred to Committee on Shorter Workday.

#### **Protesting Reductions in Rates of Pay for Gas Burners in Navy Yards**

Resolution No. 68—By Delegates J. A. Franklin, William E. Walter, J. N. Davis, Harry Nacey, International Brotherhood of Boilermakers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America.

WHEREAS, The Secretary of the Navy, under date of September 26th, 1930, amended the schedule of wages for the calendar year 1930, by the addition of the ratings of operator, gas plant and gas cutter or burner, with rates of pay ten cents per hour below the established rate in said schedule of wages; and

WHEREAS, The Secretary of the Navy had previously issued an order continuing the schedule of wages for the year 1931 and this order creating these new ratings has had the effect of reducing the wages paid for such work, and which was not contemplated

by the agreement to continue the 1930 schedule of wages for the year 1931; and

WHEREAS, This character of work of burning metal is severe and destructive to the physical condition of those engaged in it for periods of time; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention, goes on record and instructs its officers to protest the continuation of these rates as a violation of the agreement entered into with the President of the United States as of November, 1929, and to insist upon the restoration of the previous or old rates for this work.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

#### Parent-Teacher Movement

Resolution No. 69—By Delegate Florence Curtis Hanson, American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, The traditional interest of the Labor movement of the United States in the public school system is well known, dating from those first public demands in the halls of Trade Unionism for free public schools, and continuing to the present day in an unbroken record of loyal and efficient support; and

WHEREAS, There has been developed in every section of our country parent-teachers' associations formed for the purpose of bringing about a better understanding between parents and teachers and fuller co-operation between them in the training of our children; and

WHEREAS, The activities of these organizations are extending into many fields, embracing some that should compel the serious attention of organized labor; and

WHEREAS, The children of working people comprise the great majority of all pupils in our public schools; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor call to the attention of organized labor the importance of the Parent-Teacher Movement, and its relation to the maintenance of those ideals which American workers regard as sacred; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor urge on its members that they bring this matter before local labor bodies urging on such members as are parents of public school children that they participate in the activities of the Parent-Teachers' Association of their communities to the end that this influence upon the training of the children of America shall be in furtherance of the ideals which they as Trade Unionists are pledged to sustain.

Referred to Committee on Education.

#### Opposing Military Training in Public Schools

Resolution No. 70—By Delegates Florence Curtis Hanson, American Federation of Teachers, and Leo E. George, National Federation of Post Office Clerks.

WHEREAS, The proposal to establish military training under the Reserve Officers' Training Corps in the public schools, has been actively promoted in recent years, though strongly opposed by educators generally, since they are not in favor of placing in the schools in times of peace a burden which can be carried only by altering accepted ideals and procedures of education; and

WHEREAS, The compulsory character of military procedures is contrary to an educational environment, where flexibility of mind and initiative on the part of children are prime factors in progressive education; and

WHEREAS, Although military preparedness is proclaimed as the objective of military training in the high schools, that objective has little chance of being attained in the short time available to school children, who should have more free time for healthful recreation and not less; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor record its disapproval of military training in the public schools; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor give its fullest support to the local central bodies and state federations of labor in their efforts to oppose the introduction of military training into the schools.

Referred to Committee on Education.

#### Urging Maintenance of Prevailing Wage Scales for Relief Work.

Resolution No. 71—By Delegate James A. Duncan, Central Labor Council of Seattle, Wash.

WHEREAS, The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, undoubtedly reflecting the sentiment of the membership, has taken a most commendable position against wage reduction policies, whether practiced by public or by private employers, particularly during this grave period of unemployment; and

WHEREAS, Certain committees or commissions appointed by governmental authorities to give work to the unemployed, have established policies of paying as low as \$1.50 a day for work which would normally command a minimum wage of from \$4.50 to \$5.00, and this on the plea that only very limited

amounts could be spent to provide relief; and

WHEREAS, Such public policies open the way to private employers to adopt similar wage scales on the plea that they too are providing relief work, thus endangering the standards of living built up through the efforts and sacrifices of organized labor over a long period of time; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, that we register an emphatic protest against such unjust practices, and call upon our membership wherever such policies are invoked, to protest vigorously and to use every honorable means within their power to have, as nearly as possible, the going scale of wages for like work, paid for all relief work, and the amount of relief given to each bread-winner governed by the number of days he can be employed at the going scale of wages for such work, rather than employing him for a longer period at a reduced scale, to the distinct detriment of both the unemployed and the employed.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

#### Unemployment Insurance

Resolution No. 72 — By Delegate James A. Duncan, Central Labor Council, Seattle, Washington.

WHEREAS, The dreaded plague of unemployment which visits our nation at rapidly recurring intervals, driving its victims to distraction and often to self-destruction, is a condition for which labor is in no way responsible; and

WHEREAS, In the last analysis, the governing head of our national family must assume responsibility for the well-being of that family; now therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the Fifty-first Convention of the American Federation of Labor, that we record ourselves as favoring a system of federal unemployment insurance, and direct the Executive Council to work out a program calculated to conserve the best interests of labor, and to distribute the cost in accordance with the dictates of justice.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

#### Child Labor Amendment

Resolution No. 73 — By Delegate James A. Duncan, Central Labor Council, Seattle, Washington.

WHEREAS, The release of a million and a half children under sixteen years of age, from industry would probably result in placing at least one million adults to work in the United States, which result would have a most whole-

some effect upon the present unparalleled unemployment situation and redound to the lasting benefit of the child life and future citizenry of the United States; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the Fifty-first Convention of the American Federation of Labor, that we commend the Executive Council for its statement, on pages 104 to 105 of its report, regarding the Child Labor Amendment; and further, be it

RESOLVED, That in an effort to make this declaration effective, we authorize and direct the officers of our Federation to, at the earliest possible date, issue a strong and urgent appeal to state federations, city central bodies, and local unions to give especial and immediate attention to the matter of securing ratification of the Child Labor Amendment by those states which have not already acted favorably, even going to the extent of developing public sentiment for special sessions of legislatures if possible, in states where the legislatures will not be meeting, at least, by an early date in 1932.

Referred to Committee on Education.

#### Postal Five-day Week

Resolution No. 74—By Delegates Leo E. George, Thos. F. Flaherty, Olie Allen, Robert Daney, Roy McIntosh of the National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Edward J. Gainor, M. T. Finnan, Charles D. Duffy, John T. Mugavin, Luther E. Swartz of the National Association of Letter Carriers; William M. Collins, Henry W. Strickland of the Railway Mail Association.

WHEREAS, The last Congress of the United States in response to the urgings of the organized postal workers and the American Federation of Labor enacted legislation, by practically a unanimous vote, establishing a five and a half day work week for the larger groups employed in the postal service; and

WHEREAS, While this legislation has been most beneficial in creating additional work opportunities for substitute postal employes, as well as granting a modest measure of earned leisure to nearly two hundred thousand postal employes, whose productivity has increased remarkably in recent years, it is now opportune to seek further employment stabilization by the establishment of a five-day work week in the postal service; and

WHEREAS, The postal service is the largest civil establishment of our government and, therefore, important economic changes in its employment policies are certain to have a profound effect on private employment; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That this Fifty-First Convention of the American Federation of Labor endorse the early establishment of the five-day work week in the postal service without any reduction in present pay rates, as an example to private employers, as opening the way for employment opportunities for substitute employes—many of whom are now without employment—and, furthermore, as a matter of sound economics in keeping with present compelling social needs; and be it further

**RESOLVED**, That the Executive Council is hereby instructed to give every assistance to the affiliated postal organizations in placing the postal system on a five-day work week basis, with no curtailment in essential service to the public.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

#### **Improved Government Employment Standards.**

Resolution No. 75—By Delegates Leo E. George, Thos. F. Flaherty, Olie Allen, Robert Daney, Roy McIntosh of the National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Edward J. Gainor, M. T. Finnan, Charles D. Duffy, John T. Mugavin, Luther E. Swartz of the National Association of Letter Carriers; William M. Collins, Henry W. Strickland of the Railway Mail Association; Arthur O. Wharton, Charles W. Fry, R. A. Henning, Daniel P. Haggerty of the International Association of Machinists; C. L. Rosemund of the International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and Draftsmen's Unions; James Windsor of the International Plate Printers, Die Stammers and Engravers' Union of North America.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor at successive conventions has adopted resolutions favorable to improved working conditions in government employment, relating particularly to the elimination of harmful, objectionable, speed-up practices; the liberalization of sick and vacation leaves; the improvement in the retirement law; the reduction of night work; the establishment of a civil service employes' court of appeals; the improvement of postal substitute employes' and village letter carriers' working and wage conditions; the establishment of adequate wage standards and shorter working schedules and kindred betterments; and,

WHEREAS, Various bills covering these objectives of the affiliated groups of government employes will be introduced for action by the Seventy-second Congress, which will meet next December; and,

WHEREAS, These measures will conform to the program and urgings of the American Federation of Labor to the effect that the government establish and maintain employment standards comparable to those existing in the more advanced establishments in private industry; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That this Fifty-first Convention of the American Federation of Labor reaffirms its position in favor of higher government employment standards and instructs the Executive Council to continue its co-operation with the affiliated organizations of government employes in furtherance of the remedial legislative objectives herein mentioned and those of similar purport that are in accord with the program and principles of the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

#### **Opposing Finger Printing for Government Employment.**

Resolution No. 76—By Delegates Leo E. George, Thos. F. Flaherty, Olie Allen, Robert Daney, Roy McIntosh of the National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Edward J. Gainor, M. T. Finnan, Charles D. Duffy, John T. Mugavin, Luther E. Swartz of the National Association of Letter Carriers; William M. Collins, Henry W. Strickland of the Railway Mail Association; C. L. Rosemund of the International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and Draftsmen's Unions.

WHEREAS, The United States Civil Service Commission on July 1, 1931, established a rule requiring all applicants for positions under the classified civil service to be finger-printed; and at the same time stated that the Commission reserve the right to finger-print any individual or group of individuals in the classified service if "some special reason" arose; and

WHEREAS, The practice of finger-printing is associated with criminals and those charged with felonies and its application to government workers is highly objectionable; and upright, law-abiding citizens should not be subjected to such humiliating and degrading regulations; and

WHEREAS, Organized labor is strongly opposed to finger-printing in any scheme of employment either in private or public industry and successfully fought an attempt to inaugurate this practice when William J. Burns was associated with the Department of Justice while Harry M. Daugherty was Attorney-General; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That this convention instruct the Executive Council to co-operate with affiliated organizations of government employes in opposing the introduction of finger-printing by the government as a requirement for employment and that the Executive Council make known to the proper governmental authorities and, if necessary, to the Congress, the action of the convention in this matter.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

**Proposing Effort to Have United States Station Unofficial Observers in the International Labor Office at Geneva.**

Resolution No. 77—By Delegate William P. Clarke of the American Flint Glass Workers' Union of North America.

**RESOLVED**, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be authorized to enter into negotiations with President Hoover and such other representatives of our government as may be necessary to the end that the government of the United States may have unofficial observers stationed in the International Labor Office at Geneva.

Referred to Committee on International Labor Relations.

**Columbia Basin Irrigation Project.**

Resolution No. 78—By Delegates James A. Taylor, Washington State Federation of Labor, and C. M. Rynerson, Oregon State Federation of Labor.

**WHEREAS**, The American Federation of Labor has been familiar with the details of the Columbia Basin Irrigation Project in the State of Washington, U. S. A., since its inception in the year 1918; and

**WHEREAS**, The President of this organization, and its other officers, have repeatedly given their support to that great development, as being of interest to labor throughout the continent; and

**WHEREAS**, Engineers of the Federal Government have within a few weeks past reported the Columbia Basin Irrigation Project to be economically feasible; and

**WHEREAS**, The construction of said project will most admirably fit into any national plan for the employment of thousands of idle citizens, embracing both common and skilled labor, in addition to using huge quantities of materials produced in mines, mills and factories, as well as stabilizing business and furnishing splendid opportunity for laboring men to acquire homes where their children may be reared in ideal surroundings; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention at Vancouver, B. C., on this Sixth day of October, A. D., 1931, does urge the Congress of the United States to adopt the Columbia Basin as a Federal Irrigation Project, and to provide funds for its immediate construction, thus aiding to solve the unemployment problem, which problem is of equal importance to that of farm surpluses.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

**Favoring Independence for the Philippine Islands**

Resolution No. 79 — By Delegates James A. Taylor of the Washington State Federation of Labor, and C. M. Rynerson of the Oregon State Federation of Labor.

**WHEREAS**, At the time of the acquisition of the Philippine Islands by our government pledges were made by governmental authorities that the control of the Philippine Islands was to be temporary; and

**WHEREAS**, The Filipinos cannot be assimilated with our people without creating a mongrel race; and

**WHEREAS**, The United States Supreme Court has held them to be Asiatics and ineligible to citizenship; and

**WHEREAS**, The overwhelming sentiment of the Filipinos is for their independence, and we believe in the self-determination of peoples; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, By the Fifty-first Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor that we insist that the pledges made to the Filipinos and the American people be now redeemed by granting complete independence to the Filipinos; and be it further

**RESOLVED**, That the coming session of Congress be urged to take action as stated herein.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

**Supplies Used in Departments of U. S. Government Should Be Made in America Under Proper Labor Standards.**

Resolution No. 80—By Delegates James A. Taylor of the Washington State Federation of Labor, and C. M. Rynerson of the Oregon State Federation of Labor.

**WHEREAS**, The laws governing purchase of supplies for Federal departments of government virtually compel the government to let contracts to the lowest bidders; and

WHEREAS, Under these conditions low wage employers often secure such contracts, thereby lowering our work and living standards; and

WHEREAS, Under the present system of letting contracts for government supplies, said supplies are often produced abroad and sold by citizens of other nations to our government, adding to our own unemployment problem; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention go on record as being opposed to such laws and practices; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That we work to the end that the supplies needed in our departments of government be produced in America under conditions that will give our workmen the opportunity to receive high wages and uphold the standards of life and living to which the American Federation of Labor stands committed.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

**Peter J. Brady**

Resolution No. 81—By Delegates Matthew Woll and E. J. Volz, International Photo-Engravers' Union; Samuel E. Snyder, delegate St. Louis Central Labor Union.

WHEREAS, The sudden death of Peter Brady has taken from the American labor movement a loyal trade unionist whose personality and engaging manner had endeared him to hosts of friends all over our country both in high positions and among those who faithfully while inconspicuously performed the necessary work of the world; and

WHEREAS, The life and achievements of Peter Brady in a very definite way typifies the opportunities which this country offers to all diligent and resourceful individuals. Coming to this country through the portals of Castle Garden he was early thrown upon his own resources. As a newsboy he learned much of human nature and early realized the value of education for further achievement. By his own efforts he secured training in the craft that most appealed to his capacities—photo-engraving—and as a skilled craftsman advanced in his craft. His gift for friendship and his sincere interest in mankind identified him with the union of his craft and opened for him a field of wider usefulness, both in the political and the business fields; and

WHEREAS, Throughout his constantly developing career and wider opportunities Peter Brady consistently endeavored to advance the cause of trade unionism; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor express our appreciation of the lovable qualities and sterling character of our friend and fellow worker, Peter Brady, and our greater sorrow for the catastrophe that removed him from our midst. His generous and lovable qualities will be treasured in our memories for years to come. We express our appreciation of his constructive services to the trade union movement. We pay our tribute to him as one who loved his fellow men.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

**Proposing Basis of Agreement to Establish Proper Working Standards in the Building of Hoover Dam.**

Resolution No. 82—By Delegate C. M. Rynerson, Oregon State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The employment policies of Six Companies, Inc., in the building of Hoover Dam, formerly known as Boulder Dam, are such as to merit the condemnation of the public in that they indicate an intention to take advantage of the unemployment situation to exploit the workers to increase the profits of the contractors; and

WHEREAS, It is the duty of the Federal Government to do all in its power to contribute to the maintenance of good employment conditions; and

WHEREAS, Insistence of the Federal Government that employment policies at the Hoover Dam operation be in conformity with the practices that will help rather than aggravate conditions cannot be ignored by the contractors; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we call on the Federal Department of Labor to make a thorough investigation of the situation at Hoover Dam, and that the contractors be ordered to cease their policy of low wages and other practices that are inimical to the public good; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the officials of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to use their best efforts to secure an agreement as to wages, hours and working conditions on the Hoover Dam and appurtenant works as follows:

"When disputes arise concerning wages, hours or conditions of labor, in the construction of Hoover Dam and appurtenant works, adjustment of such dispute shall be subjected to an adjustment board of three persons, hereinafter called 'the board,' to be appointed by the United States Department of Interior, one to represent the contractor, or the directing power in charge of construction, one to represent the public and nominated by the President of the

United States, and one to represent labor and nominated by the President of the American Federation of Labor.

"When matters concerning wages or hours or conditions applying to this project are before the board, it shall invite a person representing and designated by the contractor or power in charge of construction, and also a person representing or selected by the majority of workers in the particular craft or crafts directly interested in the disputed matters, both of said representatives to sit with voting power as associate members of said board in connection with such matter.

"At the base of operation, the contractor or power in charge of construction, and the representatives of international labor organizations as have members engaged on the project, and as are selected by the labor member of the board, shall be called upon, under conditions to be laid down by it, to agree upon a person who shall act under the direction of the board as an examiner.

"If the board does not succeed in having an examiner so selected, then the board shall by unanimous action select a person for such position. The examiner shall be subject to removal by the board at any time by unanimous vote. It shall be the duty of the examiner to report promptly to the board any dispute with reference to wages, hours or conditions of labor which he is unable to adjust satisfactorily to the principals concerned; but the board will take cognizance of such dispute when information concerning it comes from any source whatsoever. Before the examiner shall refer such dispute to the board, he shall confer with local spokesman or representatives of such crafts as are involved in the dispute, or with such authorized heads or any local labor organization interested therein as may be designated by the labor member of the board, or on their request, with the national head or heads of such organization or organizations, or his or their duly authorized representative or representatives. If the examiner does not succeed in bringing about such adjustment, he shall in his report to the board, recommend terms of adjustment. The board after due consideration and such investigation as may seem necessary, shall decide the question at issue.

"As basic standards with reference to place of construction, the board shall use such scales of wages, hours and conditions as were in force in the nearest metropolitan city, March 10, 1931, and consideration shall be given by the board to any circumstances whatever arising after such wages, hours or conditions were established, and which may seem to call for changes in wages, hours or conditions. The board shall keep itself informed as to

the cost of living, and a comparison between progressive periods of time. The decisions of the board shall, under proper conditions, be retroactive, in which case accounting, as may be proper shall be made in accordance with the directions of the board. The decisions of the board will insofar as this memorandum may be capable of achieving such result, be final and binding on all parties; but at any time after six months have elapsed following such ratified agreement or any such final decision by the board on any question as to wages, hours or conditions, such questions may be reopened upon the request of the craft or crafts affected by such agreement or decision."

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

#### **Proposing Special Committee to Consider Interests of Labor Press**

Resolution No. 83—By Delegate I. M. Ornburn, Cigar Makers' International Union.

WHEREAS, The weekly labor press is today an indispensable part of the organized labor movement, without which there cannot be a proper distribution of information or a proper presentation of the ideals and principles of the trade union movement; and

WHEREAS, The industrial depression has already made serious inroads upon the weekly labor press and promises to make still further inroads, due to the fact that great portions of local movements are impoverished through unemployment; and

WHEREAS, It will be a calamity to the trade union movement and to human progress if a weakening of this vital fighting arm of our movement is permitted to suffer in this crisis; and

WHEREAS, The strength of the weekly labor press is today more than ever a vital concern of our whole movement and by no means merely the concern of those individuals and local bodies that have been courageous enough to launch such publications; be it, therefore

RESOLVED, That the President of the American Federation of Labor is hereby directed to appoint a special committee of five, of which he shall be a member, to study the situation surrounding the weekly labor press and news services and to make recommendations to the Executive Council, these recommendations to be placed before the Executive Council prior to its winter quarterly meeting; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be authorized to give effect to the recommendations of the special committee so that the labor press may be strengthened.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

**Proposing City Central Bodies Establish Committees to Work for Registration of Voters**

Resolution No. 84—By Delegate I. M. Ornburn of the Cigar Makers' International Union of America.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has, throughout its history, stood for the fullest development of democratic government and for the participation of all wage earners in the political life of the nation, exercising the franchise fully and fulfilling all of the duties and obligations of citizenship; and

WHEREAS, In the coming elections issues of paramount interest and importance to wage earners will be before the electorate for consideration and decision, with the necessity of defeating those who have proven false to their trust and of electing to office those whose records have been records of faithful and intelligent service in response to the public will; be it, therefore,

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in annual convention in Vancouver, that we call upon all National and International Unions, all state federations, city central bodies, building trades councils, printing trades councils, union label leagues, and all other affiliated bodies, including all committees and groups within the trade union movement working under the direction of the Federation or its Executive Council, and all friendly organizations and movements, to rally this year in a great effort to bring about registration of all qualified voters and the qualification of all who are eligible to become qualified voters, having in mind the fact that reliable estimates show that fully fifteen million Americans are eligible to become qualified voters and have failed thus far so to qualify; and be it further

RESOLVED, That a particular effort be put forward to secure registration of prospective voters who have just attained to voting age, to the end that these young citizens may at the first opportunity begin a proper discharge of the first duty of citizenship; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That we call upon all city central bodies to take the lead in establishing committees in all cities whose duty shall be the registration of non-registered voters, these committees to be composed only of those who will devote to this all-important task the necessary time and effort, and that all local unions be asked to co-operate with such committees, to the end that within the radius covered by every city central body there shall be a thoroughly organized effort to secure registration of those who are or can become eligible to vote; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That every city central body chartered by the American Feder-

ation of Labor be required to report within thirty days from the adoption of this resolution the name of the secretary and chairman of the citizenship committees appointed pursuant to these resolutions and that monthly reports of work done be rendered monthly thereafter, upon blanks to be provided by the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor, who shall see to it that such reports are filed at the specified times; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor shall present a summary of these reports to each succeeding meeting of the Executive Council, which shall thereupon make such reports available to the press and the public.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

**Bridge and Structural Iron Workers—Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers**

Resolution No. 85—By Delegates P. J. Morrin, Edward Ryan, W. F. Bauers, George McTague of the International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers.

WHEREAS, The International Brotherhood of Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers of the United States and Canada have taken men into their local union at Thorold, Ontario, Canada, who properly come under the jurisdiction of the International Association of Bridge, Structural and Ornamental Iron Workers; and

WHEREAS, The International Association of Bridge, Structural and Ornamental Iron Workers have protested this action to President John P. Burke of the Brotherhood of Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers of the United States and Canada without results; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Fifty-first Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor instruct the International Officials of the Brotherhood of Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers of the United States and Canada to hold a conference with officials of the International Association of Bridge, Structural and Ornamental Iron Workers, at a time and place mutually agreed upon for the purpose of amicably adjusting this dispute.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

**Promotion of Public Works for Relief of Unemployment**

Resolution No. 86—By Delegate R. M. Burr of the Order of Railroad Telegraphers.

WHEREAS, The great increase in our national wealth during recent years has

been created by the workers of our country through ever-increasing production in industry and the financial capitalization of our natural resources inflated to many times the amount of actual investments; and

WHEREAS, These inflations of value and bonded indebtedness by private corporations have been brought out by the Federal Trade Commission's investigations sufficiently to cause shame and disgrace to honorable citizens resulting in exorbitant burdens being placed upon users of water, electricity and gas in the U. S.; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we recommend and urge the prompt and progressive extension of already existing public works, municipal, state and federal projects which are revenue producing, such as municipal water works, electric light and power plants, gas works; and in the federal field such projects as the great public developments of hydro-electric power, nitrate plants, etc., at Muscle Shoals, the development of the great Boulder Canyon project for municipalities, similar developments upon the St. Lawrence River, the Columbia River, the great revenue producing hydro-electric projects in connection with the development of flood control we have the most constructive and promising means of affording an ever-increasing employment for the unemployed without burdening those who are still employed with additional taxation, since projects of this kind will not only pay for themselves, return every dollar of capital invested in them by municipalities, the state and the federal government but, as has been many times demonstrated, bring a safe margin of surplus earnings in addition.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

#### **Hod Carriers Request Investigation of Membership of Federal Labor Unions**

Resolution No. 87—By Delegates J. V. Moreschi, J. B. Etchison, J. Marshall, H. Rivers, C. E. Berg, A. C. D'Andrea, representing the International Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union of America.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has, for the purpose of promoting organization, authorized and empowered its Executive Council to issue charters to Federal Unions and to determine the jurisdiction of such Federal Unions, so as to prevent conflict with National and International Unions and their local unions; and

WHEREAS, The dues of many such Federal Unions are lower than the dues of most National and International Unions; and

WHEREAS, Some members of National and International unions are seeking membership in, and are being

accepted into membership by some Federal unions, only to withdraw or drop out of their proper trade organization; and

WHEREAS, This is in direct conflict with the laws and policy of the American Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By this Convention that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor direct each American Federation of Labor organizer to investigate the membership of each Federal union chartered by this Federation and order all such Federal unions to transfer to the respective National or International unions all members that should belong therein.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

#### **Hod Carriers Appeal From Decision of Executive Council Awarding Jurisdiction Over Terrazzo Workers' Helpers to Marble Workers**

Resolution No. 88—By Delegates J. V. Moreschi, J. B. Etchison, J. Marshall, H. Rivers, C. E. Berg, A. C. D'Andrea, representing the International Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union of America.

WHEREAS, The International Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union of America was granted by the American Federation of Labor in 1903, jurisdiction on "Tending to Masons, mixing and handling of all material used by masons, mixing and conveying of concrete mixtures"; and

WHEREAS, "The Terrazzo Masons" are members of the B. M. & P. International Union of America, and the Tenders to all masons is the work of the members of this International Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union of America; and

WHEREAS, The members of the I. H. C. B. & C. L. U. of A. have maintained jurisdiction over this class of work since receiving the Charter; and

WHEREAS, The members of the Marble, Slate and Stone Polishers, Rubbers and Sawyers, Tile and Marble Setters' Helpers, International Association have been for a number of years, and are now, infringing on the jurisdiction of this International Union; and

WHEREAS, The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor at its meeting held May 8th to 14th, 1931, has conceded jurisdiction of the work of "Terrazzo Masons, Laborers or Helpers," to the "Marble Workers," allowing to change its name and title to include "Terrazzo Workers' Helpers"; and

WHEREAS, The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor has

violated the constitution of the American Federation of Labor, Art. IX, Sec. 11, which reads as follows: ". . . no affiliated International or Local Union shall be permitted to change its title or name, if any trespass is made thereby on the jurisdiction of an affiliated organization, without having first obtained the consent and approval of a Convention of the American Federation of Labor . . . ."

THEREFORE, The International Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union of America appeals from the action of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor in their decision of May 8th to 14th, 1931; and

PETITIONS the Fifty-first Convention of the American Federation of Labor to sustain its laws and protect the jurisdictional rights granted by the American Federation of Labor to this international since 1903, by annulling the decision of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, above referred to.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

#### Machinists vs. Carpenters

Resolution No. 89—By Delegates A. O. Wharton, Daniel Haggerty, Chas. W. Fry, R. A. Henning of the International Association of Machinists.

WHEREAS, The International Association of Machinists as such and by decisions of the Building Trades Department Convention, Seattle, 1913, and numerous decisions by conventions of the American Federation of Labor, has jurisdiction over the building, assembling, erecting, dismantling and repairing of machinery in machine shops, buildings, factories, or elsewhere, where machinery may be used; and

WHEREAS, The United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners have continued to use every means at their command to place members of their organization on this work and have persistently refused to recognize or in any manner respect the decisions of the A. F. of L., the highest recognized authority on this subject in the American Labor movement; and

WHEREAS, Numerous conferences have been held by the officers of the two organizations over a period of years and no agreement having been reached; and

WHEREAS, The two International Presidents during the 1930 Boston convention of the A. F. of L. agreed to appoint a Joint Commission for the purpose of conducting a joint investigation in various cities and report their joint findings and submit their joint recom-

mendations to their respective International Presidents, said findings and recommendations to be used as a basis for further conference and, if possible, agreement between the two organizations. The Joint Commission's report and recommendations, excepting the verbatim minutes of the investigations conducted by them in Chicago, Ill., dated November 25, 1930, St. Louis, Mo., dated December 2, 1930, and New York City, dated January 7, 1931, are as follows:

"Mr. William L. Hutcheson,  
General President of the United  
Brotherhood of Carpenters and  
Joiners of America.

Mr. Arthur O. Wharton,  
General President of International  
Association of Machinists.

Dear Sirs and Brothers:

We, the undersigned Commission, appointed by you to make a survey of the work of installing and erecting of machinery in industrial and other plants and to endeavor to find a basis or ground for an agreement or understanding between the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America and the International Association of Machinists, beg leave to report as follows:

The Joint Committee or Commission have agreed:

1. That better than fifty per cent. of this work is being done by others, not members of either organization, on account of no agreement or understanding being reached between the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America and the International Association of Machinists.
2. That fully seventy-five per cent. of the maintenance of this work is being performed by others than members of either organization.
3. That there is no line of demarcation between the installing and erecting of machinery and other mechanical devices where the work could be divided between the Millwright of the Brotherhood of Carpenters and the Erecting Machinists.
4. That it is impracticable to do this work with a mixed membership of millwrights and machinists.
5. We agree that all mechanics installing, erecting and maintaining mechanical devices should be members of one International Organization.
6. We cannot agree as to which organization should have complete and absolute control of the militant and economic responsibility of the erecting and maintaining of all mechanical devices.
7. We find some members of both organizations who have performed this class of work for more than twenty years.
8. We find members of both organizations who do not want to change their

membership from their present organization because if they could not find work at erecting and installing mechanical devices, they could not follow other branches of their trades.

9. We find others who do not want to change from one organization to another because of the financial benefits they have been paying for during the past years.

10. We recommend that the two International Presidents consider the following plan, to wit:

A. That one organization be given complete and absolute control of the militant and economic responsibility of all mechanical devices, and the members employed thereon.

B. That all men be transferred who are following this line of work to said International Organization, and on payment of dues of that Organization be given credit for the number of years of membership he had in the international organization he transferred from and said member shall be entitled to all rights and benefits of the organization he transferred to, as if he had always been a continuous member of that Organization.

C. That the members who had been working at the installing of machinery and other mechanical devices and who desire to continue working at the same must transfer his membership to the organization having control; he shall be admitted to said Organization without payment of initiation fee, by being certified to by letter bearing the official seal of the organization he is now a member of. The aforesaid member, if he so desires, may continue his membership in his present organization so that he may be entitled to the benefits of same, and work at the trade that that organization has jurisdiction of.

(Signed)

T. M. GUERIN,  
H. MORHEIM,  
JOHN FLYNN,  
HARLEY F. NICKERSON,  
CHAS. W. FRY,  
WM. J. FITZMAURICE.

Signatures of Members of Commission;" and

WHEREAS, The International Presidents have held conferences, with the Commission's report before them, and were unable to reach an agreement and it being apparent that no agreement will be possible so long as the officers of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners maintain the policy and attitude as shown by the records in this case over a period of some eighteen years; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the President and Executive Council be and are hereby directed to prepare and distribute, with-

in sixty days, an official circular which shall include therein Resolution No. 24, adopted by the Building Trades Department Convention, Seattle, 1913; the recommendation of the committee, the roll call vote verbatim and notice of appeal by Delegate Kirby reading:

"Resolution No. 24—By Machinists' Delegation:

In view of the fact that the International Association of Machinists claims jurisdiction over the building, assembling, erecting, dismantling and repairing of machinery in machine shops, buildings, factories or elsewhere, where machinery may be used; and

WHEREAS, This jurisdiction has been conceded by the American Federation of Labor and Building Trades Department; and

WHEREAS, We now find the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners claiming and attempting to do this work in some localities; and

WHEREAS, The United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners is fundamentally a craft composed of men skilled in the erecting, forming and assembling of wood material; and

WHEREAS, The United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners have never been granted jurisdiction by either the American Federation of Labor or the Building Trades Department over the making, repairing, erecting, assembling or dismantling of machinery; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners are hereby instructed to discontinue the infringement complained of; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the officers of the Building Trades Department are hereby requested to use every means at their command in enforcing the laws of the Department.

Secretary Wharton: The representatives of the two organizations appeared before your committee, both sides stating their positions. Your Committee, after thorough investigation, recommends concurrence in the resolution."

Delegate Wharton: This resolution is exactly the same as the jurisdiction claims allowed by this department when we were admitted.

Roll Call on Report of Committee on Resolution No. 24.

Yeas—Delegates Mullaney, Ryan, Jones, McCain, Gengenback, McNulty, Raven, Boyle, Ironsides, D'Alessandro, Davis, Taggart, Fry, Taylor, Lamb, Van Lear, Wharton, Hannan, Price, Hynes, Redding, Walsh, Moriarity, Hedrick, Ackerley, Fitzgerald, Baker, Jessen, Gilen, McGivern, Donlin, Guthrie, Duncan (Robt.), Hurley, Gavlak, Williams—36.

Nays—Delegates Duffy, Woodbury, Cosgrove, Hopkins, McDermott, Kirby,

McCarthy, Goellnitz, Tveitmoe, Feeney, Comerford, Pike, D'Andrea, Etchison, McSorley, Alpine, Clark, O'Donnell, Spencer, Griggs, Short—21.

Not Voting—Delegates McNulty, Duncan (Jas.), Sweeney, Keefe, Hannahan—5.

Delegate Kirby: I shall appeal from the action of this convention to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor."

Resolution No. 152, Philadelphia, 1914, convention of the American Federation of Labor, including the recommendation of the committee and action thereon by the convention, reading:

"Resolution No. 152—By Delegate Wm. H. Johnston of the International Association of Machinists:

WHEREAS, The International Association of Machinists has jurisdiction over the building, assembling, erecting, dismantling and repairing of machinery in machine shops, buildings, factories, or elsewhere, where machinery may be used; and

WHEREAS, The United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners is attempting to do this work and taking advantage of every opportunity to place the members of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners on same; and

WHEREAS, Numerous protests have been made to the officers of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of the trespass on the jurisdiction of the International Association of Machinists, and a number of conferences have been held, all to no avail, this resulting in the International Association of Machinists appealing to the Seattle Building Trades Department convention in the form of a resolution protesting against the infringement complained of, this resolution was adopted and the officers of the Building Trades Department instructed to use every means at their command to conserve the rights and jurisdiction of the International Association of Machinists; and

WHEREAS, The United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners is fundamentally a craft composed of men skilled in the erecting, forming and assembling of wood materials and has never been

recognized as a metal craft organization or granted jurisdiction over the making, repairing, erecting, assembling or dismantling of machinery; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners be and is hereby instructed to discontinue the infringement complained of; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the President and Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor stand instructed to render every possible assistance in enforcing the intent of this resolution.

Your committee recommends concurrence in the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted."

Be it further

RESOLVED, That this official circular shall be sent to all local lodges of the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners and the International Association of Machinists and the Presidents of all organizations affiliated to the American Federation of Labor, together with a request that it be published in their respective official magazines, to the Labor Press, Associated Press, and similar news agencies, all departments of the American Federation of Labor, State Federations of Labor, Central bodies, Building Trades Councils, General and Sub-contractors, Architects, Builders, Employer Associations and the outstanding large manufacturers of machinery requesting their co-operation by observing this decision and employing only members of the International Association of Machinists on the work in question; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the President and Executive Council stand instructed to render their unqualified assistance in enforcing the intent of this resolution.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

The motion offered by Delegate Kovesleski was unanimously adopted, and at 11:55 a.m., under suspension of the rules, the convention adjourned to 9:30 o'clock Wednesday morning, October 7.

## Third Day — Wednesday Morning Session

Vancouver, B. C., Canada,  
October 7, 1931.

The convention was called to order at 9:30 o'clock by President Green.

### Absentees

Dullzell, Bowen, Schulte, Coulter, Zaritsky, Schlesinger, Greene, Lawlor, Brock, O'Keefe (J.), Onyett, Kennedy (A. J.), Gorman (P. E.), Lane, Lewis, Murray, Kennedy (T.), Hartneady, Fagan, Boylan, Brennan, Britton, Burke (J. P.), Sullivan (H. W.), Gorman (F. J.), Starr, Smith, Howard, Hatch, Pay, Provost, Gross, Rosqvist, Elliott, Sullivan (J.), Campbell (J. C.), Kmetz, Garrison, Possee, Joel, Campbell (G. C.), Driscoll, Coleman, Barger, Augustino, Foster, Quinn (J. C.), Bower, Smethurst, Welsh, Martinez, Reed, Doyle (F. E.), Wood, Covert, Alifas, Thomas, Bohm, McElligott, Randolph, Webster, Hampton, Mitchell (T.).

### SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

In the absence of the secretary of the committee, Secretary Morrison presented the following report:

Your Committee on Credentials have examined credentials and recommend that the following be seated:

International Longshoremen's Association—John C. Bjorklund, 299 votes.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### COMMUNICATIONS

Secretary Morrison read the following telegrams and communications:

New York, N. Y.,  
October 6, 1931.

William Green,  
American Federation of Labor Convention,  
Vancouver, B. C.

Dairy Industries Exposition to be held Atlantic City last week October will bring thousands executives, scientists, students from all parts United States and twenty foreign countries. Exposition which is probably largest trade exposition in country this year symbolizes

mechanical structure of the dairy foods industries and is greatest market and education institutions for those industries. Concurrent will be convention of International Associations Ice Cream Manufacturers, Milk Dealers and other allied business and educational groups. This association cordially invites you to attend opening, October 26.

ROBERTS EVERETT,  
Executive Vice-president,  
Dairy and Ice Cream Machinery and Supplies Association, 225 West 34th Street, New York City.

Chicago, Ill.,  
October 6, 1931.

President William Green,  
Hotel Vancouver,  
Vancouver, B. C.

As executive secretary, Social Service Department of the Episcopal Church, I send you cordial and fraternal greetings for the annual meeting of the American Federation of Labor. My predecessor, Dean Lathrop, who addressed your convention last year greatly appreciated that privilege. He died last January. Best wishes.

C. RANKIN BARNES.

Queens Village, New York,  
October 6, 1931.

William Green,  
The American Federation of Labor,  
Vancouver B. C.

Dear Sir and Brother: Local Union Seven Ninety One of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America in a meeting of October Fifth, Nineteen Thirty-one by motion request your honorable body for the adoption of a three day week to offset unemployment due to machine age we are now living in. Wishing you and your officers and delegates a successful convention in behalf of Local Union Seven Ninety One.

C. J. SHEARS,  
Recording Secretary.

Vallejo, California,  
October 6, 1931.

William Green,  
President American Federation of Labor,  
Convention Hall,  
Vancouver, B. C.

Greetings Local 180 United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of

America, Vallejo, California, declare themselves for a six-hour day, five-day week endorsed by Solano County Building Trades Council, Thomas Longworth, secretary; Vallejo Central Trades and Labor Council, C. F. Beardsley, secretary. The best to you and the convention. Fraternally. Local 180 by

L. O. WARNER,  
Secretary.

William Green, President,  
American Federation of Labor, Convention Hall,  
Vancouver, B. C.

Convention International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union elected five delegates to American Federation of Labor Convention, but due to financial conditions our General Executive Board decided that I be the only delegate. Was ready to leave this morning for Vancouver but my doctor advised me against making the long trip. Please convey, therefore, my greetings and best wishes for success to the officers and delegates of the convention. Very sorry that I cannot be present at this great gathering of the American labor movement.

BENJAMIN SCHLESINGER,  
President International Ladies'  
Garment Workers' Union.

Brooklyn, N. Y.,  
October 7, 1931.

American Federation of Labor,  
Convention Hall, Vancouver, B. C.

Greetings to the Barbers' delegation and to all delegates in convention. May your work be crowned with success.

Barbers' Union Local 657 of Brooklyn,  
New York.

BARNETT JACOBS,  
Secretary.

President Green: We have several visitors with us this morning and I have asked them to address the officers and delegates in attendance at the convention at this session. Each of them, I know, will present to us a most interesting message. We are fortunate indeed in that we have with us this morning as one of our visitors the Honorable Ralph Ashley Horr, Congressman from the First District of Washington. Congressman Horr has always manifested a deep interest in our common problems. He has manifested a very sympathetic attitude towards the aims and purposes of organized labor. He wants to know more about our program and our pol-

icies. He expects to go to Washington soon and take up the duties of his very responsible position, and because of his deep interest in our common problems he came from Washington to visit with us just a little while. I know we all appreciate that fact, as well as his presence. I am very glad, therefore, to present to you the Honorable Ralph Ashley Horr, Congressman from the First District of Washington.

MR. RALPH ASHLEY HERR  
(Member of Congress, First District,  
Washington)

President Green and members of organized labor—I indeed feel honored today to have this first opportunity of talking to this great assembly that represents the workers of the United States of America. I would indeed be unappreciative if I did not express to you my sincere thanks and appreciation for the wonderful opportunity that you gave me to realize one of my great ambitions, and that was to become a member of the Congress of the United States, and I come here today, not only for the purpose of talking to you, but for the purpose of expressing, particularly to organized labor of my district, my sincere thanks and appreciation for the wonderful support that they gave me in the realization of this ambition of mine.

As I came into the hall this morning and I saw the members of organized labor from my own district they said, "Now, Ralph,"—they all call me Ralph, I haven't heard that middle name Ashley for so long that I almost failed to respond when your President called me—"Ralph, be very careful of your remarks this morning, because you may want to come back, and if you say something that would not be true you might not have that opportunity of coming back." You know it sort of reminded me of a little story of an incident that happened one time down in Kentucky before we had prohibition. This revenue officer had been down there looking up into the mountain side with the idea in mind of locating somebody who was engaged in the manufacture of the contraband, and as he approached the foothills of these little mountains and looked up on the hillside he saw a cabin up there. He saw no means there whereby the inhabitants could make a living and he thought, here must be the home of a moonshiner. He knocked on the door and a little boy answered. He said, "Boy, where is your pa?" The boy said, "Down to the still." "Where is your ma?" "Ma's down to the still, too." "Ah," the revenue agent said, "here is a chance for a little pick-up." So he said to the boy, "Boy, I will give you a dollar if you will take me up there where your pa

and ma are." The boy said, "First give me that dollar." "No," said the agent, "I am going to pay you that when we get back." The kid looked at him sort of funny and shook his head and said, "Huh-uh, you ain't comin' back."

So I hope my remarks this morning will be of just a little value and that you will overlook it if I become too enthusiastic, because I am a freshman in Congress, and I remember that in my university life I knew more then as a freshman than I have ever known since that time, and I presume that is the same in the life of a Congressman.

Friends, we are all meeting in a peculiar condition here today. I read with a great deal of pleasure the remarks of your president in his address before your assembly. We are all cognizant of the fact that our country and the world is suffering from a great depression. This depression cannot last long, it should not last long. There is one thing that is guaranteed to all of us, whether it be organized labor or not, and that is the right that each and every person in this country of ours has, at least the opportunity to work, and whether this opportunity is given to us one way or the other, I say to you it is within the province of the government to see to it that provisions are made that those who desire to earn a living have this opportunity granted and given to them. It is a right that belongs to every American citizen. Not only you, but every citizen of the United States has a right to make a demand on your government to furnish means for your employment. I know not how or where this means is going to be concentrated, but industry tells us that government must not go into business. All I can say to industry is that if government cannot go into your business, then you must take care of your own business and keep out of the government's business.

I say that where we are in a condition as we are today, with our granaries overflowing with the products of the field and our shelves bulging with manufactured products and our banks overflowing with money, more than when prosperity was with us, I say if industry does not loosen the purse strings and furnish employment to those who desire it, there is only one alternative that I can know of, and that is for the government to take the initiative and, through public work and public expenditures, grant to our people the right that belongs to every American citizen, and that is the right to make a living in this free country of ours. You can't do this, in my opinion, by the curtailment or the cutting of wages. They call it over-production. In my opinion it is under-consumption, and if it is under-consumption you cannot expect our people to become a purchasing body if you reduce the wages and then expect them to go out and buy those products.

In my opinion, too, you are perfectly sound in your thoughts as to the shorter work week and the shorter hours per day. To me it is only just a matter of mathematical calculation. If we have a certain amount of labor to be done in our country and we have a certain, definite number of men and women to do that work, it seems to me the only logical way of determining as to the number of days per week and the hours per day is to divide the amount of work by the number of people available to do that work. That in itself, whether we like it or not, whether it is something that we are looking forward to, is an economic necessity, and the shorter day week and the shorter hour day is just as inevitable as the rising and the setting of the sun.

These depressions we must meet. There are other things, of course, in which you are interested. You are all citizens, as well as members of organized labor. We have many things to conserve—our natural resources that must be cared for for our people. And I am going to mention another subject extremely controversial, but in order that none of you may leave this hall under an erroneous impression, I want you all to know how I stand on this question. That is the solution of this so-called prohibition law in the United States of America. I personally am of the opinion that the prohibition law and the Volstead Act and the 18th Amendment have proven a miserable failure. I want you to realize and understand my position firmly upon this question. I intend to vote for the repeal or the modification of the law on every opportunity that is given me in the National Congress. I was elected upon that issue and I intend to stay there until my dear friends, many of whom are in this audience, see fit to send me back to private life.

And there is a reason for that, my friends. Where we have an institution that, according to a great report issued by a commission appointed by a dry President, showing that we are expending over there for liquors alone approximately between \$2,800,000,000 and \$3,000,000,000 every year, I say we have created an institution that ought to be under the control of the government, an institution that is larger than the automobile industry in our United States today. Then when you consider the crime, when you consider that approximately 115 per cent. has been the increase in crime from 1920 to 1930, when you realize that in my own state the penal institutions have doubled their capacity, and that in our reformatory, in the place where our boys are taken care of, 44 per cent. of the inmates in the reformatory in the State of Washington are boys who are there because of alleged violations of this so-called prohibition law, then you have some conception of the problems that this question furnishes.

I say to you that the government itself is as guilty as any other agency in the world, and when I say that the government has gone into the bootlegging business I am just simply telling you a fact. Your merchant marine today, under American colors, is evading the law and carrying contraband and selling it to the people on the high seas. Our Farm Relief has taken money from its coffers and over \$20,000,000 has been turned over to the California Grape Growers' Association, and, through the manipulations of Mrs. Willebrandt, former United States District Attorney, we have diverted out of the Farm Relief Fund \$3,000,000 in order that we could stimulate the manufacture of grape concentrate that brings wine into your homes. Would that I had the opportunity to go into all these figures for you! It is a question we are all deeply concerned about, it affects not only ourselves, it affects our country, it affects our homes, and it affects our kiddies.

The other day down in my town what happened? A yachting party goes out from high school, made up of these youngsters, and the testimony showed, in the investigation by the educational authorities, that this yacht was loaded down with contraband gin. We expelled eight of these little girls who were out on that trip, and one of these youngsters, because of her indiscretions and because of the fact that we wanted to save her from the criminal court, we expelled from the State of Washington.

Friends, do you realize that these same kiddies are going to be the fathers and mothers of the next generation? The very judge who many a time condemns, the judge before whom I have stood at the bar of justice pleading for a man who had violated the Volstead Act, on many occasions had the night before partaken of the very contraband for which he sentenced the prisoner the morning after. Our very legislators there and in our national capital—what do we find? Drinking wet and voting dry. The hypocrisy of it, the racketeers that have been created—do you realize that the Wickersham report states that between twelve and eighteen billion dollars have been paid by legitimate business to these racketeers in order that they could carry on business? You know as well as I do the conditions that exist. It just takes a little bit of nerve, a little bit of courage to stand up and talk to people on this controversial question, the same as it takes nerve to stand up and fight for the things you are fighting for.

You have had the nerve in the past, you have had the courage to go out and battle for the things you thought were right. You have stood every sort of abuse in the world to show this courage, and today you are meeting here, a great organization. Through your activities and through the activities of your organization you have brought better living conditions and made better people

in our great country over there. You are going to meet this problem and solve it right. Why should there be one law to govern the rich, who can fill their cellars with contraband, where the hotels are all made bar rooms, where the elite and the members of the clubs can go and secure anything they want, and then some poor devil who happens to have a pint on his hip and who may be dressed in overalls or a jumper, is thrown into jail and Cossackism is demonstrated?

You know as well as I that a condition of that kind should not prevail. It has corrupted our courts, all our departments of justice, and I say to you today as I said to the department that met in our own state, that they should show the courage of their convictions by voting for the repeal and modification of this law. I sincerely hope all of us will have the courage of our convictions and will do the thing that is right for the government.

I appreciate the wonderful support that organized labor has given me in the past, and may it be my thought and my prayer and my desire that I can be of some service to you. I will take the gaff if you fellows will stand back of me. That is all I ask.

I am going to show you—and I don't want any votes now, I am already elected—that I am appreciative. I am going to call on your President and I am going to beat him to it, I am going to be in his office before he gets in mine. I want to thank you for this wonderful opportunity, one I shall never forget, the most glorious epoch in my whole life, the opportunity of addressing a national assembly of real workers, patriotic men, men who decry radicalism and men who combat communism, men who, in my opinion, stand between our government and its overthrow.

I am just here to take my little bow and thank you, and I hope that with your assistance, all of us working together, we can eventually reach the pinnacle in our national development where all of us will have a square deal.

I thank you.

President Green: You, the officers and delegates in attendance at this convention, have expressed your appreciation of the visit of Congressman Horr more eloquently than I could express it. The Congressman ought to be able to understand the opinion and sentiment of the delegates in attendance at this convention upon the subject matter dealt with in his splendid address. I shall certainly be glad to welcome you when you return to Washington. I am glad to know that he is going to be our friend. I know that when the test comes, when our measures will be pend-

ing and when we need support and help in our social and constructive measures supported by the American Federation of Labor, we can rely upon the splendid Congressman to help us. We will remind him of his visit to this convention when the time comes.

We thank you very much for your visit, Congressman. Your address is very highly appreciated and will be included in the printed report of today's proceedings. Come again when you can.

We have another very good friend, a great servant, a man who is continually rendering service to the organized labor movement. He edits a great labor paper, a paper with a punch in it, and he is the man who puts the punch in the paper. You know that the railway group, representing the transportation workers of the United States and Canada, own a great labor newspaper, one that has made a most profound impression upon the minds and opinions of the people of both nations. Our distinguished friend has had a most wide and active career. He is a newspaper man, a gentleman, an ex-Congressman, and one who can tell our new Congressmen something about his experiences. I wish I could say some more nice things about our friend whom I know so well and respect so highly, but I am not going to take the time to do that now. I am just going to present to you the Honorable Edward Keating, Editor of "Labor."

**MR. EDWARD KEATING**  
(Editor of "Labor")

President Green and delegates to the convention—I deeply appreciate this opportunity to address this convention. It has been ten years now since I addressed an American Federation of Labor Convention. That was in Denver in 1921, and I must have delivered an unusually bad speech, because the consequences were most deplorable. I went home, had pneumonia, and almost died. I never did learn exactly what happened to the delegates. I hope the consequences will not be so serious this morning.

My friends, as I sat here this morning and listened to the address of the new Congressman from the Seattle district, the thought came to me of the tremendous change which has taken place in the Congress of the United

States in the last twenty years. Twenty years ago the Senate of the United States was the American House of Lords. It was the millionaires' club. It was the graveyard of all progressive legislation. Over in the House side of the Capitol the proceedings were directed by Uncle Joe Cannon, who was known as the Czar of the House, and no bill could be brought on the floor of that House without his permission, and he would not permit anything to come out which was not satisfactory to the vested interests of America, and if anything got through the House it was stopped in the Senate.

Today that situation has been changed. Today the Congress of the United States—and I say this deliberately, measuring my words—the Congress of the United States is the most liberal legislative body in the world. The thing that has made it the most liberal legislative body in the world has been the non-partisan policy of the American labor movement. We have brought about a situation in this country where I could, in good faith, say to this new Congressman what I said on the floor this morning when I was first introduced to him, and I want to say it publicly now. I said to him, "If you go down to Washington and keep the faith you won't have to worry about what the machine leaders think about you. The labor boys of your district will send you back to Congress and they won't give a rap whether you run on a Republican, a Democratic or an Independent ticket."

That is not an idle boast. There was a time when the American labor movement was content to pass resolutions endorsing a candidate. That time has passed. When the American labor movement endorses a candidate now it proceeds to do something for him. During the last ten or twelve years I have been rather intimately associated with the standard railroad organizations as the editor of their newspaper, "Labor." I might say that that paper is owned by fifteen great railroad labor organizations. The majority, the very large majority, are affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. The policies of the paper are determined by an editorial committee of six, and five of the six are accredited delegates to this convention. So when I face you this morning I am looking into the faces of a whole lot of my bosses.

Now for ten years under their direction I have edited this paper and we have had a good deal to do politically. In the campaign in 1928 these railroad labor executives endorsed twenty-two candidates for the United States Senate, and eighteen were elected. Last fall they endorsed twenty candidates for the United States Senate and seventeen were elected, and I should add that in every

one of our contests we have had the whole-hearted co-operation of President Green and Secretary Morrison. These labor organizations have not been content with merely endorsing those senators. Our executives sent their representatives into the states where there were candidates and they authorized me, as editor, to issue special editions of our paper devoted entirely to the records of these men and to arguments to show why they should be elected. In the last campaign and in every campaign for the last ten years we have circulated millions of copies of these special editions. Some have gone through the mails. Tens of thousands have been distributed by our railroad boys.

And here is the point I want to make—no politician, either directly or indirectly, has been permitted to contribute a penny to the cost of these special editions. Our executives have taken the position, the only position that organized labor should take, that we judge men according to the records they have made. We do not ask the candidate, "Are you a Republican, are you a Democrat, or are you an Independent?" We simply seek his record and if these chief executives, co-operating with the rest of the labor movement, endorse that candidate, then we go down the line for him, we exert our influence to the limit, and the railroad boys of America insist upon paying the bill, every dollar of it.

It is difficult to understand what a tremendous impression that has made upon the politicians down in Washington. Politicians have been accustomed to paying for what they got, they have been accustomed to slipping some one a five or a ten dollar bill. It has come as a great surprise to them when we have told them that their money was counterfeited and that whatever we did we did on our own responsibility and we paid the bills.

The result of all that is this: The labor movement today, as all these speakers have told you, is facing a great crisis. You have two weapons with which to meet that crisis. One, and the most important, is your economic weapon, the union. There is no substitute for the union, that comes first. The second is your political power. I am not going to discuss this morning how you should use your economic power, but may I say a word to you as to how you should use your political power, and may I impress upon you that this is a very real power?

Has it ever occurred to you gentlemen why certain interests insist that Congress shall not remain in session any longer than is necessary to pass the appropriation bills? Has it ever occurred to you gentlemen why great campaigns of propaganda are being conducted in

this country for the purpose of discrediting the legislative branch of government? Only the other day Calvin Coolidge, former President of the United States, the man who has the unique record of having been in public office over thirty years and of never having been on the people's side in any contest, came out in the Saturday Evening Post and said the hope of this country was in the Executive. Well, God help the country if it is dependent upon Executives of the Calvin Coolidge type. I say to you, my friends, that the hope of this country and the hope of every other free country is not in the executive, but in the legislative branch of government. And the reason they don't want Congress in session now is, not because they fear that Congress would do something to injure the masses of the people, but because they know that if Congress were in session Congress would do something for the people of the United States.

You know the best way in the world to determine who is the friend of labor—and I make this test every once in a while—is to read the columns of such papers as the Wall Street Journal. Congress is being denounced by such organs and by such interests because these organs and interests fear Congress and they fear Congress because Congress is close to the people.

That Congress meets on the first Monday in December, and I hope that this American Federation of Labor and the entire American labor movement will go to that Congress with a well thought out plan. Don't be afraid to ask for enough. Don't listen to the politician who tells you to pussy-foot. This nation is facing a great crisis comparable only to that of the World War. I sometimes think it is a greater crisis than that we met in 1917. That crisis can't be met by any milk and water policy. So far as my reading enlightens me, the only group in this country which has formulated a policy which gives hope of success and of relief is the American labor movement.

I would like to see you go to this Congress and ask the co-operation of Congress in putting over that program. I am an advocate of law and order. I would have no man take another man's property without that other man's consent. But, my friends, yesterday I listened to a harrowing tale related by our good friend, Jim Davis, formerly Secretary of Labor. He told of a procession of thousands of men and women and children, jobless, penniless, hopeless, and he described how they walked along the street, and on each side were great supplies of food and there were banks bulging with money, and yet no one attempted to touch any of that material wealth. Any one who imagines that that sort of thing can continue in

America indefinitely should re-read the lessons of history.

I don't want my fellow citizens to be too submissive. The men who wrote the Declaration of Independence, the men who knocked kingly prerogatives into a cocked hat, the men who set up a republic in the wilderness, were not afraid to revolt against injustice. There are some things that are worse than a dole, and one of these things is to see men and women willing to work, starving in the midst of plenty.

But, my friends, it is not necessary for us to resort to unlawful means. The Constitution of our country tells us how these things may be done. Congress has the taxing power, and there again I have no desire to see our country consume the seed corn. But we are a long way from the seed corn. In 1929, according to the Interstate Commerce Commission, there were 521,000 workers engaged in the movement of the trains on the transportation systems of the United States. That included the engineers, conductors, trainmen, firemen, train dispatchers, telegraphers, and other groups of that kind, 521,000, and among them are men who have frequently been referred to as the aristocrats of labor.

Over on the other side, opposite that army of 521,000 workers, skilled workers, American workers, were 504 men and women. Please get the two sides of the picture; on one side you have 504 men and women who never worked, and who don't intend to. On the other side you have 521,000 of the highest paid railroad workers, and the 504, according to government figures, had more of a total income than the 521,000. Yet, when you suggest that wealth of that kind should be taxed, we are told to be careful, for fear we might wipe out the seed corn. We are not taxing the seed corn there, my friends, we are taxing Godless profits wrung from millions of workers.

And so, I hope you will go to this Congress and that you will go to it with more determination than you have ever approached Congress before, and that you will urge Congress to remain in session. You pay these men \$10,000 a year, why not keep them on the job for a while—urge them to remain in session until Congress has done what it can do, under the Constitution, to relieve the situation confronting our country.

And what can Congress do? First of all, the United States Government is itself the employer of 600,000 men and women. Is there any better place to start the five-day week? Congress appropriates billions of dollars for contracts to build ships, to build airships, to build all kinds of things and purchase all kinds of supplies. In the resolutions before you today are two

documents showing how that money is expended. Ask these boys about what is being done in the shipyards of this country, almost the only prosperous industry in this country—prosperous because the doors of the treasury have been thrown open. They have been invited to come in and take the money to build ships, and what are they doing with it? Are they paying decent wages, are they permitting their men to organize? Are they observing the proper hours? Of course not. They are holding down wage scales just as low as they can hold them and they are wringing every possible dollar of profit for the owners of the shipyards.

I say that instead of being satisfied with this fair wage bill that was passed by the last Congress, a hurried piece of legislation, you should go to Congress and insist that instead of placing a premium upon the employer who pays the least and works the longest hours, Congress should insist that every man who gets a Government contract shall observe fair conditions for labor and pay proper wages.

Don't forget that the Constitution of the United States gives Congress the exclusive control over the transportation system of this country, and the Supreme Court of the United States has held that Congress has the power even to determine the things that are necessary to provide, not only for the safety, but for the comfort of the men who operate those trains.

And so, my friends, there are just a few places where Congress can accomplish something along the lines of setting the right kind of an example. In addition to that, Congress has the power to strike the shackles from the workers of America and to give them the undoubted right, the unquestioned right to organize, free from interference by Federal courts. That involves the injunction issue.

And then when they ask you where this money shall come from to meet these bills, don't let them frighten you on that proposition. Your President, in the very splendid speeches he has delivered since he has been in Vancouver, has very properly pointed to the source from which you can get the revenue that is needed. Don't let them tell you that proper taxation will dry up the sources of American wealth. If these huge profits had gone to the workers in the form of proper wages, instead of being piled up in huge dividends, we would not have the situation that confronts us today.

While we are talking of figures, let me give you another one. Those of you who read "Labor" are perhaps familiar with this illustration. There are several millions, I think it is 2,500,000 farmers who are engaged in raising

cotton and wheat in this country. You hear a great deal about the cotton and wheat crops of America, and there are 2,500,000 farmers engaged in raising those two crops. Yet these 504 multi-millionaires I told you about had a larger income in 1929 than these 2,500,000 cotton and wheat farmers. In the face of such facts as these, how can any reasonable man say that we should hesitate to raise the revenue from those who are capable of paying? Of course you will meet with opposition, but knowing something about the make-up of Congress, I want to repeat that this non-partisan political policy of the American labor movement has not been in vain. When you go to Congress you are going to receive a sympathetic hearing, and all you should ask is to have these measures considered and have the roll call on each of them, the roll call in the Senate and in the House. In my judgment, you will get more legislation for the benefit of the plain people of this country than you ever have received at any session of Congress in the history of America.

And if you should fail, suppose the members of Congress, of the House and of the Senate, should forget the fair promises which they made to labor, suppose they vote against you, then you have the record, and in 1932 you can bring about a political revolution in America.

We should take our stand firmly upon the proposition and we should refuse to be frightened by words. We should firmly take our stand on the proposition that every American able and willing to work should either be given an opportunity to work or should be given the means to sustain life. Canada is doing it. Speak to these representatives of organized labor in Canada. They have taken up the slogan that no Canadian shall be permitted to go hungry or cold during this winter. At this moment in this province, while there is a dispute about what wages should be paid to the unemployed, it is a fact that you can either get relief or a job.

So far as I am concerned, I want to demand for my fellow citizens the inalienable right to work, and if industry denies them that right, then I insist that industry shall be taxed to put up the money to sustain them.

And so, my friends, don't worry about what the industrialists or the financiers or the politicians may think about your policies. There is only one group in this country that you can't afford to disappoint—just one group—and that is the group made up of these millions and millions of American men and women who, at this very moment, are walking the streets of our cities, are living hopeless and helpless on our farms, millions of them looking to this

convention for some relief. They are looking to this convention for direction. I conjure you, my friends, don't disappoint them. Whatever you do, be faithful to those men and women whose hopes rest in you.

I thank you.

President Green: We are very grateful, indeed, to Ex-Congressman Keating for his splendid and helpful address. We are glad he is here. We appreciate very much the constructive suggestions and recommendations he has made. Perhaps I might add to what he has said about this great newspaper, by stating that it depends in no way upon advertisements for its success. It is one newspaper in America that carries no advertisements. We thank you very sincerely for your visit and for your address, Mr. Keating.

There is an old friend here that has been coming to each session of our convention ever since the opening one of last Monday morning. In addition he visited with the Metal Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor. He is an old trade unionist, a veteran in the harness, one whose name is known, not only in Great Britain, as an outstanding, loyal, conservative trade unionist, but one known by many throughout the United States of America, and in the Dominion of Canada, as well. He was a fraternal delegate to the American Federation of Labor convention in 1924. He attended the Dominion Trades and Labor Congress convention, which met in this city about two weeks ago as a fraternal delegate from the British Trade Union Congress. He lingered here for the purpose of coming to some of our sessions for a short while for the purpose of renewing old acquaintances, meeting old friends, and making new ones. I know he wants to say a word of greeting to you and to express to you his feelings and sentiments. I called him to the platform for that purpose, Brother A. B. Swales of England, who is a member of the Amalgamated Engineering Union. He was chairman of the British Trades Union Congress in 1924, and a member of the General Council of the Trades Union Congress since 1919. He was the fraternal dele-

gate to our convention in 1924. He has been a member of the Coal Mines National Industrial Board since 1930, and he was the fraternal delegate to the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress two weeks ago. That shows he has been called upon to serve. He is a loyal trade unionist, our very dear friend, Brother A. B. Swales.

#### MR. A. B. SWALES

Mr. President and Delegates: When I decided to stay over in Vancouver, it was just to move amongst the delegates, to listen to your deliberations and the speeches that were being made, to be just one of yourselves, sitting in the gallery, but our good friends Green and Morrison have insisted upon my coming more in the limelight than I intended to in your convention. However, I am very pleased to have this opportunity to say just a word or two and to express my thanks and appreciation for the great kindnesses that have been shown me, not only by our Canadian friends when I attended their convention a fortnight ago, but by many of the American delegates who are present in the city.

It is quite true, as Mr. Green has said, that the only purpose I had for staying on when I knew Vancouver was to be the city of your convention, was just to meet some of the old friends I met in El Paso and in Mexico City in 1924. I have been highly gratified by the renewal of those acquaintanceships.

When one re-visits the scenes of a labor convention, as I have upon this occasion, one's mind goes back and he has memories. And my mind goes back to the time I last had the opportunity to shake the hand of your leader, Sam Gompers. And although Sam has served the movement and gone on the long journey, I find that the spirit of the old chap is still here although his presence has been taken from us. One could not say too much of the kindness and the attention he paid to myself and my colleague in El Paso, or say too much of that great pioneer work he did for your movement while he was allowed to remain among you, and we feel today as if he were in our presence. His name is honored in the British trade union movement.

And then my mind goes on to his successor, and from the demonstrations I have seen during the last few days I have been in this hotel I find that William Green carries the confidence of your great movement and voices your aspirations equally as strong, I might say, as your old leader did.

I was present in El Paso when Mr. Green was intrusted, I think for the

first time, to read Brother Gompers' address to the convention, and, rightly or wrongly, it crossed my mind that he was the successor of Sam Gompers. I talked with Charlie Cramp on the way over and said I felt Brother Green would be Sam Gompers' successor. I have had the opportunity since I have been in El Paso to read many of the speeches and the pronouncements that have been made by Mr. Green on behalf of the American Federation of Labor, and I have been agreeably struck by the force with which he has put your position during the last eight or twelve months before the public.

It would ill become me this morning to take advantage of the position I have got to say anything that would interfere with the work of my two colleagues who are here to represent the British Trades Union Congress. I would be a bad comrade if I were to say anything about the matters that must necessarily be dealt with by them in bringing the message of our Trades Union Congress to this great convention of the American Federation of Labor. I do want to say, though, that I have enjoyed some of the speeches that have been made. I enjoyed the pronouncement of your President yesterday morning. In the main he is saying those things in this country that we have been saying for many years in our country. I want to say as a Socialist as well as a trade unionist, that I can accept his analysis of what is taking place. I don't think I will be transgressing upon the work of my colleagues if I just say that you will appreciate that in our country we are passing through the most serious industrial crisis that the world has ever known.

We were landed in this great depression somewhere about 1921. After the return of the forces from the front, when they were being turned by the thousands into labor markets, they found no work and became a charge upon our union. Not that depressions in trade are unknown in our country or in Europe. We have always had these depressions in trade and you will have them, they are inevitable so long as you have your present capitalistic system of society. So long as you have capitalism depending upon a surplus of labor you will always have unemployment problems.

We used to have these crises in my country about every seven years. That is, the people went on producing more than they could buy, with the result at the end of about seven years the market became glutted with goods and the wages paid were not enough to buy back those goods. About the outbreak of the great war in 1914 those crises were coming more frequently; we were getting them about every five years, due in the main, I believe, to the introduction of machinery. The trade union movement of our country was having to meet these crises something like about every five years.

I want you to know that they never lasted with us more than from three to five years. From the period of bad trade we would pass down to the depths of it and then rise to normal in about three to five years. The testing time for the union was from two and one-half to three years to look after the unemployed. Then we began to build up finance and get on what I called the attacking side of our trade unions. Then we would go forward and decrease hours, improve wages and conditions for the men and women and rebuild our organizations. But on this occasion it has not been two and one-half to three and four years that has been the test of our organization, but continually, without a break, for ten years we have been hard at work trying to find a solution and bring assistance to our people. It has been a tremendous strain upon the trade union movement of our country to keep the organization going.

And I want to say, without fear of contradiction, that we have done that work remarkably well, having regard for the circumstances. It has certainly bent our trade union organizations a little, but it has not broken us; we are still there, the most potent force, the greatest bulwark in our country between the captains of industry and the lowering of the standards of our people.

You will get some idea of the strain we have been under if I will just relate one or two things relating to my industry, and you will get some idea of the strain especially on the financial side if I tell you that my own organization, in order to meet the claims and to attend to the wants of our members, during the last ten years has spent no less than 10,000,000 pounds, or \$50,000,000 to assist our people inside the engineers' industry, what you call the machinists in this country. There are still very serious problems to be met. I think we shall win through, I am convinced that whenever the light gleams again the British trade union movement will continue, as it has done for over a hundred years back, the bulwark between the employer and labor, and we will continue to reduce hours and increase wages. If there is one thing necessary to meet the present development of industry it is that we must at the earliest possible moment have a reduction in the hours of labor in order to absorb some of the unemployed. We are bending all our energies and power in the British trade union movement to do that.

I could talk about many subjects, but it is not my province. I am very glad to have had the opportunity to say these few words to you. I hope that during the next fortnight your deliberations will be crowned with every success, that the resolutions acted upon and the policy of your organization will have a lasting influence upon the welfare of the men and women you represent.

I want to take this opportunity to thank Mr. Green and Mr. Morrison and the delegates for their kindnesses to me. Just as I carried away from America in 1924 memories of a lasting friendship, so shall I tomorrow night push out from Vancouver with happy memories, happy thoughts that will linger with me as long as I live of the kindness and friendship that has been shown me by the American Federation of Labor, and I am sure I can report to my people that the interests of labor in this country are safe in the hands of the American Federation of Labor.

President Green: We are grateful to Brother Swales for his visit and we appreciate the splendid sentiments he has expressed in the short address he delivered. We hope that his stay here will be pleasant right up to the last moment, and that he and his good wife, Mrs. Swales, will return home to their friends and their family in perfect safety. We want you to know, Brother Swales, that you are among your very dear friends.

Secretary Miller, of the Workers' Education Bureau, a regular and constant visitor to our convention for many, many years, is present. It is always customary for him to bring to the convention a most inspiring and helpful message. Most of you know about the work of the Workers' Education Bureau, the great service it is undertaking to give and the service it constantly renders. The officers and members of our great organization place great emphasis upon education, and particularly in the work of the Workers' Education Bureau. Secretary Miller is here this morning and brings to us his annual message. It will cover the work of the Workers' Education Bureau as well as many helpful recommendations and suggestions. We are glad to have him here. I know we will welcome his message very greatly, and I take pleasure in presenting to you Spencer Miller, Jr., the Secretary of the Workers' Education Bureau.

**SPENCER MILLER, JR.**  
**The World Crisis and Workers' Education**

When two years ago we met upon Canadian soil few there were either in this great Parliament of Labor or indeed in our National Legislature who realized that the United States, which was

travelling upon the highroad of unexampled prosperity would within twenty-four months be making its trek on the pathway of unparalleled adversity. Your thoughts and actions at the Toronto Convention were on world peace made articulate by the eloquent address of Prime Minister MacDonald, on the vast gains in union-management cooperation in the railroad industry as set forth by Sir Henry Thornton and representatives of the railroad shop crafts, on the great appeal of southern labor to aid them and in their campaign of organization, and on the injunction. The record of the 1929 convention is singularly free of the language of a gathering economic storm which was to rock the ship of state as it has not been rocked in a half century. Your slogan on the other hand was to double union membership during the coming year.

Yet within less than two weeks after your adjournment we had the most serious stock market crash in our history. Within less than two years we were to see a shrinkage of fifty billions of dollars in our securities, a reduction in our national income from 90 to 60 billion, and a net loss in our national wealth of over one hundred billion or from 500 to 365 billions of dollars. In addition we were to see the fall of twelve governments, witness two of the greatest nations of Europe virtually at the brink of financial disaster within three months of each other, and find social unrest developing everywhere.

How we could have been so blind in the face of evidence that now seems manifest will remain one of the perpetual puzzles. One would almost be inclined to conclude that serious and devastating as is adversity, it is a lesser calamity than prosperity itself. For we do learn something in sorrow and adversity; we seem to forget most of the lessons of the past in the days of great abundance.

The late Woodrow Wilson used to quote the words of the old Hebrew prophet, "They who suffer see." These words express the wisdom of our present situation. We can see with clearer vision the defects of our present economic system, and the failures upon the part of our governmental and industrial leaders in the present crisis, but we also are enabled to recognize our own limitations. It is a time for self-examination. Self-criticism is not only a wholesome but a necessary thing both for individuals and movements. The selfishness and short-sightedness we see in others we can find also in ourselves.

During the period of prosperity labor was swept along by the speculative fever which seized our people and made little in the way of protests, to the best of my knowledge, at what was unsound both in economics and in morals. Even in this depression we are seeing the way in which certain groups of labor

have thwarted the larger interests of the movement by crass selfishness. Ask the railroad men about the "mileage hogs" who refuse to share mileage runs with their fellows; ask members in some of the printing crafts about their own members who refuse to accept the five-day week and thus share work with their fellows, or some of the other trades about men who are working overtime while other union members are begging for work. Adversity is disclosing some of these very traits that we attribute to others and they imperil the "citadel from within." This crisis is, of course, revealing many examples of self-denial, and of self-sacrifice for one's fellow-workers which is the enduring foundation of the labor movement. These examples are legion. But it is well to hold the mirror up to ourselves and see wherein our armour is defective while we are sending out shafts of criticism at the crevices in the armour of our adversaries. It is never fair to compare the principles of one group or nation with the practices of another nation or group. I speak frankly but I know you will understand the spirit in which I am speaking.

These are testing times both for our principles and our practices.

But we can see also more clearly today than ever before the nature of the present distress.

We now know that this depression which has engulfed us is something different from these recurring cycles in business to which American industrial life has been subjected at periodic intervals for half a century or more. The Great Depression is a logical outcome of the Great War. Today the full economic consequences of that great disaster which we thought we had short-circuited have, in fact, fallen upon us with a dead weight that has been staggering. Let us then consider a few factors which distinguish this depression from previous situations.

First of all, the World War cost the world \$338,000,000,000 or at the rate of \$20,000 for every hour since the birth of Christ. It involved the staggering loss in human lives of 10,000,000 killed, 13,000,000 missing, 10,000,000 refugees and 6,000,000 with lost fathers—a daily loss of 16,585 persons. But the destruction of the war itself, colossal and devastating as it was, was less serious than the dislocation in the world's economy. In four short years the capital accumulation of three hundred years was destroyed. Economic habits, trade relations and markets which had taken in some cases centuries to develop were wiped out in weeks or months.

In the second place, the World War broke down the last vestiges of the old isolation in economic affairs. Problems in economy have ceased to become local problems and have become world-wide in their significance. The world has

become an economic unit and whatever affects the welfare of one nation affects the welfare of all the rest. It has become impossible, therefore, to consider national well-being without reference to the well-being of the rest of the world. No nation can become prosperous at the expense of another—nor regain its former prosperity while the rest of the world lies prostrate. America cannot hope to become prosperous or remain so for long in an international almshouse. Tariff barriers and all the other devices of an economic nationalism, if they provide at the outset a semblance of security, in the long run are self-defeating. Each of the thirteen American colonies at the close of the 18th century attempted to develop economic independence by creating trade barriers against the other colonies and succeeded only in creating rivalries and recriminations. The secret of the vast growth and prosperity of America has consisted in part in the fact that it is the greatest free trade area in the world.

In the third place our archaic and unscientific monetary and credit machinery has been disclosed as one of the most serious handicaps under which modern capitalism labors. Let any one ponder for a moment what has happened in the past twenty-four months—how the financial instability of Central and South America and some of the colonial possessions in Europe set in motion a train of financial disaster which has brought twelve governments low and brought both Germany and England to the brink of financial disaster within less than two months of each other. Today, three-fourths of the gold supply of the world, which totals a little over eleven billions, is frozen in the bank vaults in the United States and France. Is there little wonder that Great Britain, Sweden, Denmark and Norway have gone off the gold standard and interest in bimetalism has again become a live economic issue?

When also we consider the gross inequalities of wealth in our land or examine the way which the vast increase in technological skill and unexampled natural resources has enabled man to produce certain goods in superabundance, while vast millions are in want, we behold one of the strangest paradoxes of our time.

Thus it is that we come to the conclusion that we are faced not with one of those cycles of business depression similar to 1921, 1914, 1907, 1896, or 1873, but rather that we have reached a turning point in our economic life which is in substance the end of one economic era and the beginning of a new era. Whether we recognize it or not, we are living in the presence of great revolutionary changes in the world which are transforming our social order beneath our very eyes as surely as did the

changes which took place at the time of the Renaissance, or of the French and English revolutions transform the world in those periods.

One of the reasons why all the predictions about the return of prosperity have been beside the mark has been because we have assumed this was just another cyclical depression, and have not seen how fundamental and far-reaching are the changes which have taken place.

At the opening session of this convention President Green set forth with great vigor the seriousness of the present situation in our own land. I can testify to something of the gravity of this crisis which I found in Europe this summer. When President Hoover with statesmanlike directness proposed a moratorium for one year of inter-governmental debts to aid the German Republic, he saved that country not only from financial disaster, but averted by weeks social revolution in that land. But that was but a breathing spell! Even now it is evident that further relief from the burdens of Debts and Reparations will be needed if not only Germany but the other nations are to be made safe from social revolution.

Up to the present time many of the European nations have been able to keep the populace from the humiliation of breadlines, starvation and the despair that leads to revolution by the provisions of unemployment insurance and other social services. Indeed unemployment insurance has been revolution insurance in Europe! Social insurance has become the price which the State has been willing to pay for its own security. But the structure which has been safeguarded from revolution from below is tottering with financial stress above. That is the tragic dilemma of Europe today. On every side the question is asked in Europe, when will prosperity return to America, while people in this country are asking when prosperity will return to Europe. The fact is we are all in the same boat and we must sink or swim together.

Nor is this all! His Holiness Pope Pius XI, on Saturday last reminded the world in another great Encyclical that the problem of unemployment, which is the greatest economic problem of the world today, is intertwined with the great question of World Disarmament—that so long as the world is laboring under the staggering burdens of armaments that it is impossible to lift the yoke of unemployment. "Not the least important coefficient in the economic crisis is without doubt the race for armaments which exacts an enormous price from the public comfort," reads this Encyclical.

And so, indeed, we see how each problem has become intertwined one with the other: how economic nationalism such as tariff barriers, inter-Allied debts, disarmaments, are all bound together—

that it is impossible to solve one without giving thought to all the rest. All nations are bound up in an economic unity which is the ever-present fact.

This, then, is the situation which challenges with peremptory directness not only our earnest attention, but our capacity for co-operative action. The alternative is despair which breeds revolution. The road away from revolution lies not in easy formulas, nor flamboyant oratory. It is not to be found in the rhetoric of politics but in the most rigorous and realistic scrutiny of the whole basis of our economic life to discover how intelligently directed co-operative effort can be brought to bear on a most difficult situation.

But some of you will be wondering what all this has to do with the education of labor which is my special responsibility. It is precisely these things which I have been discussing which form the content of sound economic education of the wage earner at the present time. The key to an understanding of the problems of one's own trade today is in the understanding of these world forces which play upon it. We cannot escape the responsibility of knowing more rather than less about the implications of our economic problems. Nor can we avoid the necessity of looking at all these questions from a wider point of view. It is peculiarly true to say that "he little knows America who only America knows."

Let me be more specific. You want to know what our workers' education movement has done to shed light on this crisis. It would be presumptuous for me to assert that we have made straight the pathway back to prosperity or discovered a solution of our problems. But I do assert that there has been a quickening of the spirit of study and inquiry among labor groups in many sections of this country. It is literally true to say that thousands of wage earners in every large industrial section of the country have either directly through our study groups, week-end conferences, labor institutes, summer schools, labor chautauquas, or our educational service come to a clearer realization both to the nature of the crisis and the possible roads to recovery. Nor need I repeat that our main concern has been to bring facts to the attention of workers rather than to formulate any plan or remedies. Our motto has been "give the workers the facts, trust their own judgment for a sound solution." No less an authority than the great Abraham Lincoln once stated that "the American people wobble a lot on all public questions, but they finally wobble right." We accept this diagnosis. We have sought to aid workers through a knowledge of the facts in the process of wobbling right.

May I give you a few examples of our work? A year ago I told you at the

Boston Convention of a plan which we had worked out between the New Jersey State Federation of Labor, the State University at Rutgers and our Education Bureau for a Labor Institute to be held upon the campus of the State University. I can now tell you of a notable educational accomplishment not only in the history of New Jersey labor, but of American labor as well. For a period of five days a group of fifty Trade Unionists met together and considered in an educational atmosphere the problems of unemployment. The Economics Department of the University at their own expense, made a six months' survey of the unemployment situation and published material in pamphlet form for distribution among the prospective members of the institute. The plan of the institute provided for the holding of discussion groups, both morning and afternoon, on some aspect of the problem to be led by members of the Economic faculties of Rutgers, New York and Princeton Universities. These group discussions reflected credit on the labor members and indicated a growing realization on their part of the problem. Each evening there were outside speakers who addressed the institute on certain aspects of the problem. President Green himself travelled over a thousand miles from the State of Tennessee to be present, and Vice-president Woll left his multitudinous duties to participate in our work. In addition opportunities were provided each afternoon for recreation, and the facilities of the athletic field were placed at the disposal of the participants of the institute. It has been estimated that approximately 125 Trade Unionists were present at one or more sessions of the institute.

At the conclusion of the institute a report was unanimously adopted setting forth labor's unqualified support of the institute and urging its establishment of a regular part of the State Federation's educational activity. When the Federation met in Camden, New Jersey, last month, the delegates passed a unanimous resolution on this Labor Institute which reads as follows:

WHEREAS, The last Convention of the New Jersey State Federation of Labor by unanimous vote decided to support the proposal of the Workers' Education Bureau that a Labor Institute be held on the campus of Rutgers University; and

WHEREAS, The Institute held was such a tremendous success that it received the unstinted approval of President Green and Vice-president Woll of the American Federation of Labor, as well as the faculty of Rutgers University; and

WHEREAS, The New Jersey labor men and women who attended the Institute are unanimous in their expressions

of appreciation on the benefits derived from this Institute; and

**THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED** by the Fifty-third Convention of the New Jersey State Federation of Labor that we renew our endorsement of the Labor Institute on the campus of Rutgers University and that our Executive Board and officers be instructed to renew negotiations with the Workers' Education Bureau and the Trustees of Rutgers with a view toward making the Institute one of labor's annual activities; and

**BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED**, That we renew our recommendation to the Central Bodies, Building Trades Councils and Local Unions, that they and their membership heartily co-operate in this activity.

What has been done with one state university could be duplicated in every state in the Union.

Workers' education is applied education; it is education that centers about the working experience. A notable example of this type of workers' education is concerned with a project in Union-Management Co-operation in the coal industry of Colorado. Ten years ago the Workers' Education Movement was started in that State and has enjoyed a continuous existence during this period of time. It has had the co-operation of the representatives of the university in the state and the support and endorsement of the local Labor movement. Study groups, Institutes and Summer Schools have been a regular part of their work.

Three years ago Miss Josephine Roche, a college graduate, social worker and industrial investigator of 20 years' experience inherited upon the death of her father a large interest in the Rocky Mountain Fuel Company, one of the largest producers of lignite coal in that State and was subsequently elected its president. The record of that company had been a record of industrial warfare with the men for many years. Vast sums had been expended for mine guards, machine guns and all the implements of industrial warfare; in a period of eighteen months, upwards of half a million dollars was expended for this purpose. When Miss Roche assumed the presidency of the company in 1927 she set out to completely change this labor policy. She immediately recognized the Union and entered into a contract of agreement with the United Mine Workers for the production of coal. It is in many respects a unique document; it reads as follows:

"We, the signers of this document, seeking a new era in the industrial relations of Colorado, unite in welcoming the opportunity to record the spirit and the principles of this agreement.

"Our purposes are:

"To promote and establish industrial justice;

"To substitute reason for violence, confidence for misunderstanding, integrity and good faith for dishonest practices, and a union of effort for the chaos of the present economic warfare;

"To avoid needless and wasteful strikes and lockouts through the investigation and correction of their underlying causes.

"To establish genuine collective bargaining between mine workers and operators through free and independent organizations;

"To establish employment, production and markets through co-operative endeavor and the aid of science;

"To assure mine workers and operators continuing mutual benefits and the consumers a dependable supply of coal at reasonable and uniform prices;

"To defend our joint undertaking against every conspiracy or vicious practice which seeks to destroy; and in all other respects to enlist public confidence and support by safeguarding the public interest."

Almost immediately upon the establishment of this agreement the other coal companies of the State began a campaign of cut-throat competition to drive this concern out of business. Banks that had formerly extended credit to this very company suddenly ceased and it became necessary for them to seek loans from outside the States. In the meantime the mine workers realized that it was not enough for them to mine the coal; it would be necessary for them to engage in a campaign of selling this Union-mined product. A Central Coal Committee was organized under the directorship of the Chairman of Education of the State Federation of Labor and one of the leading spirits in the Workers' Education Movement of Colorado. A program of applied workers' education was begun throughout the local unions and in connection with the community at large. What has been the net effect of this policy and program? During the entire period of the depression, with a falling off in the demand for coal, it has been possible to reduce the cost of production of coal below that of any of the non-union mines by increasing the production per man of nearly two tons over the average; to actually increase the basic wage to an average of \$8.00 a day; to increase the number of workers employed through a rotation of work among the members, thereby cutting down somewhat the average yearly income, and reduce substantially the number of mining accidents. Within the last thirty days the 600 miners of this company have actually offered to defer payment of 50 per cent. of their wages for a period of three months to meet the ruthless price-slashing and wage-cutting policy of the other coal companies. Such has been

the devotion of men and the morale of the company!

Through all of this development the educational work has been carried forward as a definite project. It has been the type of Workers' Education for which this Bureau stands. Incidentally, the Dean of the Labor College in Denver is John Lawson, known to every mine worker in America for his work during the Ludlow strike. If the Workers' Education Movement of the State of Colorado did no other thing than provide the vehicle for so important a project as Union-Management co-operation in the coal mines it would be justified a hundred fold.

My third example of a project in workers' education is somewhat different in character. It involves the use of the visual method of instruction in connection with some of the more technical aspects of a trade. The particular work to which I refer was inaugurated by three local unions of the International Union of Operating Engineers. These three Locals situated in Boston, Providence and Springfield joined together in arranging a series of visual lectures on the technical aspects of the design, construction and handling of boilers and engines through the assistance of an instructor in one of the High Schools. A series of motion pictures was secured either through the Government or Industrial plants and shown to the membership during the lectures. The net effect of this work has been to increase not only interest in the work of the organization, but also to provide added attractions for new men to enter the Union. While the plan has only been going for a year it has met with very hearty response of the several organizations and will be carried forward during the coming year.

There is another aspect of our educational work which cannot fail to be of interest to the membership of labor at large. It has to do with the general broadcasting of educational lectures on the contribution of labor to American civilization. A little over two years ago the American Association for Adult Education made a study of the educational possibilities of the radio. As a result of this investigation it was decided to set up a National Advisory Council of the Radio in Education to serve as a general clearing house in this rapidly-expanding field. This council, shortly after its establishment, sought the co-operation of various educational societies and scientific bodies in preparing authentic information in these various fields to be broadcast. The National Council invited the Workers' Education Bureau to co-operate in the selection of a Labor Committee that would aid in the preparation of material and undertake responsibility for a regular broadcasting over a nation-wide hook-up at weekly intervals for the next year or more. Matthew Woll was

selected as chairman of this Labor Committee, which consists of Victor Olander, John Frey, Thomas E. Burk, Thomas Kennedy, Chester Wright and the Secretary of the Bureau. A tentative list of lectures has been outlined and it is hoped that these lectures can be prepared and broadcast beginning sometime this fall. What an opportunity to tell the entire nation of Labor's fifty years of growth and service!

In connection with the Canadian membership of the American Federation of Labor it may be appropriate to add that the Bureau was instrumental in securing a grant for the Workers' Educational Association of Toronto two years ago and has been equally successful in securing a supplementary grant which has enabled this association, in co-operation with the University of Toronto, to serve well over a thousand workers in the Province of Ontario. Such are a few examples of the manner in which the educational work of the Bureau is carried forward.

The year's achievement in the field of workers' education makes clear the path along which our educational work should develop during the next year. For side by side with all the complex economic problems there is growing an unparalleled amount of new leisure on the part of American wage earners. A universal five-day week in America would add 25,000,000 leisure hours each working day to the life of the gainfully employed in our land. What a golden opportunity for adult education! Indeed it is not too much to say that with the shortening of the working week the education for leisure constitutes one of the most searching challenges of an age which is making demands of all kinds on our capacity for leadership. Our trade union movement must rise to meet this surpassing need, not only of the new leisure, but the changing character of the economic progress.

My concrete suggestions are these, that we incorporate into the educational program of this convention the provision that we urge upon every central labor body in the country the appointment of an educational committee that shall assume responsibility for a systematic fact-finding study of the local economic situation, of the growth of technological processes in the local community, of the occupational shift of workers, and of the expansion or contraction of work opportunities, of the availability of resources in our public and vocational schools for re-training workers for new crafts, of the willingness of our public libraries to facilitate such study of new processes for old, and, in general, of the opportunity for the development of adult educational opportunities for the occupation of leisure.

And in the second place I propose that each state federation of labor, through its educational committee now in existence or to be appointed, get into

direct and immediate touch with the state university and discover what facilities for joint research on economic problems can be made available to labor, and in what way the educational plant of the university supported by the citizens of the state, can be made available to labor for institutes and summer conferences. We have the notable example of Rutgers University in the east and the University of California in the west. Many other state universities are prepared to follow the lead which has been set up. What we need from labor is not only resolutions, but a defined program of procedure which can be carried forward by our state federations of labor with the united support of the movement. Men may differ in this convention as to the approach to the economic question, but no reasonable man can doubt the unquestioned importance of education to the advancement of labor's highest interest.

And one word more. As you stand with a record of fifty years of notable service in the interests of American wage earners and the American nation, upon the threshold of the second half century mark, I cannot refrain, as a student of history, from making three brief reflections.

The half century which marks the establishment and growth of your movement has also marked the closing of the last frontier in American life. Subsequently the migration of people to the new world was stopped, but for the first time in our history as a nation, the number of people coming to our gates has actually been less than those that have departed. But as physical frontiers have been closed, new mental and spiritual frontiers have been opened. Science and invention in the physical world, philosophy and psychology, art and literature, in the mental and aesthetic world have disclosed new hinterlands that can hardly be encompassed. Sir James Jeans, the world's greatest astronomer, said recently that in twenty-five years man has surveyed the physical universe from the starry nebulae to the ultra-microscopic electron. Our minds cannot encompass so great a range. But new awareness has come to men everywhere of the essential unity of the world's problems. We discuss with ease and considerable knowledge today the revolution in China, non-cooperation in India, the five-year plan in Russia, and the changes of government in England, much the same as our forefathers discussed problems of village and local government. We are, in fact, becoming citizens of the world and the range of our interests has immensely widened.

In the second place, we have realized how accelerated has become the pace of our progress. We are swept on by the momentum of a world that knows neither rest nor quiet. But it means that it is impossible for us to turn back

in our course; it means that we must continue to forge new instruments to do our tasks. "New occasions teach new duties, time makes ancient good uncouth," wrote the poet James Russell Lowell at the time of the Civil War. So it is with us! The old mores and the old economy will not suffice. We shall never again be able to trust to free and unregulated competition to control our lives. The new freedom is not to be found in the re-establishment of pristine competition but through the co-operative endeavor of free men. We move, in a word, toward a policy of control and mastery in our economic life and away from the policy of drift and indirection. The crisis has made abundantly clear that maldistribution and a lack of co-ordination between production and consumption will not adjust itself. We have tried the ways of free competition and we find ourselves today struggling in a morass that threatens to engulf us. Co-ordination is needed. We must plan. We must define our goals and marshal our forces to those plans. Technology demands that we plan; our very predicament makes planning imperative. Indeed it is not too sweeping a statement to make that the alternative before us is Plan or Perish. We need in the United States, not a five-year plan, nor a ten-year plan, but a fifty-year plan. We need to consider what life might become and direct our activities toward its accomplishment. And let no man hesitate because of the fact that the Russians have made planning a part of their national economy. Planning is an attribute of technology; it should be peculiarly the development of America which is the land of technological triumph. Let me read to you the words of one of our most distinguished historians, Dr. Charles A. Beard.

"Is the concept of national planning merely another transitory fad, an idle fantasy born of day-dreaming and destined like a thousand others to pass away tomorrow or the day after? The answer to be an inescapable negative. All western civilization is founded on technology, and of inner necessity technology is rational and planful. The engineer must conform to the inexorable laws of force and materials. Technology cannot begin anything without first establishing a goal, a purpose. To proceed at all it must stake out a field of work; then in execution it must assemble materials and engines and carry on its operations according to blueprints until it reaches its predetermined ends. With irresistible might it strides across the wild welter of unreasoned actions, irrelevant sentiments, and emotional starts and fits which characterize historic politics, agriculture and industry. As technology advances, occupying ever larger areas of productive economy, there will be a corresponding contraction of the spheres controlled by guesswork and rule-of-thumb procedure. This means, of course, a continuous expan-

sion of the planned zone of economic activity."

But if we are to have planning, we must have a body competent to the task. No such body exists today in the United States. We have trade associations that carry forward the interests of special groups; we have no body which is concerned with the interest of the whole nation that is competent to do this complicated task. What is imperatively needed is a National Economic Council which would be advisory in nature and non-governmental in creation, composed of representatives of capital, labor, the farmer, and the consumer, representatives of such organizations as the Chamber of Commerce, the American Federation of Labor, the Farmers' Granges, and the Consumers' Leagues. This Council could through its chosen representatives, and with the aid and advice of competent experts, address itself to such immediate problems, as occupational shifts in industry, of the allocation of capital for new industry. With such a beginning the Council could then turn to the larger task of looking beyond the hills and seeing the greater tasks which call for planning on a national scale such as the conservation of natural and human resources, co-ordinated production and consumption, of the prevention of disease, the elimination of illiteracy, the replacing of many of our shambles and slums for real homes, and the building of great new playgrounds, and in the beautification of the country side.

Here is a task that will challenge the intelligence and the capacity of labor in the years to come. This means entering boldly into the very center of our life. If we move from individualism to collectivism, as indeed we must, it is important that labor be intelligent and informed. It is obvious that labor should be an indivisible part of any program of national planning and such a National Economic Council for the creation of plans. But labor's contribution to either activity will be in direct proportion to its knowledge, its capacity, and its imagination.

Dare we men of labor embark on so great an undertaking to bring the forces of life under social control for the welfare of all mankind?

In the name of those unnumbered pioneers of labor, by whose sacrifice and devotion this movement was erected, dare we do less as we look back on the half century that has passed and look out upon the fifty years that lie ahead?

President Green: I know, my friends, that we have all listened with a feeling of very deep interest and satisfaction to this interesting and informative address delivered by Secretary Miller. It has been really a most profound and interesting exposition on education and

economics. I am sure that the Committee on Education will give most concrete, definite and careful consideration to the information, the suggestions and the recommendations contained in this inspiring address. We are grateful to Secretary Miller for his presence, for his message and for the sincere and very deep interest which he has manifested in workers' education. We hope that the splendid work he has been doing will be carried forward to even greater success.

Delegate Florence Curtis Hanson, American Federation of Teachers, obtained unanimous consent to introduce the following resolution:

#### Unemployment

Resolution No. 90—Introduced by Florence Curtis Hanson, American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, The question of unemployment presents the outstanding problem of the moment; and

WHEREAS, The productiveness of the American worker with the improved machinery is so great that we are now destined to live in a surplus economy; and

WHEREAS, The evil of unemployment is due to our economic system under which the burden of economic maladjustment falls with crushing force upon the innocent—the worker and his dependents; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That, pending the evolution of a saner economic system dominated by the service ideal, instead of individual greed, the American Federation of Labor meet this problem by sponsoring legislation:

(a) For the establishment of government employment agencies;

(b) For the provision of unemployment insurance maintained by the Federal Government or the states with Federal aid, including the creation of a reserve fund to pay the unemployed in crises beyond the requirement of unemployment provisions;

(c) For the establishment of the shorter work day and work week;

(d) For the stabilization of private industry; and

(e) For the long-range planning of public works.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

#### Supplemental Report of Executive Council

President Green: The Chair desires to submit a supplemental report of the

Executive Council, containing the report of the fraternal delegates to the British Trades Union Congress. This report is jointly signed by Joseph V. Moreschi and Joseph P. Ryan, the two delegates to the British Trades Union Congress. This report will be incorporated in the proceedings of today's session.

Following is the report of Fraternal Delegates Moreschi and Ryan:

New York,  
September 20, 1931.

American Federation of Labor,  
Vancouver, B. C.

Brothers:

In accordance with custom and usage it is our desire and privilege to render a report of our mission as your delegates to the British Trades Union Congress which was held at Bristol, England, from the seventh to the eleventh day of September. The cordiality with which we were received and the enthusiasm with which the greeting and felicitations of the American Federation of Labor were acclaimed bespeaks the friendliness of the British Trade Unionist toward his American co-workers.

The Congress was composed of 587 delegates, representing 3,719,401 workers, comprising 18 trades groups consisting of 210 Unions. The other accredited fraternal delegates who attended and addressed the Congress were: R. Livett, representing the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress; N. M. Joshi, representing the India Trades Union Federation; L. Jouhau, representing the International Federation of Trades Unions; F. Greenwood, representing the Co-operative Union, and the Right Honorable Arthur Henderson, M.P., representing the Labor Party.

Between each annual convention the entire business of the Congress is entrusted to a General Council of 32 members representing each of the 18 trades groups according to their respective numerical strength, and a general Secretary. The President is appointed by the General Council for each Congress. But while their methods and procedure may differ from ours, their aims and ills are quite similar to ours. Their chief concern at present is employment, the maintenance of the present wage, the establishment of a work week of forty hours and the protection of the worker from exploitation.

There were many resolutions presented covering the wide field in which the worker is interested, but this particular Congress coming within a few weeks of the resignation of the Labor Cabinet was one of the most important held by the organized labor movement in England for many years. As you no doubt know,

the movement in England engages in the active partisan political life of the country and for the past few years the Labor Party has been the governing power. This year due to the financial condition of the country, and in order to attempt to balance the budget it was the common opinion that drastic economies had to be made. The plan advanced by the spokesman of the financial and industrial interests was an immediate reduction of ten per cent. in unemployment benefits and a reduction of fifteen per cent. in the salaries of civil employees. This plan was generally acceptable to the Prime Minister and two other members of the Labor Cabinet, but it was not agreeable to the several other members of the Cabinet, nor to the general council of the Trades Union Congress. This resulted in the resignation of the Cabinet, the surrender of the control of the government by the labor ministry and the formation of a coalition cabinet.

The Congress while conscious that something must be done to meet the deficit in the national budget felt that the plan to reduce unemployment benefits and the reduction of the wages of civil employees was a scheme conceived and advanced by the vested interests to effect a general reduction in wages. The Congress championed the doctrine that high wages are essential to national prosperity, and condemned the attempt to drive the worker to offer his labor for low wages through inadequate unemployment benefits. Its position was that the deficit should be made up through the taxation of invested capital or by a general devaluation of the "pound sterling" so that the sacrifice would be general and borne equally and not fall directly upon the shoulders of the worker.

We commend the practice of interchanging fraternal delegates not merely for the spirit of co-operation and understanding which it promotes, but because through the acceleration of the human tempo brought about by the increased speed of travel and intercommunication, all peoples have been brought into a much closer contact than they were a few years ago, and because the condition of the labor movement in other countries is apt to influence our condition in America.

In closing we desire to express our individual thanks and appreciation of the membership of our respective International Unions for the honor bestowed upon us in electing us as your fraternal delegates. We have the pleasure and privilege of delivering to you the fraternal feelings and good wishes of the British Trades Union Congress.

Fraternally submitted,

(Signed) JOSEPH P. RYAN,  
JOS. V. MORESCHI.

President Green: I have also the report of the fraternal delegate to the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress, Charles J. Case. This will be considered as a supplemental report of the Executive Council and will also appear in the printed proceedings of today's session.

The following is the report of Fraternal Delegate Case:

Vancouver, B. C.,  
October 5, 1931.

To the Officers and Delegates  
of the 51st Annual Convention  
of the American Federation of  
Labor.

Greetings:

The 47th Annual Convention of the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress was called to order at 10 a.m., September 21st, 1931, in the Ballroom of the Vancouver Hotel, Vancouver, British Columbia, in the usual manner.

Brother Colin Macdonald, President of the Vancouver and Westminster Trades and Labor Congress extended a hearty welcome to the Delegates to the City of Vancouver. He then introduced His Worship Acting Mayor John Bennett and Hon. R. M. Maitland.

The splendid addresses of welcome extended the Delegates by these honorable gentlemen were heartily received and most highly appreciated by the approximately 300 delegates present.

He next introduced President Thomas Moore and presented him with a beautiful gavel made from a tree from the Canadian Rockies. Brother President Moore thanked the speakers for their addresses of welcome and goodwill extended the Delegates to the Convention.

Immediately when the afternoon session was called to order the Convention settled right down to the business of dealing with the 136 resolutions that were introduced at the Convention in the interests of the men and women of the Dominion of Canada and its provinces.

Quite a lot of time was consumed in dealing with employment, unemployment and under-employment. Also many resolutions were adopted dealing with legislative matters, railroads, public ownership and control over enterprise, industrial disputes, hours of labor, holidays with pay, trade with Russia, franchise and election acts, minimum wage legislation, mothers' allowances, health and safety, old age pensions, and compensation.

It is indeed a pleasure to inform you that, notwithstanding the under-employment and the long siege of depression, the officers' report of the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress showed that there was quite an increase in the membership and the finances of the Canadian Trades and Labor Con-

gress, and it is also pleasing to me to report that the One Big Union or dual organization that has been a curse to the laboring people of the Dominion of Canada has been reduced in its membership from 52,000 in 1930 to less than 26,000 in 1931.

The Fraternal Delegate, Brother Albert Swales, of the British Trades Union Congress, addressed the Convention and spoke at length on the conditions now prevailing among the workers of Great Britain.

The Minister of Labor, Hon. G. D. Robertson, also addressed the Convention. The splendid addresses of these two honorable gentlemen were very high appreciated by the Delegates.

The program of entertainment extended to the Delegates by the Local Union and the City Officials gave expression of their appreciation to the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress for having held their Convention in the wonderful city of Vancouver. A grand banquet and dance were held in the Vancouver Hotel Ballroom, which was one of the grandest affairs I have ever had the honor to attend. They also chartered a beautiful boat, "Princess Elizabeth", and took the Delegates for a ride through the Sound.

In conclusion I take this opportunity of thanking the people of Canada for the kindness extended me while attending their Convention and I find words inadequate in expressing my thanks to the Delegates of the 50th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor for having made it possible for me to represent the American Federation of Labor at the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress, and whoever is to follow after me, serving in this same capacity, may feel highly honored in enjoying one of the greatest opportunities of a lifetime.

Again extending my thanks to everybody.

Most respectfully submitted for your approval.

Fraternally,

(Signed) CHAS. J. CASE.

President Green: The order of business tomorrow will be the submission of committee's reports and addresses by our fraternal delegates.

Delegate Flore, Hotel and Restaurant Employees: Will we have a session on Monday of next week?

President Green: The Chair is unable to say. That will probably be determined at the session to be held Friday afternoon. I am unable at this time to state what is the wish or the desire of the delegates in attendance at the convention. It is my opinion, however, that

owing to the fact that next Monday is a national holiday in the Dominion of Canada, it would be right and proper to join with our Canadian brothers in the observance of that holiday. It is also a holiday in the United States, because it is Columbus Day.

Delegate Flore: Will a motion be in order now?

President Green: The Chair will entertain a motion.

Delegate Flore: I move that when we adjourn on Friday the rules be suspended and an adjournment taken to Tuesday morning of the following week.

The motion was adopted and carried by unanimous vote.

Chairman Bengough, of the Entertainment Committee, announced that a trip had been arranged for the delegates and guests for the afternoon. He stated that the boat would leave Pier "D" at 2:30 o'clock and that tea would be served on board.

President Green: It seems now that we have reached the conclusion of the business of this morning's session. If there is no further business the meeting will stand adjourned until tomorrow at 9:30 o'clock.

At 12:15 o'clock, under suspension of the rules, the convention adjourned to 9:30 o'clock a.m., Thursday, October 8th.

## Fourth Day — Thursday Morning Session

Vancouver, B. C.,  
October 8, 1931.

The convention was called to order by President Green at 9:30 o'clock.

### Absentees

Dullzell, Bowen, Schulte, Coulter, Zaritsky, Schlesinger, Greene, Lawlor, Brock, Onyett, Gorman (P. E.), Lane, Lewis, Murray, Hartneady, Fagan, Boylan, Britton, Burke (J. P.), Sullivan (H. W.), Gorman (F. J.), Starr, Smith, Hatch, Fay, Provost, Gross, Rosqvist, Elliott, Sullivan (J.), Campbell (J. C.), Garrison, Possee, Joel, Campbell (G. C.), Driscoll, Coleman, Barger, Augustino, Foster, Quinn (J. C.), Smethurst, Welsh, Martinez, Reed, Wood, Covert, Thomas, Bohm, Stephens, McElligott, Randolph, Webster, Hampton, Mitchell (T.)

### REPORT OF THE AUDITING COMMITTEE

Delegate Collins, secretary of the committee, submitted the following report:

To the Officers and Delegates of the Fifty-first Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

Complying with Section 4, Article 3, of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor, the undersigned, representing your Auditing Committee, and consisting of three delegates appointed by the presidents of their respective international organizations, at the request of President Green, herewith submit the following report for your consideration:

We have very carefully examined and audited all the books and records of the American Federation of Labor, covering financial transactions for the fiscal year beginning September 1st, 1930, and ending August 31st, 1931. We are pleased to report that all books and records were found correct in every respect.

The total receipts and disbursements for the respective accounts are as follows:

#### Receipts

|  |              |
|--|--------------|
| Balance on hand on August 31, 1930 ..... | \$363,721.38 |
| Per capita tax .....                     | \$357,201.17 |

|   |                     |
|---|---------------------|
| American Federationist .....  | 128,257.42          |
| Defense Fund for local trade and federal labor unions .....   | 21,793.39           |
| Initiation Fees .....   | 5,165.49            |
| Reinstatement Fees .....  | 428.00              |
| Supplies .....  | 4,553.59            |
| Interest .....  | 13,454.09           |
| Profit on sale of \$165,000.00 in Liberty Bonds .....   | 7,785.94            |
| Refund from Treasurer Ryan of amount advanced to pay accrued interest on Federal Land Bank Bonds .....                              | 901.47              |
| Amount received from Treasurer and received for as difference between par value and purchase price of Federal Land Bank Bonds ..... | 19,570.00           |
| Premiums on bonds of officers of unions bonded through A. F. of L. ....   | 4,734.75            |
| Disbanded and suspended unions and miscellaneous receipts .....   | 5,260.51            |
| <b>Total Receipts .....</b>   | <b>569,105.82</b>   |
| <b>Grand Total .....</b>  | <b>\$932,827.20</b> |

#### Expenses

|   |              |
|---|--------------|
| General .....   | \$444,999.07 |
| American Federationist .....  | 86,807.69    |
| Defense Fund:   |              |
| Strike benefits to local trade and federal labor unions .....   | 5,726.00     |
| Premiums on bonds of officers of affiliated unions .....  | 3,980.90     |
| Amount advanced to Treasurer Ryan to pay accrued interest on Federal Land Bank Bonds .....                      | 901.47       |
| Return of amount received from Treasurer and received for as difference between par value and purchase price of |              |

|  |              |
|--|--------------|
| Federal Land Bank Bonds .....                  | 19,570.00    |
| Total Expenses .....                           | 561,985.13   |
| Balance of funds on hand, August 31, 1931..... | \$370,842.07 |

**Recapitulation**

|  |              |
|--|--------------|
| In General Fund.....   | \$ 52,527.88 |
| In Defense Fund for local trade and federal labor unions ..... | 318,314.19   |

|  |              |
|--|--------------|
| Balance of funds on hand, August 31, 1931..... | \$370,842.07 |
|--|--------------|

**Where Funds Are Deposited and Invested**

The bank balances of the Secretary and Treasurer were confirmed by statements from the respective depositories.

We find the funds of the American Federation of Labor to be deposited and invested as follows:

|  |              |
|--|--------------|
| U. S. Treasury Bonds .....                     | \$125,000.00 |
| Premium on U. S. Treasury Bonds ..             | 1,289.07     |
| Accrued interest on U. S. Treasury Bonds ..... | 824.65       |

|  |              |
|--|--------------|
| Total of investment in U. S. Treasury Bonds .....                          | \$127,113.72 |
| \$102,000.00 Federal Land Bank Bonds (4½%) par value \$100.00 at 86½%..... | \$ 88,230.00 |
| Accrued interest ....  | 251.47       |

|  |           |
|--|-----------|
| Investment in Federal Land Bank Bonds at 86½%..... | 88,481.47 |
|--|-----------|

|  |              |
|--|--------------|
| \$80,000.00 Federal Land Bank Bonds (4½%), par value \$100.00 at 92¾%..... | \$ 74,200.00 |
| Accrued interest .....   | 650.00       |

|  |           |
|--|-----------|
| Investment in Federal Land Bank Bonds at 92¾%..... | 74,850.00 |
|--|-----------|

|  |           |
|--|-----------|
| On deposit in the First National Bank, Kansas City, Mo., subject to check..... | 63,396.88 |
|--|-----------|

|  |           |
|--|-----------|
| Union Labor Life Insurance Company Stock ..... | 15,000.00 |
|--|-----------|

|   |             |
|---|-------------|
| On deposit in Riggs National Bank, Washington, D.C., subject to check of Secretary Morrison ..... | \$ 8,151.33 |
| Outstanding checks .....  | 6,151.33    |
|   | 2,000.00    |

Total .....\$370,842.07

The United States Treasury Bonds yield interest at 3½% (three and one-eighth per cent).

**Report of Vice-president Duffy's Committee**

Kansas City, Mo.,  
September 10, 1931.

Mr. William Green, President, American Federation of Labor, Vancouver, B. C., Canada.

Dear Sir and Brother:

This is to certify that on September 10, 1931, the undersigned international officers examined the funds in possession of Mr. Martin F. Ryan, Treasurer, American Federation of Labor, and found them correct.

We herewith submit the following report:

|  |              |
|--|--------------|
| United States Treasury Certificates, including premium and accrued interest..... | \$127,113.72 |
| Federal Land Bank Bonds, including accrued interest.....                         | 163,331.47   |
| Stock—The Union Labor Life Insurance Co. ....                                    | 15,000.00    |
| Checking Account, First National Bank, Kansas City, Mo., Sept. 3, 1931.....      | 63,396.88    |
| Certified by Assistant Auditor, Chas. C. Trafton.                                |              |

|  |              |
|--|--------------|
| Total amount in hands of Treasurer ..... | \$368,842.07 |
|--|--------------|

Respectfully submitted,

FRANK DUFFY,

First Vice-President, American Federation of Labor; General Secretary, United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America.

JOHN J. PFEIFFER,

Secretary-Treasurer, United Leather Workers' International Union.

CHAS. F. SCOTT,

Secretary-Treasurer, International Brotherhood of Boilermakers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 10th day of September, 1931.

MABEL SMITH,

Notary Public.

My commission expires Nov. 3, 1932.

**Woodrow Wilson Memorial Building Fund**

On August 1, 1925, an appeal was issued in accordance with instructions of the El Paso convention to all affiliated organizations for financial contributions to be used for the construction of a suitable building on the grounds of the

Woodrow Wilson Memorial College, to be used for such educational developments as may be determined upon by the President and the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, and that the same shall be in memory of the late President of the United States, Woodrow Wilson.

Contributions received from August 12, 1925, to August 31, 1931, including interest, amount to \$1,733.33. This fund is deposited in the Riggs National Bank, Washington, D. C.

An itemized statement of the moneys received and to whom paid will be mailed to each contributor when this fund is closed.

We have examined the records in this account and find them correctly reported.

**Flag Fund**

Receipts from June 10, 1918 to and including August 31, 1931...\$605.06  
 Transferred to General Fund, January 30, 1931..... 605.06

We have examined the records in this account and find them correctly reported.

**Gompers Memorial Fund**

By direction of the Forty-eighth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor and the Executive Council, an appeal was issued under date of December 26, 1928, to affiliated organizations for contributions to be used for the erection of a suitable memorial to the late President of the American Federation of Labor, Samuel Gompers:

Receipts from December 20, 1924, to and including August 31, 1931 .....\$124,707.66  
 Total expenses, January 12, 1929, to and including August 31, 1931 ..... 1,277.50

Balance on hand August 31, 1931 .....\$123,430.16  
 Funds deposited and invested as follows:

Mount Vernon Savings Bank, Washington, D. C., interest bearing certificates .....\$ 20,000.00  
 Mount Vernon Savings Bank, Washington, D. C., checking account ..... 6,419.66  
 United States Treasury Bonds .....\$95,000.00  
 Premium on U. S. Treasury Bonds.... 1,425.00

Accrued interest on  
 U. S. Treasury Bonds ..... 585.50  
 Total of investment in U. S. Treasury Bonds ..... 97,010.50  
 Total .....\$123,430.16

The certificates bear interest at the rate of three and one-half (3½%) per cent. and are guaranteed by Surety Bonds. The United States Treasury Bonds bear interest at the rate of three and one-eighth (3¼%) per cent.

An itemized statement of the moneys received and to whom paid will be mailed to each contributor when this fund is closed.

We have examined the records in this account and find them correctly reported. We personally inspected and counted the United States Treasury Bonds, the certificates of deposit and the checking account bank book, and found them correct.

**Textile Workers' Fund**

Contributions in response to the appeal issued May 11, 1929, by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to affiliated organizations for financial assistance for the striking textile workers of the South:

Total receipts, May 15, 1929, to August 31, 1931 .....\$41,530.81  
 Total checks, May 17, 1929 to August 31, 1931 .....\$41,530.81

An itemized statement of the moneys received and to whom paid has been mailed to each contributor.

We have examined the records in this account and find them correctly reported.

**Danville, Virginia, Textile Workers' Fund**

Contributions in response to action of Convention and in response to the appeal issued October 24, 1930, by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor for financial assistance for the striking Textile Workers of Danville, Virginia.

Total receipts, October 18, 1930,  
to August 31, 1931 ..... \$28,725.62  
Total checks, October 18, 1930,  
to August 31, 1931 ..... 28,725.62

An itemized statement of the moneys received and to whom paid has been mailed to each contributor.

We have examined the records in this account and find them correctly reported.

**American Federation of Labor  
Building Fund**

Balance on hand, Aug. 31, 1930. \$55,070.58  
Receipts ..... 33,311.81  
Receipts and balance..... \$88,382.39  
Expenses ..... 25,653.20

Balance on hand, Aug. 31, 1931. \$62,729.19

(See page 34, Executive Council's report, for itemized statement of receipts and expenses.)

We have examined the records in this account and find them correctly reported.

We find the balance, \$62,729.19, invested and deposited as follows:

Mount Vernon Savings Bank,  
Washington, D. C., interest  
bearing certificates of de-  
posit ..... \$ 40,000.00  
On deposit in Mount  
Vernon Savings  
Bank, Washington,  
D. C., subject to  
check ..... \$7,818.47  
Outstanding checks.... 108.03

7,710.44

\$18,000.00 Federal  
Land Bank Bonds,  
(4½%) par value  
\$100.00 at 82..... \$14,760.00  
Accrued interest ..... 258.75

Total investment in Federal  
Land Bank Bonds..... 15,018.75

Total ..... \$ 62,729.19

The certificates of deposit bear interest at the rate of three and one-half (3½%) per cent. and are guaranteed by Surety Bond.

We also personally inspected and counted the interest bearing certificates of deposit amounting to \$40,000.00, the Federal Land Bank Bonds—par value, \$18,000.00, book value or purchase price (including accrued interest) \$15,018.75 and the bank book which showed a balance of \$7,818.47 less outstanding

checks, \$108.03, equals \$7,710.44, and found them correct.

Your committee desires to add a few concluding remarks in connection with this audit:

The balance of funds on hand (including the General and Defense Funds) on August 31, 1930, amounted to \$363,721.38, whereas at the close of this fiscal year (1930-1931) the balance of funds on hand amounted to \$370,842.07, an increase of \$7,120.69. In view of the economic depression this increase testifies to the stability of the Federation's finances.

Your committee is very favorably impressed with the progress made by the Federation's official publication, the "American Federationist." Not only does the financial administration of this magazine consistently record a substantial excess of receipts over expenses, but it is also evident that the subscription list is always directed toward a higher goal. As to the contents of this magazine, nothing but praise can be accorded to those who are responsible for the high standard of literary material contained therein, on the industrial, social and political phases of American and foreign life. Your committee can only reiterate the recommendations of previous auditing committees that the officers and members of organized labor do all in their power to spread the influence of the "Federationist" by increased circulation.

The American Federation of Labor Building Fund is in good condition. We are pleased to call attention to an increase of \$7,658.61 in this fund at the end of this fiscal year as compared to the previous year. The excellent condition in which the building is maintained impressed us. American trade unionists may well be proud of their national headquarters.

With the kind co-operation of Secretary Morrison we visited the various offices under the supervision of President Green and Secretary Morrison. It is apparent that complete harmony and good will exist between the resident officers of the Federation and their employees.

In conclusion, may we express our appreciation of the co-operation and help rendered by Secretary Morrison and his assistants in the Bookkeeping Department in making the task of this audit interesting and less burdensome and may we also comment on the admirable and efficient manner in which the Federation's financial transactions are recorded.

Fraternally submitted,  
 JOHN E. ROONEY, Chairman,  
 JOHN REUL,  
 W. M. COLLINS, Secretary,  
 Auditing Committee.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

President Green: The Chair has been requested by the Resolutions Committee to make this announcement. Hearings on the Boulder and Hoover Dam question will be held at 2:30 o'clock this afternoon in Room 115. All interested in these subjects will be heard at that time.

#### Addresses of Fraternal Delegates

President Green: I have always believed that we have maintained a most beautiful custom and a most profitable procedure through the exchange of fraternal delegates between the great English speaking nations of the world. I can't tell when this custom began. It began many, many years ago. We have maintained it with unbroken regularity. The American Federation of Labor has commissioned representatives to go across the sea, attend the sessions of the British Trades Union Congress and carry to our brothers and sisters there a message of fraternity and good will. In like manner the British Trades Union Congress has commissioned representatives to attend our annual conventions and bring to us the fraternal greetings of the men and women who make up the British Trades Union Congress. You heard Brother Swales state yesterday that for a century the British Trades Union Congress has been functioning as an instrumentality through which the workers of Great Britain have given expression to their hopes, their ideals and their aspirations.

That is a long record. Our organization is not nearly so old. I think we received our inspiration to organize from the organization of our fellow workers, our brothers and sisters in Great Britain.

We are glad to receive the message and words of wisdom which our delegates bring to us from this older organization. We have with us this morning two friends commissioned to come, bearing their credentials, speaking for the millions of workers who are members of the British Trades Union Congress. They come, I know, with a message of hope, of good will, of cheer, and of inspiration, and I am glad to present them this morning.

First, I will call upon the representative of the Wood Workers' organization in Great Britain, an organization that has maintained a most cordial and close relationship with the woodworking organization here, the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America. Brother Wolstencroft comes to us as a seasoned trade unionist, an honored officer of that great organization, an active, outstanding, respected member of the British Trades Union Congress. We are glad to have him here. I know you are waiting eagerly for his message. I take pleasure in presenting to you Brother F. Wolstencroft, of the Amalgamated Society of Wood Workers, Manchester, England.

#### MR. F. WOLSTENCROFT (Fraternal Delegate, British Trades Union Congress)

Mr. President, members of the Executive, delegates and friends—It is a great honor for me to be one of the British delegates entrusted to convey to you fraternal greetings from the British Trades Union Congress on behalf of organized labor in Britain. These annual exchanges of fraternal greetings are an indication that the working class of my country and of your country are anxious to understand each other and help each other and to draw closer together in bonds of unity, based on mutual esteem and respect.

Although this is my first visit to your great country, in one sense I have been connected with it through trade union association for a considerable number of years. The Amalgamated Society of Wood Workers, of which I am proud to be general secretary, opened a branch

or local in New York City as far back as 1867, and from that year up to 1924, we endeavored to extend our organization in the States. In 1901, just thirty years ago, the then general secretary of my Society, Brother F. Chandler, who was one of the British fraternal delegates to your convention that year, did his best to bring about a friendly understanding between our American branches and the growing American Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners. His efforts were not altogether successful, and it was your convention in 1902 which appointed Mr. Adolph Strasser, ex-President of the International Union of Cigar Makers, to arbitrate between the two organizations. He produced a plan which the British Society accepted, but which did not commend itself to the American Brotherhood.

But in 1913, a new plan of solidification was jointly agreed upon and became operative on the first of February, 1914. From the beginning of 1914, we in Britain formally renounced responsibility for our branches in America, in Canada, also in South Africa, New Zealand and Australia, leaving them to adapt their organization in a way most suited to the industrial conditions under which their membership worked.

My society has also had business dealings with the kindred organization over here with respect to the exports of American manufactured joineries to Britain. Our policy, in collaboration with British trade employers, is not to ask for a tariff against imported joineries, but to refuse to handle any such joinery unless its maker's name appears on our Approved List. Before a name goes on the Approved List, we stipulate that the conditions of manufacture are satisfactory to the unions concerned in the country of origin. In this way we have been able to assist trade union organizers in America and European countries to bring woodworking factories into line.

Yesterday I received a wire from an American woodworking firm, informing me that members of my organization in Liverpool, England, were refusing to handle doors sent from America and calling upon me to immediately wire to my head office in Manchester, withdrawing that embargo. This American firm was placed upon the joinery Approved List after it had entered into a working arrangement satisfactory with the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America. After being placed upon the Approved List and having introduced their doors in an orderly manner into Britain, they withdrew from that agreement with the American Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, and when that came to the knowledge of my organization, we immediately decided to remove the name of the firm from the fair list and to instruct our

members in Britain not to handle any more manufactured joinery sent from that particular American woodworking firm. As a result of the action taken by my members in Liverpool and different parts of the country, this American firm desires now to approach the Brotherhood representatives and myself in order that peace may be made. But I can assure the delegates here that unless the firm is prepared to enter into a working agreement satisfactory to the Carpenters and Joiners of America, the embargo which my organization has placed upon the manufactured doors of that firm will not be withdrawn and they will have considerable difficulty in disposing of their goods in my country.

That shows the necessity of close cooperation between your country and my country, and if we can assist firms in America or firms in any European country to obtain trade union conditions of labor as a result of exporting material to England, then they can depend upon the support of my trade union organization, so far as the manufacture of joinery is concerned.

With this brief reference to my own trade union organization, I may usefully turn to the menace of unemployment, which is causing the greatest anxiety in all countries. It is not my purpose to go into the cause of unemployment. You have your own views and I know that you hold the same opinion as the General Council of the British Trades Union Congress, that reductions of wages are an aggravation of the evil and that shorter working hours, not longer, should be the slogan for the working class of all countries.

We in Britain were delighted when we heard the American Federation of Labor was in favor of a five-day working week. The British Trades Union Congress at Bristol, the first week in September, decided that forty hours a week should be the program for the British Trades Union movement, and I suppose that if a forty-hour week could be established in Britain, it would be worked in five days, and if only America and England could establish a five-day week, it would be beneficial, not only to the organized movement of the two countries, but to the whole of the organized movement in the world. If Britain and American can not establish a five-day working week, then there is very little hope of any of the European countries being able to do so.

The British employers are opposed to reducing the hours, and in negotiating with them since the end of the war, we have been informed that if we desire an increase in our weekly rate, we can only obtain it by increasing the hours of labor. They have not preferred to increase wages on the hours in operation, and we have had difficulty in resisting their attempts to increase

the working hours and in that way increase the weekly wage, in spite of the fact that for some nine or ten years we have been passing through a terrible period of depression.

In spite of that depression the trade union movement in Britain has resolutely refused to entertain the idea of increasing the working hours, even if it meant that for the time being we could obtain no advance on the weekly rate of wages paid to organized workers. The arguments put forward by the British employers are, that unless we increase the working hours per day, they will be unable to compete successfully with the European countries who are working longer hours and paying a lower rate of wages, and it has been a remarkable fact, that in all the negotiations that have taken place, they never referred to America. We know that the rates of wages in America are far in excess of the rates of wages paid in Britain, and all the arguments brought forward by the British employers are with reference to the European countries, whose wages are lower than those in Britain, and where the working hours are longer.

It is obvious to us why no reference is made to the American continent when we are negotiating wages. We believe in Britain that it is a short-sighted policy to reduce wages, even in times of depression, because if wages are reduced, the purchasing power of the workers is further reduced. It means that other employes in other industries dependent upon the spending power of the workers are thrown out of employment and the number is considerably added to.

Therefore, if we in Britain are unable to obtain the 40-hour week in the near future, we hope that the American Federation of Labor will make a real attempt to obtain a five-day week, and if you are successful in obtaining a five-day week, we from Britain will congratulate you earnestly and wish you every success in your efforts to maintain the five-day week when it becomes an accomplished fact.

I was very much pleased to learn from the summary of the Executive Council's report that seventeen states have adopted old-age pension schemes. Most of the delegates here, of course, are aware that we have the universal old-age pension scheme in operation in Britain. Most of you may not be aware that from the first week in January, 1928, that an old-age pension scheme came into operation, which applies to those who are insured under the unemployment insurance and National Sickness Act, that when reaching sixty-five years of age they are automatically granted a pension of ten shillings per week, or in your money, \$2.50 per week. If the wife of the person is sixty-five years of age she also receives a similar pension. That amount is paid irrespective of whether the person is in employ-

ment or not. That has been of considerable benefit to those who have reached the age of sixty-five years, but it has had one very ill effect so far as those who receive it are concerned. Immediately a person becomes entitled to the old-age pension of ten shillings per week, that fact becomes known to every employer, and it is obvious to the employers that when a person is seeking employment, he is at least sixty-five years of age, and I am sorry to say, it has had the effect in many industries of preventing such persons from again obtaining employment after they have received the old-age pension, due particularly, of course, to the fact of the depression which is prevailing and the belief held by some employers, that if a man is over sixty or sixty-five years of age, he is not capable of turning out sufficient work to meet his needs.

That is the only drawback that we have found with regard to this universal old-age pension, to those who are insured under the Insurance Act, and we believe that it would not apply if trade had been what we would call normal during the years it has been in operation.

It would be idle to deny that wages have not fallen in Britain since the end of the war, but we can claim that had it not been for the British Trade Union movement, the wages would have fallen a considerable amount lower than they are at the present time.

As an illustration as to how wages have fallen, I will just refer to my own particular trade. In London the craftsman's rate of wages at the end of the war for all building trade operatives was \$25.50 per week in your money. The approximate rate at the present time is \$18.00 per week, so that means that the craftsman's rate of wages has fallen in London from \$25.50 per week to \$18.00 per week.

Up against that, is the fact that since 1918, negotiations in Britain have developed from local and county to national negotiations, and as an illustration of the progress that has been made, I will cite the building industry. Previous to 1918, only 25 per cent. of the personnel of the building trade operatives were in receipt of what could be claimed to be the highest rate in any district. As a result of our negotiations, at the present time, 75 per cent. of the personnel of the building trade operatives in Britain are in receipt of the highest rate of wages. So that means, that as far as the building industry is concerned, that on a national negotiation basis, we have benefited the greatest number of the building trade operatives, even if it means that in certain instances certain districts have had to mark time while we brought the lowest paid up to the highest paid districts in the country.

We have had, as I said, a terrible time of depression, but I want to make

it quite plain that we in the British trade union movement do not believe we are down, and we are certainly not out, and the American Federation of Labor can rest assured that the British Trade Union movement has hope for the future, and that whatever our country has to go through, you can rest assured that we feel satisfied that whatever may come, the British Trade Union movement and Britain will pull through, even if it means more sacrifices for the years that are to come.

The policy of the British trade union movement for the last two years has been to endeavor to amalgamate unions in any industry where more than one union is catering to the same class of operatives, and we have been very successful in reducing the number of unions. That policy will be continued by the British trade union movement in the future, until such time as we believe that the number of unions catering to any particular industry is reduced to a size which will help to increase the needs and the benefits of those who are in certain industries. We have too many unions in Britain catering to the same class of workmen, and that does not help the unions when negotiating and meeting a body of employers. Whatever may be their differences of opinion, they always meet us around the table as one common body, and in the majority of cases only one is allowed to present the case on behalf of the employers. In many cases we have six or seven people representing six or seven different unions putting up the points of view of their own union, so that it does not help in negotiating to determine wages and conditions of labor.

I think it would be unfair if I did not make just some brief reference to the position of the British Trades Union General Council and the formation of a national government. The General Council of the British trade union movement was asked to convene a meeting at which the Executive of the British Labor Party would be present to hear a statement made by what was known in Britain as the Big Five of the Cabinet, who had been placed in charge to make an endeavor to balance the budget. The Prime Minister, with his four colleagues, met the General Council and the Executive of the Labor Party and stated his case as to why the Trade Union General Council should support the action of the Big Five as reported to us.

I want to be quite candid and say that the statement made by the Prime Minister was so vague that our Secretary informed him that unless he had additional information to give, it was impossible for the General Council to give any decision. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Philip Snowden, then gave facts and figures as to why the trade union movement and the Labor Party Executive should stand by that section of the Cabinet in their endeavor

to balance the budget. We were asked to agree in effect to a reduction of 20 per cent. in the teachers' wages. We were asked to agree to a reduction in the rate of pay of the policemen. We were asked to agree to a reduction in the rate of pay of the sailors and soldiers and the forces in general. Well, the General Council of the British trade union movement retired, and I think it will be perfectly obvious to every delegate of the American Federation of Labor that whatever may have been the position of the country, as a trade union negotiating Council, we could not agree that any body of men in Britain should automatically have their wages reduced unless those who had entered into agreements with them were consulted in the first instance. That is the stand that the British Trade Union General Council made. We said that if the wages of teachers or the policemen, or the forces, were to be reduced, then those who negotiated the agreements on behalf of those people should be consulted, and it was up to them and not up to us to determine as to whether they preferred to accept a reduction in wages.

That is the policy the British trade union movement took, and I say without fear of contradiction that from a trade union point of view, it was the only logical policy we could have taken up at that time.

Mr. President, I think we should be lacking in our duty to the British trade union movement if we made no reference to unemployment insurance, in view of the statements that have already been made from this platform. I am amazed at the misunderstanding which applies to the Unemployment Insurance Act outside of Britain, and I would remind the delegates that the Insurance Act was introduced and placed on the statute books in 1911. It was not a Labor party that placed that Act on the statute book. Neither was it a Labor party that extended the scope of the Insurance Act after the war. And that, after all, should sink deep into the minds of all, in order that when criticisms are being made of the Insurance Act, it should be remembered that it was not the Labor Party that either introduced the Act or amended the Act following the close of the Great War.

One would think that the British workman preferred to stay at home and receive unemployment insurance rather than go out and seek work. One would think that he received this money without giving anything in return, either in service or in money, but I would remind you that at the present time, those who are insured under the Insurance Act, are paying 32 cents per week. If any of you entered into a policy with an insurance company, and when the time came that you should receive for what

you had paid, I am afraid you would strongly object to the insurance company saying, "Because we have had many claims upon our funds we are not prepared to meet your claim at the present time."

The British workman is just as eager and willing to work today as ever he was in the history of Britain, and I am prepared to give the lie direct to any person who says that the Unemployment Insurance Act has made the British workman prefer to play and receive unemployment insurance rather than obtain employment.

The Insurance Act is in two parts—Part 1, Unemployment Insurance; Part 2, National Health Sickness Benefits. You never hear any reference whatever made by those who are opposed to the Insurance Act to the National Health Sickness Benefits side. Why? Because it is absolutely solvent. There are millions in reserve, and the benefits under that Act have been increased to an extent which would amaze you if only the facts and figures could be given to you.

The trade unions can administrate unemployment insurance, they can administrate national health insurance, and as an illustration, my organization administrates Part 2 of the National Health Insurance Act. As a result of our administration we have increased the statutory weekly sickness benefit payment from fifteen shillings per week to twenty-two shillings per week, and we have carried forward for the next valuation hundreds of thousands of dollars in reserve. That applies to practically all of the National Health Sickness Benefit approved societies in Great Britain, so in fairness those who criticize the Insurance Act should deal with both parts and not deal with one part, simply because it suits their convenience to do so.

I also want to inform you that those who are opposed to unemployment insurance are those people who want to increase the working hours and reduce the wages of the workers. Therefore, it should be obvious to all that those people who would increase our hours and reduce our wages are no friends of the organized labor movement in Great Britain, and their comments on the Unemployment Insurance Act should be taken for the value they are worth.

Practically every society in Britain pays unemployment benefits. For the year ending 1930, my organization paid 153,000 pounds in unemployment benefits. If you multiply that by five it will give you the number of dollars in your money that we paid out in twelve months. Do the delegates here assume for one moment that my organization would allow 153,000 pounds of our fund to be paid out if there was work for our members to obtain? And our members are only entitled to receive unem-

ployment benefits when they are prepared to look for and obtain employment, and that applies to every person who deposits his card with the Unemployment Exchange. There is no payment for the first six working days. Those who want the benefits must attend at the Unemployment Exchange and sign the book three days a week. The officials of the Unemployment Exchange can offer employment to any person who is signing the unemployment book and it need not be in the particular trade or occupation in which the person is engaged. For instance, if a member of my organization is signing for state unemployment benefits and there are no vacancies in the building industry, the Employment Exchange officials can say to the member of my organization, "Here is suitable employment, in our opinion, during these times, which you should take." And if the member of my organization says, "No, I am not prepared to take that employment," then immediately his benefit is stopped and not another penny is paid until he has attended before a Court of Referees, composed of one workman, one employer, and an independent chairman appointed by the government. We find that in the majority of cases in which the Court of Referees decides the appeals as to whether a person is entitled to benefit or not, there are two to one against the workman and he has to put up a remarkable case if benefits have been refused him before he can persuade the Court of Referees to decide that he was justified in refusing to accept that employment, which would carry with it state unemployment benefits.

Again, if the Court of Referees does decide that the workman was justified in refusing to accept that employment, the officials of the Labor Exchange can appeal to an umpire under the Act of Parliament, and that umpire's decision is final and cannot even be set aside by law in Britain. Therefore, that should prove to you that at least we in Britain are satisfied that it is essential that the unemployment insurance scheme should continue to operate.

Not for one moment would we say that that scheme should operate in America or in any other country in the world. We say that each country itself must determine as to the ways and means in which it is prepared to help the unemployed. All that we ask in Britain is that we be allowed to conduct our own business in our own way, and if we believe unemployment insurance is the best method of dealing with unemployment in Britain, then we ought to be allowed to continue without the criticisms of those from outside of our country whose criticisms in the main are based upon absolute ignorance as to the needs of our people and the administration of the Unemployment Act.

Briefly, the British trade union view is that unemployment is a national and international problem resulting from the industrial system under which we live. The workers are not the authors of the system, but its victims, and unless the community so organizes its resources as to provide work for every willing worker, the unemployed as the reserves of industry are entitled to maintenance.

In conclusion, I have the pleasure and honor to again offer you the fraternal greetings of the British Trades Union Congress. May your convention and our Congress work together in the interests of, not only the workers in our respective countries, but all the workers the world over, believing that labor is the source of all wealth and that the laborer, whether he be white, red, black or yellow, should be guaranteed peace, security, and a reward for his labor sufficient to give the opportunity of a full, dignified and useful life.

President Green: Now, fellow delegates and friends, we will hear from the other fraternal delegate from the British Trades Union Congress. These two friends of ours came a long way to bring to us their messages of friendship, of helpful suggestions, and of good will. Because of that fact and because of the very sympathetic friendly relationships which exist between the organizations of these two great English speaking countries, we place great value upon the messages they bring. They came many thousands of miles to bring to us these messages they are submitting this morning. I know we keep that fact in mind when we listen with intense and absorbing interest to these splendid addresses delivered to us by experienced trade unionists.

I assure you it affords me the greatest of pleasure to present to you the colleague of Brother Wolstencroft, another veteran in the trade union movement, one who has been identified with the British Trades Union Congress, I should say, all his life. He comes from a congested center, a great city, the greatest city in the British Empire, and, perhaps in many respects, in the entire world. I have the honor now to present to you Brother J. Beard, who comes from the Workers' Union Group of the Transport and General Workers' Union. He comes to us direct from Transport House, Smith Square, London, England—Brother Beard.

#### MR. J. BEARD

(Fraternal Delegate, British Trades Union Congress)

Mr. President Green and Fellow Trade Unionists: It gives me great pleasure to be here this morning representing the British trade union movement. I have been very much interested and impressed by the manner in which the American Federation of Labor conducts its business and in regard to the cosmopolitan character of its platform. But that gives me the assurance that just as you have listened to others with whom you might have agreed or disagreed, probably you will listen to me, even when you may not altogether agree with me.

We come to you from Great Britain at a moment in which we do not know whether we are to be pitied or blamed. We don't quite understand the position that we have left behind and we don't quite understand whether you think we of the Labor movement are responsible for that position.

I felt very many strange reactions during the course of this Congress listening to the speakers. It rather seemed to me sometimes that we were under grave suspicion as to whether we who represented the trade unions of England had been able for the last ten years to retain our sanity or not. Some of your people seem very contemptuous of our unemployment, and of our methods of dealing with it.

My colleague has explained to you very forcibly, I think, the position that we occupy in Great Britain towards that problem. We said many years ago that if a man had not got a job that he had just as much right to live as any other human being, and that therefore, our system of society had to be made to correspond to the new needs. That view was impressed, not upon a Labor Government, as you have been told, but upon a Liberal Government, and subsequently upon a Conservative Government. There is no workman in England who gets something for nothing, because, first of all, he is a citizen of that country. He belongs to it and he has come to the conclusion that it belongs to him, to all of us, and if the country belongs to all of us, and if we have achieved a citizenship worthy of the name, then it is essential that we should care for each other.

You know we have heaps of churches in Great Britain in which is preached, "Bear ye one another's burdens" and "Let him who would be the greatest be the servant of all." And it may be that if the trade unions and the churchmen and the Socialists have attempted to apply that teaching practically in the institutions of Great Britain, they will have done no more than to have come into accord with the newer spirit of the times.

When I got to New York I was amazed when I bought a newspaper there, and on the front of it was the photograph of two young men lolling, I presume, on the plinth of Cleopatra's Needle, or in Trafalgar Square, or somewhere else looking into the sun. The meaning of that, of course, is this: That young England is lying on its back looking through space. There never was a more malicious lie about my country than that. Young England is not lying on its back looking into space, and if some of your rich Americans who are interested in social problems want to prove that for themselves, I will tell them how they can prove it, and they will never try to prove it the second time. Let some of your Americans—and you have some big properties—you have a big golf course—just put into one of our papers an advertisement that ten men are wanted, and give them twenty-four hours to see it, then ask them to walk ten miles to get the job. The man who put that sort of an advertisement in the paper will never put it in again, because there will be ten thousand men there if twenty-four hours can be made to elapse before that job is taken, and mark this, he won't forget it for this reason: Ten men will have the job, but God help him with the men who haven't got the job.

Does that prove that the British workman is down and out, that he is demoralized and in an indolent condition because of unemployment pay? It is a lie, my brothers, a bitter, malicious lie.

We are going to get over that. At the time we left England you know what has happened, or as much as we know of what has happened. We know that, unfortunately, there has been a split in our ranks. My brother, Wolstencroft, has explained it to you. I neither want to pass commendation or condemnation, because it seems to me that this may be a moment in Mr. Ramsay McDonald's career when he stands to his fate as Abraham Lincoln stood to his, when he uttered the words: "I do the very best I can in the best way I know how. If the end brings me out right, what is said against me won't matter, but if the end brings me out wrong, ten angels swearing I was right won't make any difference." That is Ramsay McDonald's position, and I leave it at that.

But, mark this: I feel that we are going to come through. We have had ten years of it, standing with our backs to the wall, fighting reductions of wages, our unemployed figures going up and up, and then finally that with which we are supposed to measure our prosperity is taken away from us—our gold is gone. I am wondering whether it matters if the gold of a nation goes. You have got the gold, Mr. President, and you have an unemployed problem,

so it seems. We haven't got the gold and we have an unemployed problem, so I don't know whether it matters about the gold. Somebody said that the devil hid that gold in his earth, and that when he was expelled finally, his challenge to the Godhead was that in the bowels of the earth there was metal which men would go after by the ways of murder or any other way; that men would lie, commit every crime, to get gold. I think that may be right, and I am not so sure that the nations who haven't any gold are just as happy as the nations that have a lot.

However, that is all by the way. You have your gold, you have your unemployment problems, and what amazed me when I came to New York was to discover that you have your bread lines. Well, we have the march of the unemployed men. The organized unemployed do march in Great Britain, but that is not for bread in the same way as your people seem to march for bread. It is in order to get an increase in the unemployed pay, which is just a little different. You have your bread line, so you say, and little to offer them. Well, it shows, does it not, that prosperity in a country does not prevent the bread line? Lack of prosperity does not seem to produce them so much, so that it would appear to all and to every man that it is another thing that we have to look for.

I would not take too much from the buttered words of the capitalists when they are speaking about it. They are just creatures of circumstance as we are. Probably if we had been capitalists; if we had not been born in another state—you have got to remember that the rebel and the tyrant are the same man, but the circumstances are different. If we were capitalists we would probably be as bad as they are or sometimes as good, and I never think it is worth while to kick up a row with them. It has just about the same effect as the letter of the Irish tenant to the English landlord. He wrote to the landlord, telling him that if his agent dared to collect any more rent, he would be shot dead. The English landlord wrote back and said, "If you think you are going to frighten me by threatening my agent, you are very much mistaken." So, therefore, when we threaten the individual capitalist, we are in no better way than of having sent a letter of that description. We have to look for our salvation by a better way than mere criticism of capitalists. It is ourselves who are at fault. There is no need to trouble about the man who is against us, if all that should be for us are with us. You will probably find things the same as we do, that there are large numbers of men not in a trade union, and of those you are never certain that they are not going to be against you in the spirit of an employer who is going to fight you. So, from that point

of view, our menace comes from the workers.

That, of course, has been part of our difficulty in Great Britain. It is our difficulty now. We have kept wages going and we have been able to keep, if I dare mention it here, as a result of our political action, I think, the finest or among the finest social services in the world. My colleague has explained to you the position of a man who is sick. It is true to say of Great Britain that no man need die of hunger. By right he can claim sustenance, is expected to claim it. Indeed, if he does not claim it, it is an indictable offense, because he must not sleep out or be found without the visible means of subsistence.

Our social services seem to be our crime in the world and all blamed on a Labor Party, all blamed on the trade unionists. Our employers say to us, probably the same as your employers say to you sometimes, or as they say to themselves and their customers, that if it were not for, say Frank Wolstencroft's union, we could have our buildings put up very much cheaper than at present, which means that if we were all non-unionists, the law of supply and demand would operate and enable them to get labor cheaper. They have not been able to achieve cheap labor in Great Britain, not even with non-unionists.

For I think this may be said, that despite the difficulties through which we have passed, the large number of the trade union agreements and conditions in Great Britain are still intact, they have not been interfered with, excepting that certain reductions have taken place, with the consent of those who were the workers on the workers' side of the agreement. But trade unionism itself remains largely intact, which is something upon which we may congratulate ourselves.

We have this question of employers who are not taking their responsibilities, but rather looking on it that all they have to do is to get enough money out of the workmen's wages to pay good interest and dividends. Something utterly out of accord with a progressive civilization. John Ruskin preached to these people, and it seems his words might be appropriate to some of the employers you have been speaking of in America. He said:

"As the captain of a ship is bound to be the last man to leave his ship in case of wreck and to share his last crust in case of famine, so the manufacturer, in any commercial crisis or distress, is bound to take the suffering of it with his men and even to take more of it for himself than he allows his men to feel, as a father would in a famine, shipwreck or battle, sacrifice himself for his sons."

That was Ruskin's message fifty years ago. That seems to be the sort

of message that you, by implication and criticism, would impress upon the employers of America. The same thing we would impress upon the employers in England, but one feels it is no use talking to them like that. They may mean well, but as I said, they are like us, creatures of circumstance, and therefore we have to trust to our own strong right arm and make sure that our strength is enough to protect ourselves.

I have just dealt in a cursory manner with the position as we have left it, and which we shall face in Britain when we return. But we are not afraid of the future. We see hope in the future. We think the legislation which has been complained of and which I understand was the subject of comment and criticism by the bankers of France and America when they were asked to make their loans, which became a tragic situation with our Labor Party, that we had to balance our budget, that seventy millions of an appropriation for our social services had either to be abandoned or to be found in some new way. I think probably it will be said that the bankers did nothing of the kind. No, they did not, they were very much in the position, instead, of the Quaker. Quakers do not believe in taking life. One day a Quaker woke up in his bedroom and found a burglar there. He got down his gun, which I suppose he kept for shooting pheasants, and he said to the burglar, "Friend, thou hadst better be moving, because I am going to shoot where thou art standing." I suppose the bankers said something like that to us. They did not say, you have to cut down your social service and cut down your pay, but we are going to serve a writ on you if you don't make your budget balance.

Well, we are balancing our budget, we are doing it at a price and I think we will come through, and it may be that the long road we have traveled of tremendous hardships, seemingly hopeless as it is, we may get forward. I think we shall, and we shall get around our difficulties because of the social services which have buttressed up the stamina and the morale of our people. That is the great thing we feel proud of, and I don't mind telling you, a mixed audience, 100 per cent. American, 100 per cent. Canadian, Scotchmen, Irishmen, and the rest—that I am an Englishman and proud of it—that I am firm in the belief that my country has yet something to contribute towards the future of civilization. Trade unionism makes it possible for a new state of mind to be employed, so that we who represent our trade union movement in Britain, though we may not have much to offer you that is worth while, we can offer that spirit of friendship and co-operation which will enable you to settle your problems and us to settle ours.

And after all, it resolves itself mostly to what we can do. I am an internation-

alist on the ground that I am a nationalist. I believe that the world has to come together and will come together some today in a way not understood now, but that is a long time ahead, and meanwhile I had better do the best I can in the capacity in which I find myself in the country in which I am placed, and there, if I with the rest can contribute of that spirit of endeavor which makes for righteousness, then we shall be adding something to the common good of the universe.

We can't see in this life the end of all we do, or at least we think not, although I remember the old gardener who went on planting trees right to the end. They said to him, "John, why do you keep on planting trees? You will never see them grow." And he said, "But I have seen them grow, I have seen them as these will stand in the orchards in the days to come."

And so we, every one of us who have worked in the labor movement should know, in the words of Robert Louis Stevenson, that "It is better to travel hopefully than to arrive." Though, like his traveler, we shall only see in the beyond the peaks of Eldorado and the beauties thereof, though we do see the things that we seek for, yet we nurture the hope that the trade union movement of Great Britain and your trade union movement of America are going to be a great factor in making the world a better place to live in.

To ourselves we commend the lesson again of one of our great instructors, in that paragraph where he uses the incident of the Roman mother's pride in her children.

"It is open, I repeat, to serious consideration, whether among national manufacture that of souls of a good quality may not at last turn out to be a leading lucrative one."

Nay, in some far away and undreamt of hour, I can even imagine that England may cast aside all thoughts of possessive wealth back to the barbaric nations among whom the first arose and that, while the sands of the Indus and the adamant of Golconda may yet stiffen the housings of the charger and flash from the turban of the slave, that she, like her Christian mother, may at length attain to the treasures and virtues of a heathen one, and be able to lead forth her sons saying, "These are my jewels."

I thank you.

President Green: The next fraternal delegate seems to be one of us. We can scarcely in our thoughts and in our minds disassociate him from our own group; in fact, he is a part of our own group. He was selected at a meeting of the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress, just a short time ago in this city

in which we are meeting to represent the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress as a fraternal delegate to this convention. He was charged with the pleasant duty and the grave responsibility of bringing to us a word of greeting from our fellow trade unionists in the Dominion of Canada. We are happy to have him here and we are very happy to receive his message. I therefore take great pleasure in introducing Brother Colin McDonald, a member of the Journeymen Tailors' Union of America, one who lives here in Vancouver and is active in the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.

**COLIN McDONALD**  
(Fraternal Delegate, Canadian Trades and Labor Congress)

Mr. President and delegates:

Since I have sat here listening to the many eloquent addresses of this convention, and especially the address of President Green the opening day, I have been brought to a deeper realization of what a great privilege it is to be present here and extend to the American Federation of Labor, the fraternal greetings and hearty good wishes of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada which held its 47th Annual Convention in this hall two weeks ago.

The convention was very successful, and despite the fact that in common with all other countries we have had an extended period of depression, I am pleased to state the Secretary-Treasurer's report showed an increase in membership of 2,250 over the corresponding period of last year. This increase at this time demonstrates in my opinion, greater faith in our movement by the working people of Canada.

The most outstanding question dealt with at our convention was that of unemployment—the discussion on this question taking up more time than any other that came before the convention.

A greater reduction in working hours to such standards as will enable every worker of our country to have an opportunity of earning a living for himself and those depending upon him, and a much higher wage to increase the purchasing power of the masses was favored as a relief measure in the present depression.

The Federal and Provincial Governments are attempting to meet the unemployment situation by the undertaking of public works, the greater part of which is in the form of road construction, and while organized labor is in accord with the projects undertaken,

we are not in accord in the rate of pay being given on these jobs. While we have government regulations causing fair wages and conditions of employment on all government work, these regulations are not being enforced in the work in question. This, in my opinion, may be due to that invisible and apparently invincible government which dictates policies to the different countries at present and evidently are determined to reduce the standard of living of the workers, thus attempting to destroy what took years to build.

Several resolutions were submitted requesting the Congress to support a political labor party, but the Congress reiterated its former stand, that if we are to have a political labor party, it must be distinct and separate from our industrial movement.

Other important matters dealt with at our convention were: Unemployment insurance on a contributory basis; reduction of interest on war debts; a moratorium against rents and taxes of unemployed to be instituted by our Dominion Government. Reduction of the hours of labor; resistance of wage reduction; public ownership and control of public utilities, and many others of equal importance.

The Trades and Labor Congress of Canada is composed of the Canadian membership of 61 International Unions having 1953 Canadian branches; 2 national unions having 55 branches; 50 Dominion, 43 Provincial, District and Local Federal Unions chartered directly by the Congress.

The Trades and Labor Congress of Canada is recognized by the government as the most representative body of organized workers in Canada, and its nominees have been accepted by the government on various boards and commissions formed by the government. These include the Employment Service of Canada, the Dominion Health Council, Canadian National Railway Directorate, Canadian Government Merchant Marine, the Dominion Council on Women's Immigration, Dominion Fire Prevention Association, National Research Council and the annual conferences of the International Labor Organization (League of Nations). Its representatives have served on such commissions as the Royal Commission on Industrial Training and Technical Education (1910); Peace Delegation, Paris (1919); Soldiers' Civil Re-establishment Commission (1918-1924); Labor Appeal Board; Industrial Relations Commission (1919); National Industrial Conference (1919); Inter-Provincial Conference (1921); Conference on Winter Employment (1923), etc.

#### **International Labor Organization**

This organization was formed at the Peace Conference (1919) and 55 nations

are members thereof. Each country is entitled to four delegates and advisors, two representing the government, one representing the employers, and one representing the work people. As stated above, the government has recognized the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada as the proper body to name the workers' delegates each year. They have also allowed the Congress to name one advisor whenever the agenda has warranted the same.

The general accomplishments of the Congress are, we believe, well enough known without need to enumerate the same. It is safe to say that practically every piece of social and labor legislation on the Statute Books of either the Federal Government or Provincial Governments have first originated in resolutions of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada. Outstanding among these might be mentioned the establishment of Labor Departments by Federal and Provincial Governments; the Provincial Workmen's Compensation Acts; Coal Mines Regulation Act; Mothers' Allowance Legislation; Minimum Wage Acts; Factory Acts; Fair Wage Regulations; Industrial Disputes Act; the Dominion-Provincial Old Age Pension Act; Union Label Regulation Act; Development of National Ownership of Railways and Steamships; Employment Service Council; Establishment of Dominion Health Council, etc.

In addition immigration has always been closely watched and regulations obtained from time to time helping to check the flooding of the labor market in Canada by unwarranted influx of immigrants.

Trades and Labor Councils have, likewise, secured many measures of benefit to workers in their own localities, interesting themselves in the development of education, provision of playgrounds, parks and open spaces, abolition of slums, better building by-laws, protection of the health of workers, etc.

The Trades and Labor Congress is a purely Canadian body and every one of its delegates attending its annual conventions are members of and representatives of Canadian unions. Whilst it has complete autonomy, it acts in co-operation with the American Federation of Labor on matters of mutual interest. It is affiliated with the International Federation of Trade Unions (Amsterdam), and through that means seeks to establish world-wide unity of the Trade Union movement.

We appreciate the support given by most international unions in assisting to organize the workers of Canada, but feel that if some of the others would increase their organizing activities in our midst, benefits would accrue to both organizations.

I feel that there never was a time when it was more urgent for the Trade Unionists of Canada and the United States,

individually and through their International Unions, to co-operate whole heartedly and with a genuine spirit of friendship and understanding to assume their part in strengthening their organization in order that the interests, not only of the organized workers, but of society generally may be protected.

Again let me express to the delegates here assembled the good wishes of the Trade Unionists of Canada whom I have the honor to represent.

President Green: It would seem eminently fitting for the presiding officer to make appropriate reply to these splendid addresses delivered by the fraternal delegates this morning. The conventions of the American Federation of Labor are, indeed, in the full and complete sense of the word, open forums. And those who attend these conventions are always happy, indeed, to listen to the points of view expressed by the numerous speakers who address the convention. We have always manifested unusual interest in the messages brought to us from time to time by the fraternal delegates who attend our annual conventions. I am of the opinion that every one who has ever attended our conventions has brought to us messages that have been appreciated, and in these messages they have submitted information, suggestions and recommendations that have been accepted by the membership of the American Federation of Labor as distinct contributions to our information and understanding of the trade union movement of the entire world.

I want to assure these delegates that they are among friends, sympathetic friends, men and women who are anxious and willing and ready to co-operate with and to serve and to help, not only the people of our own land, but the peoples of other lands to develop and promote a social order that will bring happiness and prosperity to all the peoples of the world. I do not think there is any member of the American Federation of Labor who has ever felt that the officers and members of the British Trades Union Congress have been swerved from their fixed purpose, at any time by ulterior motives, to advance and promote the best interests of their membership. And I can say more than that, for we believe they have always acted con-

structively and sanely and that they have made a distinct contribution to the advancement of the welfare of all the peoples throughout the world. And, speaking for myself, standing here before you, I declare positively that if I were in England and a member of the British trade union movement, I would be standing with Brother Wolstencroft, Brother Beard, Brother Swales and the others who have stood here and outlined their policies. We believe the policy they have pursued is the policy that is best suited to advance the interests of the British working men. We are proud of their accomplishments, we are proud of their achievements, we have looked upon their work with feelings of exultation, because we appreciate their devotion and loyalty to the principles of the trade union movement.

I want them to carry back to their members the assurance that we look upon their movement as the movement of the British trade union membership. The policies of the British trade union movement are developed and formulated in the meetings of the British Trades Union Congress. They represent the crystalized, mature judgment of the men and women who toil. They are formulated in their open forum, as ours are formulated here, and after all, it is democracy speaking in England as democracy speaks here in America.

We are anxious to advance the interests of our people in the United States of America and in the Dominion of Canada, and in our purpose to realize our objective, to achieve, we always are compelled to keep in mind the very vast difference in the national, the social and the economic conditions prevailing in America as compared to the conditions which prevail in Great Britain. What a comparison it is, when we stop for just a moment to make it. It is very difficult, indeed, for us here in America to comprehend the difference, and I know it must be increasingly difficult for our fellow workers across the sea to fully appreciate the very vast difference between the industrial and economic conditions here as compared with those that exist in Great Britain. Our forms of government are different. Our

social conditions, to a very large extent, are different. Our methods must be different, even though we seek to achieve the same purpose. Here are two great democracies. We have in America no distinct nationality as you have in Great Britain. The Dominion of Canada is more nearly like the mother country, but take into consideration the fact that we have not only one sovereignty in the United States, but we have forty-eight different governments, every one of them separate, functioning in a co-operative way, in the United States. Then we have our Federal Government, limited by our Constitution, possessing no rights not delegated to it by the sovereign states, and in our own country when we desire to secure the enactment of a social justice measure we are compelled to go, not to one Parliament, supreme, with full control, possessing one individual sovereignty, but we are compelled to go to forty-eight different sovereignties in order to make a social justice law universal in the United States.

What a hard task lies before us! We have been struggling earnestly with no less zeal and enthusiasm than that which has been displayed by our brothers across the sea to secure the enactment of workmen's compensation legislation universal in its application, because we contend that an injured working man in the State of Mississippi is entitled to protection the same as an injured working man in Massachusetts or Ohio; and yet, after our years of activity, we have failed to secure the enactment of a fair and decent workmen's compensation law in all the states. There are four states in the United States of America that have no workmen's compensation laws upon their respective statute books.

Is our task not a great one? Must our methods not be different? You must take into consideration the forward looking people of Massachusetts, New York, the Middle West, and at the same time take into account the backward attitude of our people in the more backward states. We are fighting for the realization of these things. We have secured the enactment of workmen's compensation legislation, we have se-

cured the enactment of widows' pension laws, we have secured the enactment of minimum wage laws in some sections, only to have the laws set aside by a ruling of the Supreme Court of the United States. We have fought and are fighting for the protection of children, for the elimination of child labor, for the elimination of the sale of goods manufactured by convict labor in competition with goods manufactured by free labor. Our program of social justice is no different than the program formulated by our brothers across the sea, but our methods must be different, we must proceed along a different line, otherwise we fail before we have begun.

And we are jealous of our movement! It is not a grown man, it has not yet reached its full stature. Out of fifty million workers in America we have been able to organize approximately five million. What a vast army is still on the outside! And as I make these remarks here, I know my fellow delegates are all refreshing their memories with the great mass production of our country, where with all our efforts we have been as yet unable to make headway. There they are, with their company unions, their opiates, their hypnotism, to destroy if they can, all our efforts to organize these mass production workers. The great steel mills of the nation are still unorganized; the Southland, that whole section, is still outside the trade union movement. We are jealous of our economic movement, for we know it is a religion with us, we know that our salvation lies in our economic strength and in the development of that strength to its maximum capacity.

Because we realize that we are reluctant to take any step, or to favor any plan, or to approve of any legislation which in operation might inflict a death blow, even to the movement which has now become so effective and so strong. And when we consider the plan of social justice legislation, let it be of this kind or that kind, we have in our mind this great movement, so potential, fraught with such possibilities, a movement that we are trying to es-

ublish, not only in the East and Middle West, but in the Southland as well.

Then the competitive feature of it all comes before us. Suppose we enact forward looking legislation in one industrial state and are unable to secure it in another, or in another group of states, what happens? The workers in the state are temporarily injured, at least, by reason of their success. Industries are driven from one point to another, for, as my friend Beard says, capitalism knows no human law.

Then, last of all, there is no Supreme Court in Great Britain, clothed with the power to nullify the will of Parliament; there is no shadow of that kind hovering over the great economic movement of Great Britain, for after we have fought in the forty-eight states and in the Congress of the United States, and won our cause, there is still a power outside our hands that can say whether that law shall operate, whether it is constitutional or unconstitutional.

In Great Britain the will of Parliament is supreme; it represents the supreme law; it reflects the supreme expression of the democracy of that land. We here are handicapped, if I may put it that way, by reason of the fact that, after all, the Congress of the United States and the legislatures of the states do not have the last say as to whether the law shall operate for the benefit of all the people.

These are some thoughts which I wish to bring to your attention. I want you to understand our difficulties as you understand yours. I hope my good friend Beard will not take a cartoon in some unfriendly paper too seriously. I wish he could see what they say about us, and he would think he was dealt with very generously.

Now, my friends, may I leave this thought in conclusion. We want the British working men and women to know that we look upon their movement as the concrete expression of the best judgment of the working men and women of Great Britain. We believe they have acted wisely, constructively and sanely. We believe they know what is best for them and that they are doing what is

best for them, and we ask them to carry back the message that we view all of their work with feelings of pride and satisfaction, and with the assurance that if we were over there, we would be teaming with them, working with them just as they are.

And here in our own country, we want the British workmen to understand our difficulties, understand our lofty purposes, appreciate our ideals, our devotion and loyalty to the same trade union religion that they are devoted to; and we only ask that they accord to us that same broad, sympathetic attitude we accord to them, as I know they will; that we are trying to do here in America all we can for the working people of our country in accordance with our best judgment and in accordance with the circumstances which surround us.

We thank all of you for your inspiring messages. They will become a part of the permanent record of the proceedings of the American Federation of Labor. We will refer to them very, very often, because you have given us information and we value it very highly. We want your stay among us to be most pleasant and profitable. You are among friends. We want to make your stay happy and delightful, so that when you go back home you will long remember your visit to our land. We wish you and your movement the full measure of success and we wish for you a happy return to your loved ones after you leave our convention.

#### **Memorial to Deceased Members**

President Green: As has been our custom for years, we will now pause for a moment to pay a silent tribute to our fellow workers, to our officers, our dear friends and to members who have passed away during the year. We have always maintained this custom. The list is larger sometimes than at others. The list this year is all too large. I will ask all the delegates to be seated now, while the names of our departed brothers are read. After the list is read, we will stand in silence for a brief moment as a tribute to our departed brothers and sister.

Secretary Morrison read the following:

**List of Labor Officials and Representatives Deceased Since Boston Convention, 1930**

"Mother" Jones, 100-year-old friend of Labor. Died November 30, 1930.

John W. Hays, former Secretary-treasurer, International Typographical Union. Died February 27, 1931.

Chas. J. Moore, President, Connecticut State Federation of Labor. Died March 31, 1931.

Peter J. Conlon, Vice-president, International Association of Machinists. Died April 1, 1931.

William M. Reilly, Delegate to A. F. of L. from International Typographical Union. Died April 15, 1931.

Andries Meyer, President, Diamond Workers' Protective Union. Died April 23, 1931.

James P. Egan, Editor of the Weekly News Service of the American Federation of Labor. Died June 7, 1931.

Arthur M. Huddell, President, International Union Operating Engineers. Died June 1, 1931.

Thomas Redding, First General Vice-president, Sheet Metal Workers' International Association. Died May 25, 1931.

Martin T. Joyce, Secretary, Massachusetts State Federation of Labor. Died June 8, 1931.

Theodore Perry, First Vice-president, International Typographical Union. Died July 23, 1931.

Hubert S. Marshall, Secretary, International Union of Journeymen Horse Shoers of the United States and Canada. Died July 31, 1931.

Morris Sigman, former President, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. Died July 20, 1931.

Tim McCreash, First Vice-president, International Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen. Died August 21, 1931.

Peter J. Brady, President Federation Bank of New York, Chairman Mayor's Committee on Aviation. Died September 21, 1931. Member International Photo-Engravers' Union of North America.

Wm. J. Rooney, Business Agent, Chicago Local No. 73, Sheet Metal Workers' International Association. Died March 19, 1931.

Thos. P. Reynolds, ex-Vice-president Stereotypers' and Electrotypers' Union of North America. Died June 20, 1931.

Henry Waxman, General Treasurer of the United Garment Workers of America. Died June 19, 1931.

Fred Busch, of Canada, Member General Executive Board, United Garment Workers of America. Died August, 1931.

George W. Lewis, Legislative Representative, Illinois; John Strambo, John T. Dempsey, John Lakowitch, of Pennsylvania, and Andrew Watkins, Ohio, all former district and international officers, United Mine Workers of America, who have died since the 1930 convention of the American Federation of Labor.

James W. Mullen, Editor, San Francisco Labor Clarion. Died July 25, 1931.

William Rander, Fifth Vice-president, Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers. Died July, 1931.

William L. Mayer, Vice-president, American Federation of Musicians. Died March 21, 1931.

James A. Cooley, First Vice-president, International Union of Operating Engineers. Died January 7, 1931.

John Ruckert, Second Vice-president, Tobacco Workers' International Union. Died December 30, 1930.

William E. Carroll, for twenty years executive secretary Houston, Texas. Trades and Labor Council, member Pattern Makers' International Union. Died during 1931.

John Mangan, General Vice-president United Association Journeymen Plumbers and Steam Fitters. Died December 2, 1930.

Edward C. Alden, Seventh Vice-president, Molders' International Union. Died August 3, 1931.

William A. Titus, formerly a Vice-president of Switchmen's Union of North America. Died August, 1931.

Thomas VanLear, Minneapolis, International Association Machinists. Died February, 1931.

John H. Bell, formerly President of International Union of Wood, Wire and Metal Lathers. and Edward N. Kelly, a former Vice-president, died in 1931.

At 12 o'clock the convention recessed until 2:30 o'clock p.m.

## Fourth Day — Thursday Afternoon Session

The session was called to order at 2:30 o'clock by President Green.

Secretary Morrison read the following telegram:

"Indianapolis, Ind.,  
October 7, 1931.

Frank Morrison,  
Secretary American Federation of  
Labor in Convention Assembled,  
Vancouver, B. C.:

I wish to extend to your Federation a cordial invitation to hold its Nineteen Thirty-two Convention in Indianapolis. Please allow me to urge on your delegates that our city be selected as the meeting place.

REGINALD H. SULLIVAN,  
Mayor."

### Absentees

Dullzell, Bowen, Schulte, Coulter, Zaritsky, Schlesinger, Brock, Onyett, Gorman (P. E.), Lane, Lewis, Murray, Hartneady, Fagan, Boylan, Britton, Burke (J. P.), Sullivan (H. W.), Hatch, Fay, Provost, Gross, Rosqvist, Elliott, Sullivan (J.), Garrison, Possee, Joel, Campbell (G. C.), Driscoll, Coleman, Barger, Augustine, Rice, Foster, Quinn (J. C.), Moore, Sisson, Bower, Smethurst, Welsh, Martinez, Reed, Wood, Covert, Thomas, Bohm, Stephens, McElliott, Randolph, Webster, Hampton, Mitchell (T).

Resolution No. 30—By Delegate John J. Manning of the Union Label Trades Department.

WHEREAS, The United Wall Paper Crafts of North America are engaged in a campaign to resist the encroachments of the employers in this industry upon conditions which have existed for many years; and

WHEREAS, The above-named organization seeks and deserves the moral support of the American Labor movement in this campaign; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor be requested and directed to issue a circular letter to affiliated state and central bodies urging them to advise their members to purchase only wallpaper bearing the union label of the United Wall Paper Crafts of North America.

Your committee recommends concurrence.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Secretary Weaver: In conclusion your committee wishes to offer the following:

### Supplemental Report Committee on Credentials

Delegate Collins, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

Your Committee on Credentials has been advised by Delegate Edward Gordon of the United Hatters of North America, that Delegates Michael F Green and Martin Lawlor will be unable to attend the convention, and therefore requests that their names be discontinued.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### Report of Committee on Labels

Delegate Weaver, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

I don't know whether we should be congratulated or commiserated because of the small amount of work referred to our committee. However, I feel if the Label Trades Department were not functioning well, there would be many resolutions before our committee complaining of it. As it is, the only resolution is one presented by Mr. Manning, Chairman of this committee.

The Union Label Trades Department is still doing business at the old stand. In common with all other divisions of organized labor activity, it has felt the devastating scourge of world-wide depression. There have been some setbacks—some losses of membership; and yet, when we can point to an army of 545,000 men and women who are willing to signalize their faith in the cause by steadfast adherence to the organization and to be ready at all times to expound the doctrine symbolized in the label itself, we have reason to believe that there is enough inherent stability in the cause to warrant conviction that when the clouds lift, a real advance will be registered and a substantial victory achieved.

Trade unionists cannot be too often reminded that the union label, shop card and button are the insignia of their own expressed and oft-reiterated creed. In too many communities merchants tell us that it is quite unusual to hear a

demand for the union label. This is not because the trade unionist is ashamed of his avocation or his organization, but because he is careless. Sometimes the very simplicity of an obligation generates indifference. Union label loyalty is in a large degree a matter of self-education. Once acquired, it becomes a daily creed—exemplifying a fixed habit of daily life.

This is neither the time nor the place for an exhaustive resume of the work of the entire year of the Union Label Trades Department. We may be pardoned, however, for brief reference to the outstanding feature of the season's program, namely, the April campaign in the interest of the Union Label, Shop Card and Working Button. We indulge in no exaggeration in here pronouncing the campaign a success.

Practically every conceivable method was used to reach the general membership and the general public. Among the methods utilized may be mentioned:

The radio; mass meetings; distribution of literature; moving pictures free to merchants and the general public to interest them in our work; one day a week selected by different local unions when each member was required to spend at least one dollar or more for some union labelled article or service, with a prize for the member who had purchased the greater number of such articles or service; advertising through local newspapers; local newspaper representatives urging merchants to stress the union label in their advertising; cataloging union members as to where living and other commodities were purchased; window cards given to business houses; letters sent to business men, clubs and lodges setting forth the object of the campaign; label exhibits; banquets at which speakers called attention to the campaign and its object; label entertainments; broadcasting invitation to the unorganized to attend label mass meetings.

To the aid of this campaign the Central Labor Unions rallied in a most cordial way. There was a notable increase in demand for promotional literature; prize contests were held in many cities—especially outstanding in charac-

ter being those organized in Cincinnati and St. Paul. In the latter city an attendance of 50,000 people in four days was reported.

In Cincinnati and Cleveland motion picture facilities were used to big advantage.

These features are mentioned for their suggestive value to other communities, where, augmented by the original ideas easily called forth under the stress of local initiative, ever-increasing impetus to a worthy cause may be brought about.

In days of old, a mighty crusade was inaugurated, carried forward, and crowned with final victory, under a slogan, whose translation reads: "By This Sign We Conquer." What the organized labor movement needs is to become surcharged with that crusader spirit which will surmount obstacles, smile in the face of temporary reversals, and resolutely "carry on" until the weapons of her warfare shall be made to gleam in the sunlight radiance of a permanent victory.

Respectfully submitted:

JOHN J. MANNING, Chairman.  
C. A. WEAVER, Secretary.  
GUST SODERBERG,  
WM. J. ROBINSON,  
W. PAGE,  
JOSEPH OBERGFELL,  
WM. COLLINS,  
PETER BEISEL,  
HARRY KAUFMAN,  
DAVID ANDERSON,  
JAMES J. BURKE,  
WM. CAMPBELL,  
ANTHONY MERLINO,  
ROBERT BRUCK,  
WM. SMITH,  
MICHAEL J. KELLY,  
CONRAD SCHOTT.

Secretary Weaver moved the adoption of the report of the committee.

Delegate Robinson: As you are probably aware, the Pope's message on Labor contained endorsements of the living wage and the rights of labor to organize. Unfortunately, when it was decided to put the message in book form, the matter was placed in the hands of the publisher who placed the

contract for the printing with a non-union concern. However, through the efforts of the officers of the American Federation of Labor, who took the matter up with the representatives of the Catholic Diocese in Washington, we were successful in having the work transferred to a union shop, where it was printed under union conditions, with the union label thereon, which has kept the presses of two concerns in New York City going at full speed. Under the circumstances, I would be ungrateful if I did not publicly thank the officers of the American Federation of Labor for their assistance in this matter.

I believe there should be more cooperation among the label trades and the non-label trades in the purchasing of goods. New York is supposed to have 750,000 workers organized. In that city there is a label store, the stock of which is held by labor organizations. Last year the store had a sale of \$12,000. If each member of organized labor had purchased only one dollar's worth of goods in that store, it would have amounted to \$750,000. I believe the same conditions prevail in Chicago. I appeal to the delegates to concentrate their efforts and try to patronize these union label stores.

Delegate Beisel, Bakery and Confectionery Workers: We have before us the report of the committee appointed by the Chairman, the Committee on Labels. I take the privilege at this time of trying to make a few observations in support of the committee's report. I have been attending conventions of the American Federation of Labor and the conventions of the Label Trades Department of this organization for a great number of years. At every convention the heads of the departments bring in a very encouraging report and recommendations, but I find that, no matter how well those reports are put before the convention, conditions in the miscellaneous trades, especially the trades that have trade marks, shop cards, union labels and buttons, are not improved. With all the work that is done through the Department and all the advertising that has been put forth, the results are not very encouraging.

I listened to a discussion in the Department the other day. One of the delegates mentioned the miscellaneous trades as the backbone of the labor movement. I know that as far as that particular part of the organization is concerned, if the membership in that Department would get the support of the miscellaneous trades with labels, shop cards and buttons, those miscellaneous trades would be the backbone of that Department, just as they say they are the backbone of the rest of the labor movement. The label question is one of the most vital questions, in my opinion, in the labor movement. I have taken part in label propaganda for the last thirty years and I know what I am talking about. I know that there are some results that can be accomplished if you put your efforts behind the propaganda of the Label Trades Department. I know the accomplishments of the organization I represent through continuous propaganda for the union label.

We are talking today about the depression. Not long ago I attended the meeting of a trades council. The meeting was for organizing purposes. About half a dozen women asked permission to come into the hall. The chairman sent out and asked why they wanted to be admitted. They said they were working in a garment factory, that some years ago when the factory was run as a union shop they were able to make decent wages. The concern that operated the factory went out of business and now a non-union firm was running it. They said the highest wages the women in that factory were making, working twelve hours a day, was \$5.00. In a glove factory they are paying 13 cents an hour to girls making gloves. In another factory in the same state where ladies' garments are made, it was shown to us in the Trades Council in St. Louis that girls were paid as low as \$3.60 for a week's work, and the highest check was \$8.00. The girls wanted to be organized. They applied to the Ladies' Garment Workers to come and organize them. That organization tried to organize the girls, but every possible influence was used against their being organized.

I say to you delegates that passing resolutions will not bring results. It is the sincerity and activity of the members that will bring results. We sometimes say that the rank and file of the movement are violating the rules. Now, my dear friends, it is up to us who represent the organized labor movement to try to educate the members everywhere to patronize union label goods. Today during the depression we cannot go out and appeal to the workers to buy only union label goods. A man who is out of work and has children does not care whether the little shoes he buys for those children are union made or non-union. The condition we are confronted with today is such that we cannot appeal to the unemployed army, but at least our appeals should be listened to and carried out by those who are still employed and earning their living under union conditions.

No matter what injunctions are issued against us, no matter what other action is taken against us, there is no judge in any community or any power that can be called upon that can issue an injunction against patronage of union label products on our part. If we are sincere in our patronage of union label products when we are employed, we will come in here next year and show a hundred per cent. better results than we have shown today.

Chairman Manning: There is just one observation I want to make in connection with this report, and that is to bring to your minds the wonderful addresses we listened to this morning from Fraternal Delegates Wolstencroft and Beard. I think those addresses struck a responsive chord in our hearts, but I think the greatest was struck when Brother Wolstencroft pointed out that in his own organization any firm that is not fair to organized labor here will have extreme difficulty in selling their products on the other side. That is the co-operation we are asking for here.

A prominent speaker said here the other day on the platform that there were two sides to our problem. There is danger of having too many sides in anything. He mentioned your political power and your economic power,

but he forgot to mention your purchasing power. Our Department is spending thousands of dollars every year bringing to the trade unionists of Canada and the United States an appeal to conserve their purchasing power and urging them to spend no union earned money except for union made goods and union service. Co-operate with us along that line, and I am firmly of the opinion that in another year Brother Beisel will not have occasion to make the complaint to the convention he has made today.

Delegate Allen, National Federation of Post Office Clerks: I think every word that has been spoken is absolutely correct, but it seems to me, after studying this label question for some thirty years myself, we have got the cart before the horse. What is a man going to do when he cannot buy union label goods in town? What is a man to do when he asks for the union label and is shown a letter from the International organization of the craft that makes the goods telling him the product is made by union labor? All over town you will be told the stuff is union made, but it hasn't the label. I feel that I have a right to say I must have the union label. However, to effect it, we ought to have a signed agreement with factories that make union label goods to put the union label on their goods. Don't tie us up hand and foot and make us look like a dumbbell running wild in a town looking for something that cannot be had.

Whenever a business man wants to sell something he creates something that he knows some one else wants. If we want to sell the union label, let us put it on the market. We cannot expect people to go to the city hall and get a warrant to find it. Whenever we present an agreement and ask a firm to sign it and they say, "We will sign it, but we won't use the label," you say, "All right! What we want is the wages."

Go into some towns and you can no more find what you want with the union label on it than you can find blood in a turnip. What is a man to do? I don't want to be misunderstood, I am heartily

in favor of the union label, but I cannot afford to get on a train and go 150 miles to Chicago to get union-made clothing. About the only article of clothing I can buy in my town that has the union label in it is a hat. We can get union-made bread. See to it that when goods are made by union employes the label is on them. If you want us to demand the union label you should make it possible for us to get it. Just the other day I went to buy a coat. I couldn't find one in town. I called upon the business agent of the Building Trades Council and told him I couldn't get a coat with the label in. He laughed and said he could have told me that before I started out. Every place I tried to buy a coat I was shown a letter from the organization saying that the factory manufacturing the goods was fair to union labor but they did not use the label.

Delegate Taylor, Indiana State Federation of Labor: I am very much of the opinion that the statement just made was an indictment of the labor movement of the delegate's town. I live in a small town and the merchants, generally speaking, did not care to put label goods on their shelves, but the labor movement of the town said, "You will put the labels on your shelves or we will go elsewhere." If the labor movement of your locality will consistently demand the label you will be able to get it on any commodity you want to buy. If you were to use the same energy in demanding the label on your clothes and a shop card in the establishment you patronize that we put into trying to get legislation for you, you would soon be able to get all sorts of commodities with the label. We can get anything we want to clothe us from head to foot if we demand the label.

Delegate Hoffman, Seattle: Any man who carries a union card and wants the union label can get it if he tries hard enough. I know that some of the trade unionists in Seattle refused to patronize the Seattle merchants but when we sent away to get union label collars they soon put them on their shelves. There are too many merely card men in some localities to get the label in their cities. All they are interested in is wages and

hours. We are in the far West, but we have a good display of labels and shop cards as well.

The report of the committee was adopted.

President Green: The committee will continue, so that if something else is referred to them by the convention, they can give it attention.

#### **Report of Committee on Organization**

Delegate Gertrude McNally, Secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

#### **Organizing Work**

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council, under the above caption, page 144, your committee agrees with and concurs in that part of the Executive Council's report. It is a source of satisfaction to note that this work has been carried on successfully during the past year in the face of the bad times we have gone through. In order to have an up-to-date, wide-awake, active and energetic labor movement the services of organizers are necessary.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### **Favoring Representation of Joint Council of Women's Auxiliaries in St. Louis in A. F. of L. Conventions.**

Resolution No. 7.—By Delegate Samuel E. Snyder, St. Louis, Missouri, Central Trades and Labor Union.

WHEREAS, The Joint Council of Women's Auxiliaries in St. Louis is a delegate organization of the women relatives of members of the Trade Union movement of St. Louis, who belong to the auxiliary of the craft of their male relatives; and

WHEREAS, This same Joint Council of Women's Auxiliaries have been working for the benefit of the labor movement in St. Louis and other cities for the past several years; and

WHEREAS, We believe that a great deal of good can in the future be accomplished by the proper organization of the women relatives of members of the trade union movement in St. Louis and other cities, because of the concrete good that has already been accomplished, through the education of the women relatives of members of the movement through a clearer understand-

ing of the aims, ideals and objects of the American Federation of Labor and affiliated Unions in the United States; and

WHEREAS, The proper organization of the purchasing power of the workers under the American Federation of Labor is so important to the success of the labor movement; and

WHEREAS, Because the women of this country spend fully 85 per cent. of the wages which is being earned by the workers, and therefore the proper education of the importance of spending such money, so earned, only to the benefit of the movement will be a great step forward in the accomplishment of the purposes for which the American Federation of Labor is organized; and

WHEREAS, Conventions of the American Federation of Labor are the greatest educational factors in the American labor movement, and to give these women the benefit of the educational facilities afforded by the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, The Joint Council of Women's Auxiliaries in St. Louis have been duly recognized and enjoy membership in the Missouri State Federation of Labor; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Fifty-first Convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record as endorsing the work of the Women's Auxiliary movement as exemplified by the Joint Council of Women's Auxiliaries of St. Louis and elsewhere, by inviting the Joint Council of Women's Auxiliaries of St. Louis and elsewhere to send to conventions of the American Federation of Labor fraternal delegates, so that they may participate in the sessions of the American Federation of Labor, with all of the benefits and prerogatives accruing to fraternal delegates from any other organization, such as the Women's Trades Union League, etc.

Your committee gave this resolution very careful consideration. While we feel every encouragement should be given to the formation of Women's Auxiliary Unions and Joint Councils, we are of the opinion that giving them representation in the conventions of the American Federation of Labor now, through fraternal delegates, would lead to conditions we might be called upon to eliminate later. However, if these Women's Auxiliaries and Joint Councils should form a National Women's Council, we recommend that they be given representation in the American Federation of Labor through fraternal delegates.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Snyder, Central Trades and Labor Union, St. Louis: As the introducer of the resolution, I want to say, I am not surprised at the report handed you by the committee. I have sat here for some time this afternoon and listened to the pathetic appeals of various delegates, one from some place in Illinois, where he appealed for the union label, and another delegate up in the front of the hall, who told how they could get union labels if they really wanted them. In fact, I heard almost every kind of appeal in connection with the union label imaginable.

We, too, in St. Louis, recognize the necessity of working along this particular line. We have down there a very effective organization for the specific purpose of organizing the wage earners. After we have accomplished that end and have brought home a somewhat fat pay envelope, we turn it over to the master of the house, the wife, and she is not organized. She goes out hunting bargains, and the first thing we know, she comes home laden with a lot of what she calls wise purchases, but upon investigation, we find out they do not bear the union label.

So those of the women in St. Louis who are awakened to the necessity of the needs of the day and who are bona fide trade unionists themselves, have organized an auxiliary, and they have set out to educate the women of St. Louis and vicinity as to how to spend the union earned wages of their husbands. We, on one hand, have organized the wage earners, and they are organizing the wage spenders. I know it does not take much of an organization to organize wage spenders, if we don't care just how they spend it, but we in St. Louis are interested in how our money is spent.

An investigation of facts coming from the Label Trades Department down there will show you that there are more union labels—we will take the bakery industry, for instance,—on bread than any other metropolitan industry in the United States, barring none. That is due to the fact that there is an educational campaign going on down there among the women and the children. They are taught that when they go into a place

and ask for bread that it must have the union label on it. The children have got to the point where they will find out whether a man has the union label. They will ask for something with the union label on it, whether they want it or not, just to find out whether he has it or not.

Each and every woman who is a member of the auxiliary is a blood relative of a bona fide trade unionist, and the moment that relative ceases to be a member of his organization, that moment her membership in the auxiliary ceases. They don't take any haphazard memberships, they are very careful.

The leadership of the St. Louis movement is in the hands of Mrs. Mary Ryder, one of the most active trade union women in this country, and several years ago she was signally honored in being sent as the first woman delegate to the convention of the Typographical Union.

These women in St. Louis are interested. You could no more sell a man's wife a shirt without a union label than you could give her this building here without the assurance that it was paid for. That is the work they are doing down there. These women want recognition, they want some incentive to go out and form an organization, something to talk to somebody else about. They are certainly organized in St. Louis, and it seems to me it is folly to insist that this organization become a great tall California redwood tree before it is a little sapling.

I heard the eminent President of this organization make the declaration immediately following the addresses of the fraternal delegates that we have 50,000,000 workers in the United States and only 5,000,000 of them were organized. We still have 45,000,000 to work on, and certainly there is no better place to work on them than through the feminine element of our organization. I would like to see that resolution endorsed.

It would seem to me that if we had five hundred women in the United States who were willing to spend their money to come and sit in and listen to the workings of the American Federation of Labor, it would be just that

many more feathers in our cap, and not an impediment to the movement.

President Green: The Chair recognizes the Chairman of the Committee on Organization.

Vice President Duffy: Mr. Chairman, if this resolution had come from a national organization of women's auxiliaries, your committee would raise no objection to endorsing it. In fact, we say that when they do form a national body they should be represented by fraternal delegates in the conventions of the American Federation of Labor, but this resolution comes from a Joint Council in St. Louis.

Your committee does not know how many joint councils there are throughout the country. There may be ten, twelve, forty or fifty, and that would mean so many fraternal delegates to the convention. There are other places where there are no joint councils of women's auxiliaries, but there are women's auxiliaries, individual ones, and these auxiliaries would have the same right to say, "Well, the Joint Council is represented by a fraternal delegate, why can't we be represented?" I know the organization that I represent has 239 women's auxiliaries.

Now your committee recommends that when these auxiliaries get together and form a national women's auxiliary, then they shall be represented by a fraternal delegate here.

Delegate McNally, Secretary of the Committee: The committee also felt, when it was considering this resolution, that there is nothing to prevent any of the interested women coming to this convention. They would have the same privilege of listening and learning, which was the object of the resolution, as visitors to the convention as they would have as fraternal delegates. I understand the St. Louis Joint Council is about three years old. Denver has one, that to my knowledge is ten years old, and may be older than that. Los Angeles has had one for about twenty years. There are a good many cities that have joint councils of women's auxiliaries that operate very well and do most excellent work.

But after all, we have to have certain machinery. We do not have national

representation, as a rule, for local organizations, and if the resolution is adopted as it is, it would set a precedent that might make for embarrassment in future conventions of the American Federation of Labor. For instance, if the St. Louis auxiliary was to have representation here, I can imagine that we might form an auxiliary of my local, which is all women and we might have a men's auxiliary and they would both ask for representation here. So you see it might lead to all sorts of complications.

We believe all the delegates should do everything in their power to encourage these organizations locally, and we don't want any of the organizations to feel that we wish in any way to stop the excellent work being done by these joint councils, but we do feel, as a matter of organization, that it is not the thing to have local representation in national conventions of this character.

Delegate Manion, Telegraphers: As a member of the committee I favored the resolution, and, of course, it would have been my privilege to bring in a minority report. I did not do so because of the argument made by some other member of the committee to the effect that if we gave recognition to these councils of women's auxiliaries to send fraternal delegates here, that would establish a precedent that would probably bring at least a request on the part of local auxiliaries of all organizations to have the same privilege.

I cannot, however, stultify myself by believing that that argument ought to prevail, notwithstanding the fact that I failed to bring in a minority report. I believe that it would be a very splendid thing for the labor movement if these women who have been so energetic in formulating joint councils of all the auxiliaries in these cities were permitted to send a fraternal delegate here at their own expense, without any cost to this American Federation of Labor, without any rights or privileges of the floor or voice or vote, except such as might be extended to them by courtesy. I felt that the energy and the enthusiasm behind that is worthy of consideration and should be encouraged. While

I don't desire to offer an amendment to the committee's report I wish to be recorded just the same as in favor of the resolution and against the committee's report.

President Green: Perhaps the Chair might clarify this situation a little by outlining just briefly the general policy pursued by this great international organization, the American Federation of Labor. First of all, may we say that we are deeply interested in the work of these women's organizations and we want to encourage them in the performance of their splendid work. No one knows how valuable the work is which these women perform unless he comes in close contact with it. I would feel very much disappointed indeed if any adverse action upon this resolution might be construed as a disapproval in any way whatsoever of the splendid work which the women are doing, but I am sure that every sensible person will look at it from the other point of view.

First of all, these women's auxiliaries in St. Louis, the organizations which form the basis of this resolution, are entitled to be represented in the St. Louis Central Trades Council by fraternal delegates. They are entitled to be represented in the State Federation of Labor of Missouri in their conventions through fraternal delegates. The local unions of the carpenters, that is, the women's auxiliaries, as I understand it, are entitled to be represented at the conventions of that international union. But the American Federation of Labor has never yet declared in favor of the recognition of fraternal delegates of any kind from either a woman's organization or any other organization except from national and international unions.

First of all, the local folks are represented in our local organizations, then a national group here. For instance, the Women's Trade Union League is entitled to send fraternal delegates, but that is because it is a national union. The Women's Union Label League is entitled to send a fraternal delegate here to each convention, and we have always had a fraternal delegate from the Women's Union Label League until this year. You remember Sister Fitzgerald, who has come here every year

bringing the greetings of the Women's Union Label League. But because of the distance she would be required to travel she was unable to be here this year.

Do you think it would be wise for us to depart from our traditional policy by opening up the door for local organizations to be represented here through fraternal delegates? Let them form their national union and then we will have them here.

This is a big organization, and the only fraternal delegates we have are those who come from national and international unions, the British Trades Union Congress, the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress, the Women's Union Label League, and the National Women's Trade Union League and other national unions.

We will say, for instance, this women's group will form a national union. Then I should say, according to the committee's report, they would be entitled to send fraternal delegates here. That is the policy. It is a matter of following our traditional policy, recognizing only fraternal delegates from national and international unions.

The report of the committee was adopted.

#### **To Assist Laundry Workers in Organizing Work.**

Resolution No. 17—By Delegates James F. Brock and John O'Keefe, Laundry Workers' International Union.

WHEREAS, The Laundry Workers of the United States and Canada are at this time only partly organized; and

WHEREAS, The finances of the Laundry Workers' International Union at this time will not warrant or permit in placing any additional organizer in the large number of cities and the various states to organize the unorganized Laundry Workers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor send out a circular letter to all the State Federations of Labor and City Central Labor Councils, and to all of the Organizers of the American Federation of Labor, requesting them to use their influence by making an effort to organize the Laundry Workers in their districts and localities.

Your committee recommends concurrence in the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### **Organization of Postal Laborers**

Resolution No. 42—By Delegate E. G. Hall, Minnesota State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, There are several groups of postal laborers organized into bona fide local unions, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and other groups of the same class into an independent organization; and

WHEREAS, If the American Federation of Labor is to be of any service to the bona fide local unions, it must be the result of a better organization of this group; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor pledges its active efforts to promote the organization of this group in all postal centers where they are employed, and calls upon its organizers throughout the nation to assist to bring about a better organization among the postal laborers.

The committee recommends concurrence in the resolution.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Hall, Minnesota State Federation of Labor: As the introducer of this resolution, let me say that a few years ago we had two nice organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and the same thing applies to the many other industrial centers throughout the nation. Then came into Minneapolis as well as St. Paul, a national representative of the dual organization, and he was successful in winning over the Minneapolis local. I might say the reason this resolution has been introduced here was because of the condition that exists in St. Paul, and I understand the same thing applies to the local in the City of Detroit and in one or two other points. The object of the resolution is that the large number of volunteer organizers, as well as the general organizers and officers of state branches, central bodies, etc., use just a little effort when the opportunity presents itself to bring into these local organizations these Post Office laborers, and, if possible, to win back from the dual organization to the American Federation of Labor the organizations that the Federation has lost to the dual organization.

We are asking the state branches and central bodies, as well as the organizers of the American Federation of Labor, to help, so that when the opportune

time comes, perhaps you will have an organization of Post Office laborers that is loyal to the principles of the American Federation of Labor. I am satisfied that the President and Secretary of the organization know of the campaign carried on by those interested in the dual organization, and the many things they have said against the efforts and activities and principles enunciated by this organization.

Delegate Martel, Typographical Union: Mr. Chairman and Delegates—The gentleman from the Minnesota State Federation of Labor touched on a situation I was going to mention, and that was in reference to the local union of Post Office Laborers in Detroit. That has been in existence for some six years as a part of the American Federation of Labor. Its affiliation with the Central Body, however, in Detroit, extended over a period of less than a year, I believe. During the existence of this organization several times each year Brother Morrison, the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor, and myself would correspond about the Post Office Laborers' Union in Detroit. He was either asking me to go and see that they pay their dues, or I was asking him to see that they affiliate with the Central Body. It was not much of a local organization.

However, I don't blame these people. Honestly I think the thing that is wrong with the Post Office Laborers' Union is the lack of understanding of the proper place in the trade union movement of the other employes in the postal service who are a part of the American Federation of Labor, and the neglect on their part to do their full duty as trade unionists.

It is a well-known fact that the Post Office Clerks and the Letter Carriers' Union throughout the United States have neglected to affiliate with central bodies. I can't conceive of such a condition being possible unless it is with the approval of the international officers of these two international unions, and as one of the officers of the Central Body affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, I want to say, that we are becoming impatient with the constant requests of local unions that are

a part of the international union of the A. F. of L., for assistance on national legislation for their organization, when they will do nothing to help build up the local movement in the locality where they are asking the rest of the labor movement to call on the Senators and Congressmen for help when they want it.

I want to say very frankly that if the Letter Carriers' Union and the Postal Clerks' Union that come in contact with the Post Office laborers, or the men so employed in the service, were to do something to inculcate the proper spirit of trade unionism into these men, we would not have been troubled with dual movements in the Post Office Laborers' Union.

Delegate Mugavin, Letter Carriers: It may be true that there are places where the letter carriers are not affiliated with the central labor body, but it is true that in central labor bodies there are members of the building trades' councils and teamsters' unions and printers' unions that are not affiliated with the central labor body. They should have set the example themselves, and I want to further advise the brother who takes the privilege of criticizing the letter carriers that the letter carriers' organization has more local unions represented in the American Federation of Labor than any organization in the Federation. We have 3,100 local unions in good standing in the National Association of Letter Carriers, and we pay per capita tax on every one of the American Federation of Labor. We have locals where there are only two men, and they are made to pay.

I want further to advise him that if there is any body of men difficult to organize it is the postal employes, a purely voluntary organization where you have no means of chastizing those men who do not belong to our organization. Mr. Printer works in a union printing shop. If the men don't show union cards they don't work there. You don't have to be a union letter carrier, and the fact that we are 97 per cent. organized in the United States is a fine tribute to the organization ability of the letter carriers of the United States, and we

bear our share of the burden of American labor in every instance.

Delegate Daney, Post Office Clerks: As far as my local union is concerned, we are affiliated all along the line, with the Central Labor Council, the State Federation and the national organization. As far as the difficulties the laborers have is concerned, it is partly due to their own misunderstanding, because our representatives in Washington, D. C., have done everything they could to help the postal laborers to have an increase in salaries. That was the reason they went out of the organized labor movement. They were a little bit peeved because they could not have the co-operation they thought they ought to have, according to their own ideas and standards.

I am speaking for the Post Office Clerks and I will say they are willing to co-operate and allow these laborers to get better conditions all along the line if they were only willing to help us. If they are willing to stand up on their feet we will see to it that they are able to walk.

Delegate Martel, Typographical Union: I just rise to be permitted to call attention to the affirmation of my statement upon the part of the delegate here of the organizing ability of the letter carriers. I said that these people were well organized. My complaint is that they do not support the central bodies. He says here that they are paying per capita tax on all of their people to the American Federation of Labor. Well, is that something to brag about? Who is cheating the American Federation of Labor—anybody? Do you know of any international union that is not paying on all its members? I assume they are all doing that, but that does not allow you to escape your share of the responsibility of supporting the central bodies and the state federations of labor.

You say a printer has to belong to the union or he can't work. Is that true of the G.P.O. in Washington? I don't think that is true in Washington. If printers are organized it is not because of the closed shop, but it is because printers have seen that organization is something to their advantage, just like

the letter carriers have seen it and just like the postal clerks, and the fact that we have a high degree of organization is a tribute to the co-operation they have received from the rest of the trade union movement of this country, first in creating proper public sentiment toward the organization of Federal employes, and secondly, co-operating with the requests that come from the national office and the American Federation of Labor to assist in building up these local unions in the cities where you now have your charters.

I hope no one will misunderstand my criticism of these organizations. It is not for the purpose of being destructive, but for the purpose of enunciating a complaint that exists against these organizations in many localities throughout the country. I say again the responsibility for that lies in the international officers of these international organizations, and until such time as they instruct their local unions to get in where they belong and carry their share of the freight and do their share of up-building the central bodies, until that thing is done they are negligent in their duty.

Delegate Mugavin, Letter Carriers—President Green: I think you had better hold your speech, Delegate Mugavin, because I will have to recognize Brother Duncan first under the rules.

Delegate Mugavin: I wish to reply in a few words to the delegate who has just spoken.

Delegate Duncan, Seattle Central Labor Council: That is the reason I wanted to speak, so that he or somebody might reply to all of us at once. I don't want to mention any specific names, but I do want all of the international officers to search their hearts and their consciences and determine whether they are playing the game 100 per cent. with the central bodies that respond in every instance whenever they are called upon to perform service for these international organizations. I contend that an international organization owes it to the central body to require that every local union affiliated with that international union shall join hands with the central bodies in their efforts to do the work locally of the American Fed-

eration of Labor. I believe we ought to be frank and I don't think we ought to get mad at each other when we are frank, and so that nobody will get mad at me personally—because plenty of people are mad at me already—I am not going to mention the name of any international organization, but I am going to say this, that we went down the line, hook, line and sinker for certain organizations that were seeking national legislation, and I am satisfied that it will take a number of years' per capita tax to pay for the telegrams that we used in burning up the wires to assist them in getting their national legislation.

Then recently, when their forty-four hour week was won or seemed to be won, we got notice that one of these organizations that had now won its battle, or we had won it for them, was severing its relations with the Central Labor Council in Seattle. What gratitude, what trade unionism! I want to be charitable, I want these delegates from these various organizations to come and mingle with the delegates and rub shoulders with them, and we will help these international officers instill into their delegates some of the lessons they learn so that they can take back to their local unions really sound trade union principles. I haven't mentioned any names, but I hope these international officers will inquire and we will write letters to them personally, rather than announce their names on the floor of this convention. I am satisfied we will get the co-operation of these officers, and we are not going to denounce anybody until we test them out and see if we get it, and if we don't get it we will tell their names next year.

Delegate Mugavin, Letter Carriers: Mr. President, I have no desire whatever to enter into a personal controversy with my good friend Martel, but I do resent the implication that when I mentioned the fact that we were paying per capita tax on our membership I had in mind that any organization in this American Federation of Labor was not doing likewise. I had no such intention and I resent the implication, and I want you gentlemen to know that there is nothing of that kind in my mind.

I wanted to tell you as nearly as I could the difficulties that surround the organization of Government employes in the postal service, by calling your attention to the difference between the union 'he represents and the union I have the pleasure of representing. If you are a union man in a union print shop you can only work in that shop so long as you have a union card. In our organization it is not only unnecessary to belong to the organization, but the further fact remains that until very recently those who did take any active part in the organization of letter carriers or post office clerks or railway mail clerks were subject to the displeasure of the higher officials of the Post Office Department.

I want to point out further that there are hundreds of cities in the United States where there are but two letter carriers, and there are hundreds where there are but three, some where there are but four, and we think that in organizing small groups of men of that character we are rendering a service to the American labor movement, and we endeavor to inculcate the principles of the American Federation of Labor into every one of our men.

In reply to Brother Duncan, the implied ingratitude on part of certain organizations, which I think means the Post Office employes, I want publicly and now, on behalf of the National Association of Letter Carriers, to express our sincere appreciation of the service that has been rendered by the officers, locally and nationally, of the American Federation of Labor to us in our efforts to better our conditions. We appreciate it more than we can say.

I thank you.

President Green: The Chair recognizes the secretary of the committee.

Delegate McNally, Secretary of the Committee: I think the Chair has been very lenient in letting the delegates speak out of order. It is not a question of affiliation with state federations or central bodies. The Federal Employes have been spoken of so loosely around here today that I don't want anybody to get the idea that the National Federation of Federal Employes is not represented in the labor movement all the

way down. I have been an officer of the State Federation of Labor for more years than it would be politic to admit. We have among our membership officers in many central unions and state federations, and where there are members of the National Federation of Federal Employees that are not in said central and state federations, we keep after them. Convention after convention of our organization urges them to go in, and we keep after them between conventions.

So far as the Post Office laborers are concerned, the situation there is their organization. Mr. Flynn, of Chicago, who carries the dual organization in his hat, has had many conferences with Secretary Morrison of the American Federation of Labor and Secretary Flaherty of the Post Office Clerks, and he always drops into our office also. I think he himself is the greatest stumbling block to many of these organizations remaining with or coming into the American Federation of Labor. It is not the primary responsibility of the Post Office employees, it is the primary responsibility of all of us, because we are familiar with the Federal buildings in our various cities, and we should see to it that every assistance is given these Post Office laborers so that they will be better informed as to our national movement, and then we will not have to come here next year and talk about this dual organization.

President Green: There may be some confusion in the minds of some of the delegates because of the wide range of this discussion. The question of affiliation with central bodies is not involved in the least in this resolution. The resolution deals with the organization of Post Office laborers and calls upon our volunteer organizers to assist in organizing and do all we can to bring them into affiliation with our great movement. The committee agrees fully in the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

The committee reported jointly on Resolutions Nos. 46, 53 and 54, as follows:

**To Assist Associated Assistant Directors Union No. 18096, Los Angeles, California**

Resolution No. 46—By Delegate Edward McLaughlin of the California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The Associated Assistant Directors, Local 18906, was approximately 98 per cent. organized in February, 1930; and

WHEREAS, Persons, with malicious and wilful intent did attempt to disrupt and disband this said Local on February 24, 1930, thereby materially reducing the membership; and

WHEREAS, This said Local has made an heroic and valiant attempt, through its new officers, to rebuild said organization and having met with marvelous success; and

WHEREAS, At this time, there are new attempts being made to again disrupt this organization, by a company union known as the Assistant Directors' Branch of the Academy of Arts and Sciences, members of which are the balance of our former strength; and

WHEREAS, The necessary recognition is not being given this Local by the Motion Picture Producers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED By the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, that we hereby direct the Executive Council to render such assistance as may be possible in obtaining the recognition of the Associated Assistant Directors' Union, Local 18096, of the American Federation of Labor, on the part of the producers of motion pictures.

**To Assist Associated Motion Picture Costumers' Union No. 18067, Los Angeles, California**

Resolution No. 53 — By Delegate Joseph P. Tuohy, of the Associated Motion Picture Costumers' Union No. 18067, Los Angeles, California.

WHEREAS, The Associated Motion Picture Costumers, Local No. 18067, are engaged entirely with motion picture work; and

WHEREAS, Local 18067 is and has been practically 100 per cent. organized throughout the Hollywood Studios; and

WHEREAS, Through lack of recognition on the part of the producers of motion pictures, Local 18067 is finding it increasingly difficult to hold its membership; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor working in co-operation with the officers of International Unions interested in motion picture production attempt to bring

about the recognition of this Local Union by the Motion Picture Producers.

**To Assist the Associated Assistant Directors Local Union No. 18096, Los Angeles, California**

Resolution No. 54—By Delegate Dick L'Estrange of the Associated Assistant Directors, Local No. 18096, Los Angeles, California.

WHEREAS, The Associated Assistant Directors, Local 18096, the work of whose members is recognized as an integral part of the Motion Picture Industry, is functioning under a charter issued by the American Federation of Labor, in order to improve the condition of its members and all eligible prospective members, to assure the maintenance of a fair rate of wages for services, competently rendered, and to assure their employment in this field; and

WHEREAS, At this time, there are attempts being made to disrupt this organization by an organization known as the Assistant Directors' Branch of the Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences, a company union, some members of which were former members of Local Union 18096; and

WHEREAS, The proper recognition is not being given this Local by the Motion Picture Producers; and

WHEREAS, The California State Federation of Labor at their Thirty-second Annual Convention, at Santa Barbara, California, on September 14, 1931, to September 18, 1931, did adopt proposition No. 24, presented to that convention by the Associated Assistant Directors Local 18096, urging full support and co-operation of each and every organized Union and Central Labor Council in the cause of the Associated Assistant Directors, American Federation of Labor, Union Local 18096; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor working in co-operation with the officers of International unions interested in Motion Picture production attempt to bring about the recognition of this local by the motion picture producers.

Your committee held a hearing jointly on Resolutions 46, 53 and 54, as they deal principally with gaining recognition from the Motion Picture Producers. While we are in sympathy with the request, we feel an investigation should first be made as to the conditions these workers have to contend with, and whether or not other National or Inter-

national Unions are involved or may become involved. With this object in view, we recommend that the entire matter be referred to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor in an endeavor to bring about the results sought.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Delegate McNally: This concludes the report of the Committee on Organization, which is respectfully submitted and signed:

FRANK DUFFY, Chairman.  
E. J. MANION,  
WM. E. MALONEY,  
PATRICK H. REAGAN,  
AGNES QUINN,  
GEORGE HARRISON,  
E. J. VOLZ,  
D. F. CLEARY,  
JOHN W. PARKS,  
W. A. O'KEEFE,  
GUST ANDERSON,  
CARL E. BERG,  
GERTRUDE M. McNALLY,  
Secretary.

Delegate McNally moved the adoption of the report of the committee as a whole.

The motion was seconded and carried.

President Green: The committee will be continued, so that if any other matters are referred to it, it will be in position to act upon them.

**Report of Committee on Industrial Relations**

Delegate Case, secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

**Hotel and Restaurant Employes Request Assistance in Controversy With Cleveland Hotels.**

Resolution No. 1—By Delegates Edward Flore, Robert B. Hesketh, Emanuel Koveleski, Conrad Schott, Agnes Quinn of the Hotel and Restaurant Employes' and Beverage Dispensers' International Alliance:

WHEREAS, The Hotel and Restaurant Employes' and Beverage Dispensers' International Alliance appealed to the Fiftieth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, held in the City of Boston in 1930, for their moral and financial co-operation and support in the fight being waged in the City of Cleveland, Ohio, against the hotels Statler, Cleveland, Allerton and Olmstead of that city; and

WHEREAS, The convention by its action referred said appeal to Executive Council with a request that they should render every possible assistance to bring about a satisfactory adjustment of this affair; and

WHEREAS, The Hotel and Restaurant Employes' and Beverage Dispensers' International Alliance, with the financial help of the affiliations of the Ohio State and Cleveland Federation of Labor, many city central bodies, a few international unions and the Railway Brotherhoods, were able to carry on this fight for a period of twelve months, demonstrating the loyalty of the locked-out workers to the principle of collective bargaining and their opposition to the "yellow dog" contract; and

WHEREAS, The Cleveland Hotels Association, Incorporated, through the good offices of the Department of Labor did submit terms of settlement which were accepted by the organizations representing the locked-out workers, which terms of settlement were later repudiated by the Cleveland Hotels Association, Incorporated; and

WHEREAS, The hotels Statler, Cleveland, Allerton and Olmstead are on the unfair list of the Ohio State and Cleveland Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be and is hereby requested to continue to render every possible assistance to the Hotel and Restaurant Employes' and Beverage Dispensers' International Alliance toward bringing about a satisfactory understanding and adjustment of the locked-out controversy in the City of Cleveland, Ohio; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That they use the good offices of the American Federation of Labor to the end that the major political parties and all good friends of labor will refrain from patronizing the hotels Statler, Cleveland, Allerton and Olmstead in the city of Cleveland, Ohio, while the said hotels are on the unfair list of the Ohio State and Cleveland Federation of Labor.

Your committee recommends concurrence.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

**Stove Mounters Protest Labor Policy of Auto Stove Company of New Athens, Ill.**

Resolution No. 2—By Delegate Edw. W. Kaiser of the Stove Mounters' International Union.

WHEREAS, The Auto Stove Company of New Athens, Illinois, had always operated its mounting department under

an agreement with the members of Stove Mounters' International Union Local No. 72, until January, 1929, when this firm leased a factory in National City, a part of East St. Louis, Ill., and declared its intention to operate such plant with non-union workmen at a rate of wages far below the rate prevailing in all union shops in the St. Louis district; and

WHEREAS, The Auto Stove Company then declared that the members of Stove Mounters' Union, Local No. 72, employed in its plant at New Athens must work for the same rate of wages and under the same conditions as they had established in their non-union plant at East St. Louis, Ill.; and

WHEREAS, Upon refusal of the members of the Stove Mounters' Union employed in the New Athens plant of this concern to work under the same non-union hours, wages and conditions that the firm had established in its non-union shop at East St. Louis, the Auto Stove Company locked out the members of the union in January, 1929, and since that time have kept the New Athens plant closed, but continued to operate the non-union plant at East St. Louis; and

WHEREAS, Every effort has been made by the Stove Mounters' International Union to bring about a satisfactory settlement of this trouble without result; and

WHEREAS, Committees of the Trades and Labor Assembly of New Athens, and of the Metal Trades Council of St. Louis and Vicinity, with the representatives of the Stove Mounters' International Union recently held a conference with representatives of this firm at which the management declared it would never again operate its mounting department under union conditions, or have any further dealings with the union, further stating that other organized crafts in their employ had better be careful or they would receive the same treatment given the Stove Mounters' Union; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, In view of the unfair attitude of the Auto Stove Company of New Athens, and East St. Louis, Ill., that the American Federation of Labor endorse the position of Stove Mounters' International Union, Local No. 72, in the controversy with this unfair firm and that this trouble be given all possible publicity; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be instructed to use their good offices at the earliest possible date in an effort to bring about an amicable settlement of the trouble.

Your committee recommends concurrence.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

**Wallpaper Crafts Request Support in Struggle Against Anti-Union Movement.**

Resolution No. 8—By the United Wallpaper Crafts of North America.

WHEREAS, The United Wallpaper Crafts of North America has done everything it could to stop the progress of the anti-union movement in Joliet, Illinois, in the wallpaper industry; and

WHEREAS, It has depleted its financial resources in so doing; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we respectfully petition the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, to urge all organized labor to refrain from purchasing any wallpaper made in Joliet, Illinois, by the following firms:

Star-Peerless Wallpaper Co., Flynn-Lennon Wallpaper Co., Mid-West Wallpaper Co., Joliet Wallpaper Co., Standard Wallpaper Co., Superior Mills (makers of wallpaper); and be it further

RESOLVED, That we also earnestly request that this apply to the Imperial Wallpaper Co. of Glens Falls, N. Y. This is the largest non-union mill in the country; it is also one of the firms that left our union ranks during the 1921 anti-union movement.

Your committee carefully considered this resolution and recommends that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor use every effort possible to adjust this matter and in failing to do so, they then insist and urge that all labor organizations refrain from purchasing any wall papers made by any of the firms listed in this resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

**Grigsby-Grunow Company, Chicago, Illinois.**

Resolution No. 16—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department.

WHEREAS, The convention of the Metal Trades Department of the A. F. of L., held in Boston, Massachusetts, 1930, presented a grievance against the Grigsby-Grunow Company (manufacturers of Majestic radios and refrigerators) to the convention of the American Federation of Labor, requesting approval of the Metal Trades Department action in declaring the Grigsby-Grunow Company unfriendly and unfair in its attitude toward organized labor; and

WHEREAS, The convention of the American Federation of Labor, held in Boston, Massachusetts, referred the subject to the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. with instructions to endeavor to bring about an amicable adjustment of the dispute with the Metal Trades Council of Chicago, the Chicago Federation of Labor, and the Grigsby-Grunow Company; and

WHEREAS, In November, 1930, negotiations with the Grigsby-Grunow Company were established through the friendly intervention of President Green and his representative, Mr. Paul Smith, which resulted in conferences with officers directly representing the Metal Trades industries; and

WHEREAS, These negotiations continued until May of this year, during which period the Grigsby-Grunow Company notified the trade that there was no dispute between it and the Trade Union movement as represented by the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, In the early part of May, 1931, friendly negotiations with the Grigsby-Grunow Company, the Metal Trades Council of Chicago and the Chicago Federation of Labor, ceased because of the final position taken by the Grigsby-Grunow Company; and

WHEREAS, About the same time the Grigsby-Grunow Company issued a letter to the trade, enclosing two letters signed by local trade union officials who represented neither the Chicago Metal Trades Council nor the Chicago Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, These two letters widely broadcast by the Grigsby-Grunow Company have created the impression in many localities that the Grigsby-Grunow Company has established friendly relations with the Trade Union movement; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be, and is, hereby instructed to forward a communication to all affiliated International Unions, State Federations of Labor, and Central Labor Councils, informing them that the dispute with the Grigsby-Grunow Company, the Metal Trades Council of Chicago and the Chicago Federation of Labor has not been adjusted, and that the action of the Chicago Metal Trades Council and the Chicago Federation of Labor in placing the Grigsby-Grunow Company upon the unfair list, has the approval of the Metal Trades' Department of the A. F. of L. and that of the American Federation of Labor.

Owing to the fact that every peaceful effort has been put forth to adjust this matter, without success, your committee recommends concurrence.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Martel, Typographical Union: I would like to call attention to the fact that on this matter that has just been mentioned, central bodies receive letters from the people affected in the City of Chicago, complaining of the attitude of the Grigsby-Grunow Company against organized labor, and we in turn are asked to send letters of protest to the Majestic Radio or the Grigsby-Grunow Company against their attitude, and when that is complied with the Grigsby-Grunow Company sends back letters in which they profess to be friendly to organized labor, and they include letters from two officials of the trade union movement of the City of Chicago, telling you what fine people they are. Either this outfit is fair or they are not fair. The Chicago Federation of Labor ought to bring about a condition wherein officers of their local unions in Chicago will not be commending firms that are on the unfair list. It is misleading to the movement and it leaves the rank and file confused when a thing of that kind happens.

The motion to adopt the committee's report was carried by unanimous vote.

**Stove Mounters Protest Labor Policy of Cleveland Co-operative Stove Company.**

Resolution No. 19—By Delegate Edw. W. Kaiser of the Stove Mounters' International Union.

WHEREAS, The Cleveland Co-operative Stove Company of Cleveland, Ohio, manufacturers of Grand stoves, ranges and furnaces, locked out the members of Stove Mounters' International Union on October 10, 1930, in a deliberate violation of the existing agreement for the purpose of enforcing a wage reduction of 25 per cent. and the so-called open shop; and

WHEREAS, Since that time this firm has been operating its shop with strike breakers and non-union workmen and has increased the hours of work from eight hours per day to nine and one-half and ten hours per day; and

WHEREAS, The Cleveland Co-operative Stove Co. has taken over the Buckeye Incubator Company, formerly of Springfield, Ohio, and has moved this plant to its Cleveland shop, manufacturing Buckeye chicken brooder stoves and incubators as a side line; and

WHEREAS, A number of conferences have been held with the management of the Cleveland Co-operative Stove

Company in an effort to adjust this trouble, but without result; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor declare the product of this concern unfair and that it does not recommend Grand stoves, ranges and furnaces and Buckeye chicken brooder stoves and incubators to the members of organized labor and friends until this firm deals fairly with members of organized labor; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be instructed to use its good offices in bringing about a satisfactory adjustment, and failing to do so, that every possible publicity be given the attitude of this concern.

Your committee recommends concurrence.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

**Protesting Labor Policy of Shell Oil Company in Construction Work.**

Resolution No. 57—By L. P. Lindelof, Clarence E. Swick, James P. Meehan, H. Kaufman, Jos. P. Hunter, and Christian M. Madsen, Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America.

WHEREAS, The labor organizations throughout the United States have been circularized by the International Oil and Gas Workers' Union of California, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, requesting Union men to purchase products of the Shell Oil and Gasoline Company, on the ground that they are fair to organized labor; and

WHEREAS, This company does not employ Union building craftsmen or members of the Sign Painters' craft in its work throughout New York State as well as many other parts of the country; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention instruct its officers to do all in their power to have the Shell Gasoline Company use Union Labor on all its work in conformity with the circularized letter sent out by the Oil and Gas Workers' International Union.

Your committee recommends concurrence.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Delegate Case: This concludes the report of the Committee on Industrial

Relations, which is respectfully submitted and signed:

JOHN COEFIELD, Chairman,  
 CHARLES D. DUFFY,  
 WM. P. WALSH,  
 EDW. CANAVAN,  
 JOHN C. MACDONALD,  
 ROBERT DANBY,  
 JAMES F. BROCK,  
 L. G. GOUDIE,  
 SIDNEY VAN NESS,  
 FRANK H. HALL,  
 R. A. HENNING,  
 NORA O'CONNELL,  
 HARRY NACEY,  
 EDWARD ACKERLY,  
 HARRY F. LONGLEY,  
 FRANK HULL,  
 CHARLES J. CASE, Secretary.  
 Committee on Industrial Relations.

Delegate Case moved the adoption of the report of the committee as a whole, and the motion was seconded and carried.

President Green: The committee will be continued.

No other committees were prepared to report at this time, and opportunity was given for announcements as to time and place of committee meetings.

Delegate Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor: All delegates representing State Federations of Labor are requested to meet in Room 201 of this hotel at 8:00 o'clock this evening.

There being no further committees ready to report, Delegate Canavan, Stage Employes, moved that the rules be suspended and the convention adjourn to 9:30 o'clock Friday morning. The motion was seconded and carried and the convention at 4:40 p.m. adjourned to 9:30 o'clock Friday morning, October 9.

## Fifth Day — Friday Morning Session

Vancouver, B.C.,  
October 9, 1931.

The convention was called to order at 9:30 o'clock by President Green.

### Absentees

Dullzell, Bowen, Schulte, Coulter, Zaritsky, Schlesinger, Brock, Onyett, Gorman (P. E.), Lewis, Murray, Fagan, Boylan, Britton, Burke (J. P.), Sullivan (H. W.), Gorman (F. J.), Starr, Smith, Hatch, Fay, Provost, Gross, Rozqvist, Elliott, Sullivan (J.), Garrison, Possee, Joel, Campbell (G. C.), Driscoll, Coleman, Barger, Augustino, Rice, Roster, Quinn (J. C.), Sisson, Bower, Clinedinst (J. D.), Smethurst, Martinez, Reed, Wood, Covert, Thomas, Bohm, Stephens, McElligott, Randolph, Webster, Hampton, Mitchell (T.).

### Supplemental Report Committee on Credentials

Delegate Collins, secretary, reported as follows:

Your committee has examined credentials and recommend the seating of M. E. Sherman to represent the Iowa State Federation of Labor.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### Re-assignment of Resolution No. 4

Vice President Woll: Mr. Chairman, Resolution No. 4 deals with rehabilitation plans for Porto Rico and is inherently bound up with the Executive Council's report on the same subject, which is referred to the Committee on State Organizations. The Committee on Resolutions, therefore, recommends that this be referred to the Committee on State Organizations to be considered in connection with the Executive Council's report. I move that procedure be followed.

President Green: If there are no objections the suggestion of Vice-president Woll will be followed and the resolution to which he called attention will be referred to the Committee on State Organizations. Hearing no objections, that course will be pursued.

### Communications

Secretary Morrison read the following telegrams and communications:

October 8, 1931.

Mr. William Green, President, American Federation of Labor, American Federation of Labor Convention, Vancouver, B.C., Canada.

Dear Sir and Brother:

By direction of the Central Labor Union of Washington, D.C., it has become my duty and pleasure to extend to the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled at Vancouver, B.C., a cordial invitation to hold the next convention of the American Federation of Labor in Washington, D.C.

Washington has ample facilities for not only the transaction of the business of the convention, but for the accommodation of the delegates; and its educational and entertainment features are unexcelled anywhere in the United States.

During 1932 Washington will celebrate the sesqui-centennial of the anniversary of the birth of George Washington, the father of our country. 1932 also will be a year in which one of the most important political campaigns will take place. Under these circumstances Washington will furnish our Labor movement an opportunity for educating the many visitors in the gospel of trade unionism; and due to the publicity features of Washington, unexcelled anywhere, it would also furnish our movement a splendid sounding board through which the entire nation could be reached in a period which may become crucial in our work.

Hoping that the convention will see fit to accept this invitation and assuring you that the Washington Central Labor Union will do its best to entertain the delegates and make them feel at home, I am

Yours fraternally,

N. P. ALIFAS,

Delegate representing the Washington, D.C., Central Labor Union.

Chicago, Illinois,  
October 7, 1931.

William Green,  
American Federation of Labor Convention,  
Vancouver Hotel, Vancouver, B. C.

Important development in our injunction case prevents our presence at the fifty-first convention. The Sleeping Car

Porters' Union wish to commend your vigorous fight against wage cuts and for the institution of the shorter work day and shorter work week as the basic remedy for the present unemployment situation.

A. PHILLIP RANDOLPH  
M. P. WEBSTER

Boston, Massachusetts,  
October 8, 1931.

Wm. Green, President,  
American Federation of Labor,  
American Federation of Labor Convention,  
Vancouver, B.C.

Twenty-five thousand underpaid textile workers in the City of Lawrence, Massachusetts, are on strike against ten per cent. wage reduction in industry which has dictated to our Federal Government a high protective tariff. These twenty-five thousand textile employees are looking to the American Federation of Labor delegates assembled in convention at Vancouver for leadership, co-operation and support.

ROBERT J. WATT,  
Secretary-treasurer, Massachusetts  
State Federation of Labor.

President Green: The Chair begs leave to announce that in response to this telegram from the Secretary-treasurer of the Massachusetts State Federation of Labor, I instructed Brother Marks, the organizer of the American Federation of Labor located in the City of New York, to proceed to Lawrence, Massachusetts, for the purpose of rendering to the striking textile workers of Lawrence all the assistance possible. Many of these striking textile workers are Polish people, who speak the Polish language. Organizer Marks speaks that language and it is for that special reason that he was assigned to render service. We want to help these striking textile workers who have the courage and the spirit to fight against wage reductions, with all the power we possess.

It is very refreshing indeed to observe that over in that section, where force has been used to a very large extent, this group of workers is inspired by the determination to maintain their wage standards, their living standards, and protest against force being used in dealing with them to lower their living standards. We admire their courage, we are in sympathy with their efforts and

with their purpose to fight and fight on to maintain their wages.

I know that in making just these brief remarks I am reflecting the sentiment, the opinion and the judgment of the officers and delegates in attendance at this convention.

Delegate McMahon, Textile Workers: Delegates and friends—I felt that our organization could come at least once into the American Federation of Labor without making an appeal in behalf of those whom you have assisted so often and so splendidly. When I left New England, after being in conference with the employers and their representatives on this particular question of reduction of wages, I thought that we could extend the situation at least until my return. I did not intend at all to bring the matter to the attention of the convention. I realized that there were international and national unions in as great trouble as are the Textile Workers.

We of the Textile Workers have felt keenly the reductions that have been taking place during the past year, during the year prior to that, and at every opportunity given to our employers by and through the depression. For the first time in the history of the City of Lawrence, where so many strikes have taken place, the employers have entered into an unholy alliance. The Cuneoff Mill, the Arlington Mill, the Pacific Mills and the American Woollen Company all agree that by force and through hunger these workers must submit again to another reduction. Not one day or week has passed since the last convention in Boston that our people have not been in the trenches in Pennsylvania, and in Patterson, New Jersey, where we have just closed up, and now we are entering into Lawrence with the same courage and the same fortitude we had when we entered the arena some forty odd years ago. We do not propose to be badgered. We want to be sympathetic with our employers as we are passing through these critical stages in the industry. But we feel that when average wages are reduced to a minimum and that minimum at such a fixed rate that it is impossible to give sustenance to the families of the

workers, then it is time to pursue a different course.

And yet I am not going to excoriate the employer at all. The unholy alliance that has likewise existed among the bankers of our country has forced the issue among these poor people, these splendid producers in the City of Lawrence, in the State of Massachusetts. The bankers said, "No money will come to you from our banks unless you place these reductions in effect, regardless of how you may do it." I am wondering if the time has not come for us in the textile industry in New England at least to say that while you are making a run on our pay envelopes, I should advise the textile workers to make a run on their banks. Oh, we would be charged with hoisting aloft the flag of anarchy and destruction, and yet, sitting snugly by their own firesides, these bankers are using the whip and the lash as never before—to do what? To destroy homes and refuse to give to women and children the sustenance necessary to maintain them, so that they may bring forth others who will be a credit to our country. All this is denied, and yet times without number, a few here and there will say the textile workers are at it again. Yes, they will be at it again and again, and again, until we bring home to the employer a realization of the fact that we are an organization who are not fearful of the consequences, no matter how bitter they may be, when we are forced into the fight.

This fight is not of our making. Every resource that we have has been resorted to and some of the finest friends among the employers who are friendly with us have used their good offices in an attempt to ward off these things, but all in vain. Aye, my friends, some of the employers or the agents of the employers in the mills now striking were antagonistic to reductions. The Mayor of the City of Lawrence, the editors of the newspapers, the clergy, one banker, every professional man who has a thought of liberty at heart met in a citizens' committee assembled in the chamber of the Board of Aldermen in the City of Lawrence within the past month. I addressed them. I laid down our policies, what we hoped to accom-

plish, and they unanimously endorsed our policies. They asked the employers to meet us, they asked them to settle around the conference table by compromise, if possible, and avoid the chaos that was coming to their door, but all in vain.

From the pulpit in many churches of the City of Lawrence we have heard condemnation of the actions of these employers. We informed the state branch of the American Federation of Labor, the president of which is here as a delegate, Brother Moriarty—nothing was attempted by our international union without getting in touch with the officers of the state branch, neither was a move made until the Central Labor Union was thoroughly convinced and the secretary-treasurer of the state branch is the president of the Central Labor Union of the City of Lawrence—that our cause was a just one. Brother Meehan, of the Painters, comes from Lawrence and is here as a delegate from his international union. He knows, as do others who came from New England, that the international union of which I have the honor to be head is not trying to jeopardize the trade union movement by always coming before you and making these appeals.

We would, if we could, as we did in 1922, carry the fight to them, when 82,000 of our people were out against a 20 per cent. reduction, and after ten months we won. We knew that our friends, the United Mine Workers and the men on the railroads were out fighting bitterly during that year and we realized that they were entitled to everything that could be done for them.

My friends, we hope and trust that when you go back you will tell your people the truth of the situation. In this situation, just as we have had it in Patterson, just as we have had it in Allentown, in Easton, in Stroudsburg, just as we have had it in another city from which the Secretary-treasurer of the United Mine Workers of America comes, and where on Sundays he and I addressed our workers—in all those places our friends who hoist the red flag of anarchy and who now go under the communistic title, the light shade

or the pink shade, are trying to make all they can out of the situation for the sake of money at the expense of the workers in the mills, they are trying to continue this condition of chaos and anarchy. We are fighting against that as best we know how and we hope to continue this fight. I want to say to you and to the delegates assembled that our fight in the Southland has been a success 100 per cent., due entirely to you and to our chief, the President of the American Federation of Labor. It is not that I want to say we have a membership paying per capita tax. That is not so, but we have a membership who are willing to pay per capita tax, willing to pay dues when the mills start in operation.

I want to tell you that in our opinion, as United Textile Workers of America, the action taken at the Toronto convention and the starting of that campaign meant the lifting of our banner still higher because of the help you have given.

We appeal to you now again, when once more in our own old New England another battle is going to take place. It has started. We will go forward, and you will hear reports from the press, some fair, others unfair, but from our side we will try to keep the international heads aware of what is the truth in the whole matter. Let me again say, Mr. President and delegates and friends, that we thank you for your past support. As I said in starting, I did not think I would have to make this appeal again. I am not at all downcast, I can meet it with a smile and so can my colleagues, and we will go on and on in this fight, as our predecessors and their predecessors before them went on, to the end that victory will perch upon our banner.

#### **REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON SHORTER WORK-DAY**

Delegate Gainor, Secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

##### **The Five-day Week**

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's report under the above caption, pages 104 and 105, the committee reported as follows:

Your Committee on Shorter Work-day in submitting their report direct attention at the outset to that part of the Executive Council's Report, pages 104 and 105, where under the caption of the Five-day Week, the story of progress is told of the five-day work-week throughout the United States and Canada during the past year. This record is supplemented by an outline map showing the advances made by this movement in the several states during the same period.

Based upon the information available, the total number of organized workers now enjoying the benefits of the five-day week exceed 500,000, a substantial increase as compared with the preceding year and a gratifying one when consideration is given to the serious business reaction now prevailing throughout industry. Mindful of the high importance of this great labor and social advance, your Committee warmly commends the Executive Council on the progress achieved, urges a continuance of this work along lines hitherto observed and calls upon all affiliates to co-operate with the Executive Council in its widespread surveys constantly under way in order to secure adequate and definite information as to the growth of the five-day week.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

##### **Shorter Work-week for Government Employees**

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 110, the committee reported as follows:

Under this caption on page 110 of the Executive Council's Report, attention is directed to the remarkable and highly gratifying progress made during the past year for the more general observance of the shorter work-week through the enactment of legislation whereby nearly 600,000 employees of the Federal Government and the District of Columbia were granted a shorter work-day on Saturday the year round without reduction in wages or salaries.

This is gratifying progress, indeed. A remarkable development and one

showing the growing popularity of the shorter work-week movement is found in the fact that the bill granting some 315,000 postal employees of 44-hour maximum work-week schedule passed both Houses of Congress without a dissenting vote, while but one voice was heard in protest to a similar measure for Federal Employees.

Your committee interprets this notable labor advance not only as a striking victory for the shorter work-day movement, but also as conclusive evidence of the favoring trend of public sentiment and the course that progress must inevitably take. The good effect of this salutary example on private employment can not be overstated. We therefore heartily commend the Executive Council for the splendid service rendered in reinforcing and supplementing the efforts of the affiliated Postal and Federal Employees Organizations in pressing this short work-week legislation to ultimate enactment.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### **Reducing Work-day by Law**

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's report under the above caption, page 113, the committee reported as follows:

That part of the Executive Council's Report to be found on page 113 and entitled "Reducing Work-day by Law" has been referred to this committee. During the recent session of Congress a proposed amendment to the Constitution of the United States was introduced in the House, which was intended to invest Congress with power to reduce the number of hours of service per day for which contracts for employment can be lawfully made.

While this proposed amendment would permit Congress to reduce, but not increase the hours in a day's work, it would also pave the way for fixing labor hours and wages by law, a proposition that the American Federation of Labor has long and consistently opposed.

Your committee, therefore, agrees with the Executive Council in its opposition to this amendment as a proposi-

tion fraught with danger, and we recommend its disapproval.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### **Eight Hour Work-day for Fire Fighters of Greater New York**

Resolution No. 39—By Delegates Fred W. Baer and Neil Macdonald of the International Association of Fire Fighters.

WHEREAS, The International Association of Fire Fighters and its affiliated local, the Uniformed Firemen's Association of Greater New York, Local No. 94, are agitating for an eight-hour working day for the firemen of the City of New York; and

WHEREAS, At the convention of the American Federation of Labor assembled in the City of Boston in October, 1930, the delegates at said convention went on record as endorsing this movement, and further instructing the Executive Board of the American Federation of Labor to see that the necessary steps were taken to actively co-operate with the firemen in furtherance of their project; and

WHEREAS, In accordance with their program the Uniformed Firemen's Association has caused to be introduced in the Municipal Assembly of the City of New York, a measure designated as B. of A. 32, having for its purpose the enactment into law of the eight-hour working day, or three-platoon system in the fire department of the City of New York, embracing all ranks in said department, from deputy chief to fourth grade fireman, both inclusive; and

WHEREAS, This measure was introduced in the lower branch of the said Municipal Assembly of the City of New York in March, 1931, and up to the present time it has not been acted upon by the legislative body in question, either favorably or unfavorably; and

WHEREAS, The Uniformed Firemen's Association has been attempting to have such a measure enacted into law at different times; and further that a whole year has passed since the last convention of the American Federation of Labor without favorable action; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor is sponsoring a program calling for a six-hour day and a five-day week in all industries in an effort to alleviate the present acute and disastrous unemployment situation; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in Convention assembled in the City of Vancouver, B. C., October, 1931, hereby endorses the pro-

gram of the International Association of Fire Fighters and New York Local No. 94, in their effort to secure humane working conditions for a body of loyal public servants; and more particularly endorses the specific measure designated as B. of A. 32, which is construed to put the eight-hour day schedule into effect in the fire department of the City of New York; and, further

**RESOLVED**, That this measure is in conformity with the ideals of organized labor, and in addition will have the effect of placing a number of young American citizens in an honored profession; with a consequent effect on the unemployment situation in the area of Greater New York; and, further

**RESOLVED**, That every member local of the American Federation of Labor is hereby urged to give its whole-hearted support to this proposition and to officially call the matter to the attention of the properly constituted authorities of the City of New York, and to advise them that the measure in question has the endorsement and support of organized labor; and, further

**RESOLVED**, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor are hereby instructed to actively co-operate with the representatives of the International Association of Fire Fighters and of the Uniformed Firemen's Association, Local No. 94; and as officers and leaders of the American Federation of Labor to militantly prosecute a campaign in support of the measure in question; and to use every honorable means within their power to see that such measure is enacted into law without further delay; and, further

**RESOLVED**, That a copy of this set of resolutions be inscribed on the minutes of this Convention, and that His Honor, Mayor James J. Walker, the members of the Board of Estimate and Apportionment, and the members of the Board of Aldermen, constituting the Municipal Assembly of the City of New York, be officially notified of the action of this convention.

Your committee is firmly of the opinion that the principle of the eight-hour day should apply to the uniformed fire-fighting force in municipal employment and on the same terms as to the hours of labor now enjoyed by workers in industrial employment. The steady progress made by the uniformed firemen during recent years in effecting a reduction in the intolerably long hours of duty hitherto observed, is an encouraging sign of the times and it presents a record of achievement that has fully justified itself in employment morale and greater service efficiency.

Your committee recommends the adoption of this resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

**Proposing Designating Special Day to Establish Six-hour Day and Five-day Week**

Resolution No. 67—By Delegate James D. Graham, Montana State Federation of Labor.

**WHEREAS**, A situation exists in this country which demands immediate action for the relief and employment of several millions of idle workers; and

**WHEREAS**, A large portion of such unemployed were idle even during the years of prosperity, by being displaced by modern machinery, and this vast number of unemployed was a contributing factor in bringing on the present depression, as no nation can long remain prosperous with millions of its citizens unemployed; and

**WHEREAS**, Before we can enjoy prosperity and industrial stability, permanent employment must be provided for the workers, and the only way this can be accomplished is by shortening the working time; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, go on record as favoring a six-hour day and a five-day week, and that we use every means in our power to establish such a system of shorter working time in all industries throughout the United States and Canada; and, be it further

**RESOLVED**, That a certain day and date be designated as "Proclamation Day" and that upon said day all unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor shall proclaim and start on a shorter working time.

From every point of approach this resolution is impractical and unwise. While the shortening of the work-week and the work-day is a major objective of the American Federation of Labor, as in fact it has been from the very beginning, it is likewise certain that the endorsement of the five-day week objective coupled with the six-hour work-day proposal and its attempted institution by all crafts at a certain time and on a designated date regardless of related facts or the special problems of each craft, would defeat the very purpose it was intended to serve and also tend to bring the entire shorter work-week movement into disrepute.

In dealing with unemployment conditions and in proposing a series of seven constructive remedies to relieve the situation the Executive Council in its report, page 163 declares: "In order to accomplish this purpose, we propose the immediate inauguration of the five-day work-week and the shorter work-day in all public and private industry."

This declaration, which is part and parcel of a general plan to soften prevailing unemployment conditions, presents practical means for forwarding the five-day week and the shorter work-day along sound lines and as rapidly as circumstances will permit. This is the course which should be observed, and the Executive Council's program in this regard should not be hampered by plans or proposals of a rigid and conflicting nature.

Your Committee, therefore, and for the foregoing reasons, recommends the disapproval of this resolution.

Delegate Mahon, Street Railway Men: I understand the report sets forth clearly the position of the American Federation on this subject?

President Green: Yes, sir. The resolution provides that we must all set a day for the establishment of the five-day week and the shorter work-day, and that on that day we must all inaugurate it at once. The report of the committee is that we proceed to enforce and secure the shorter work-day and the shorter work-week as rapidly as possible, and that each organization deal with it according to the facts and circumstances, securing it as rapidly as possible.

Delegate Graham, Montana State Federation: I introduced the resolution. It was sent to me by a trades council, but I heartily agree with the report of the committee and will vote for their recommendation.

Delegate Manning, Label Trades Department: I am wondering whether or not in the report of the committee we do not somewhat repudiate our position on the shorter work-day and the shorter work-week. It strikes me that the elimination of the last resolve of the resolution would cover the matter and maintain our position.

President Green: I think the report of the committee will cover that in a very fine way.

Delegate Gainer: This resolution, submitted by the Montana state delegate, by request, is in many particulars not economically unsound in its declarations, and it represents a school of thought that is constantly seeking a solvent to cure human ills. Now, the speaker yields to no one in his regard for the shorter work-week, and its importance as a necessary corrective for the existing situation.

The resolution assumes that if the five-day work-week and the six-hour work-day were established prosperity would be immediately restored. That is not true. The Executive Council, after much thought and labor, in addressing themselves to this unemployment situation has, as you will observe, set forth seven advances to be made, of which the shorter work-day and the shorter work-week are an integral part.

Aside from the impracticability of one item in that resolution, your committee feels that it would be highly injurious and dangerous to disregard or even tamper with the existing program of the Executive Council, and for that reason they feel that the judicious and the practical thing to do is to stand behind the Executive Council in their program for the relief of unemployment, and which includes a shortening of the work-day and work-week as rapidly as circumstances and public opinion will permit.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Your Committee in presenting this report desires to lay special stress upon the high and growing importance of the five-day work-week and the shorter work-day as being an essential advance that must be promptly made for the protection of the economic independence of all workers and the promotion of the public welfare.

Unemployment, a condition now prevailing throughout our land, and which means that millions of willing workers, men and women, are sentenced through no fault of their own, to involuntary idleness, is the one problem

taking precedence to all others that now confront us. Like the riddle of the Sphinx, we must solve it or be destroyed.

In addressing ourselves to the causes and correction of this grievous and menacing unemployment situation, we find that every avenue of inquiry compels the conclusion that no solution is possible on a basis of long labor hours or, indeed, the six-day week. Time was in the crude tool day when the problem of food, clothing and shelter challenged man's constant efforts and when there was some justification for the nine and ten-hour day and the six-day week. That time has gone forever. It will never return. Today productive efficiency has advanced to the point through improved tools and modern means and methods that there is no longer a problem of production. New machines and modern productive agencies have solved and more than solved it. The problem is now one of surplus and the disposition of that surplus. Let us survey the situation as it now presents itself.

Call the roll of industry and without a single exception each one of the key items tells the same story. Productive efficiency through machine refinements, improved methods, mass production, standardized equipment, the elimination of competitive wastes, labor-saving devices and the like, has attained a point where the actual and potential productive capacity can deluge the market in every line and fully answer every domestic requirement in an incredibly short time. Look over the list. Coal, the corner stone of industry, with a capacity that more than doubles demand. Copper production has attained such a peak that a year's holiday in copper mining is now in process. Cotton, with a record production, is selling for the unprecedented low price of six cents per pound by the wagon side. Oil has reached such a potential production volume that state authority need drastically intervene to restrain its flow. Wheat, the staff of life, produced world wide and in such plentitude that the Federal Farm Board has now some 200,000,000 bushels that they find it difficult to sell or, indeed, give away.

Sugar, rubber, coffee, silk, transportation, steel, power, every major item in the essential industries tell in illuminating detail of the revolution that has taken place in our producing organization.

On the one hand we are confronted with a problem of plenty so vast and unlimited as to defy the imagination, and on the other we approach a winter with its distressing and menacing possibilities because of some 8,000,000 unemployed.

With these conditions before us, conditions with which every citizen is familiar, what is the proper course to pursue? What should we do? And what road should be taken to promote the public welfare, and the well-being of all workers. In this connection, it is well to recall that former President Harding appointed a Committee on Unemployment with sweeping powers, headed by President Hoover, then Secretary of Commerce and including a list of seventeen distinguished leaders of which President Green of the American Federation of Labor was a member, for the purpose of making a survey of economic conditions, and to find the cause and if possible a means of correcting the burden of recurring unemployment.

The findings of this eminent commission were made public some two years ago in two volumes entitled "Recent Economic Changes," wherein two items of a distinctly constructive nature stand out in strong relief. One of these items defines prosperity as a condition whereby an equilibrium is maintained between wages and prices, between production and consumption, between production and labor hours and between credit and the use of money.

The other finding of imperative note stresses the growing importance of leisure and its steady expansion as an item essential to public welfare on the general concept that leisure cannot be consumed without the consumption of other commodities and in fact it is the period of highest individual consumption.

Confronted on the one hand with a potential productive capacity that discounts all demand, and on the other by a great and growing army of the unem-

played, it must be plain to every thoughtful man that the logical situation now drives irresistibly to a prompt and substantial reduction of the work-week and the work-day. It must come. There is no other way. On the one hand its adoption means a greater diffusion of jobs among willing workers and on the other it is certain to bring greatly enhanced consumption through longer periods of leisure. The five-day week therefore means that instead of the chaotic and demoralizing reduction in the aggregate of labor hours through widespread unemployment, an orderly system is substituted, whereby consumption is enhanced, the balance between production and consumption is measurably maintained and in the end every factor and feature of our national life responds to the beneficial impulse of the shorter work-week, and the shorter work-day.

Your committee therefore is convinced that the American Federation of Labor in sponsoring and advocating the five-day work-week and the shorter work-day is taking a position that is fundamentally sound in every particular and is presenting a means, whose universal adoption is essential to the restoration of national prosperity. Your committee joins in commending President Green and the Executive Council for their valiant adherence to the five-day work-week and the shorter work-day objective, and we call on all affiliated organizations and the membership thereof to give renewed devotion to this high purpose in order that the universal observance of the five-day week may soon be attained.

M. J. KEOUGH, Chairman,  
L. E. BEAUDRY,  
W. B. NAIL,  
MICHAEL HARTNEADY,  
HARRY J. HAGEN,  
JOSEPH W. MORTON,  
JAMES P. MEEHAN,  
GEORGE T. MOORE,  
FRANK B. POWERS,  
ROBERT B. HESKETH,  
DANIEL HAGGERTY,  
CHARLES M. PAULSON,  
THEODORE MITCHELL,  
JOHN FITZGERALD,  
GEORGE H. DAVIS,  
LOUIS RODE,  
E. J. GAINOR, Secretary,

Committee on Shorter Work-day.

Delegate Manion, Railroad Telegraphers: I tried to follow that report as

best I could, but I must confess I am somewhat confused. I understand the report declares for the shorter work-day and the shorter work-week, but the methods to be pursued in securing these results are not well defined. The railway organizations have now in process a program for a shorter work-week and shorter work-day, and it is possible that in the matter of pursuing this to a conclusion it may be necessary for us to go into the Congress of the United States with our program.

I understand the railroads are considered a quasi-public institution and that we are somewhat in the position in securing legislation on hours as are the postal employees. The railway employees may find it necessary to go to Congress with their program, and we do not want it understood here that we do not have that right under the report we are about to adopt.

President Green: In my judgment you possess that right. It is a right that you should exercise when, in your judgment, the time has arrived for putting it into effect. Furthermore, it is my opinion that the railway organizations may rely upon the political and economic strength of the American Federation of Labor to assist the railway workers in securing their objective by that process. I think perhaps the matter will be covered when the Legislative Committee reports.

This section of the report of the committee deals very largely with the principle of the five-day work-week and the shorter work-day. It is a splendid analysis of the principle and commits the American Federation of Labor fully and unreservedly and absolutely to the five-day work-week and the shorter work-day.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

President Green: The committee will be continued for the purpose of having anything further the convention may desire referred to it.

President Green called for reports of other committees. No committee being ready to report, upon motion of Delegate Mahon, Street Railway Men, the rules were suspended and a recess taken to 2:30 o'clock p.m.

## Fifth Day — Friday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order at 2:30 o'clock by President Green.

### Absentees

Dullzell, Bowen, Schulte, Coulter, Zaritsky, Schlesinger, Greene, Lawlor, Brock, Onyett, Scully, Gorman (P. E.), Lewis, Murray, Fagan, Boylan, Button, Burke (J. P.), Sullivan (H. W.), Gorman (F. J.), Starr, Smith, Hatch, Fay, Provost, Gross, Rosqvist, Elliott, Sullivan (J.), Campbell (J. C.), Garrison, Joel, Campbell (G. C.), Driscoll, Coleman, Barger, Augustine, Rice, June-man, Foster, Quinn (J. C.), Bower, Smethurst, Welsh, Martinez, Reed, Wood, Thomas, Bohm, Stephens, McElligott, Randolph, Webster, Hampton, Mitchell (T.).

President Green: The Chair recognizes the Chairman and Secretary of the Committee on Adjustment, Vice-president Rickert and Secretary Maloney.

### REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON ADJUSTMENT

Delegate Maloney, Secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

#### Bridge and Structural Iron Workers—Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers

Resolution No. 85—By Delegates P. J. Morrin, Edward Ryan, W. F. Bauers, George McTague of the International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers.

WHEREAS, The International Brotherhood of Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers of the United States and Canada have taken men into their local union at Thorold, Ontario, Canada, who properly come under the jurisdiction of the International Association of Bridge, Structural and Ornamental Iron Workers; and

WHEREAS, The International Association of Bridge, Structural and Ornamental Iron Workers have protested this action to President John P. Burke of the Brotherhood of Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers of the United States and Canada without results; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Fifty-first Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor instruct the International Officials of the Brotherhood of Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers of the United States and Canada to

hold a conference with officials of the International Association of Bridge, Structural and Ornamental Iron Workers, at a time and place mutually agreed upon for the purpose of amicably adjusting this dispute.

Your Committee had before it the introducers of the resolution, the International Association of Bridge, Structural and Ornamental Iron Workers, but it appears there is no representative attending the Convention of the Brotherhood of Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers of the United States and Canada, so your committee recommends the President of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to call a conference of both organizations at as early a date as possible for the purpose of settling this controversy in an amicable manner.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Secretary Maloney: This completes the report of the Committee on Adjustment, which is respectfully submitted and signed:

T. A. RICKERT, Chairman  
 ROY HORN  
 JOHN F. McNAMARA,  
 J. B. ETCHISON,  
 CHARLES L. BAGLEY,  
 H. B. PERHAM,  
 PHILIP MURRAY,  
 W. D. MAHON,  
 F. H. FLJOZDAL,  
 M. F. TIGHE,  
 WILLIAM F. CANAVAN,  
 J. P. McLAUGHLIN,  
 M. F. GREENE,  
 H. H. BROACH,  
 R. M. BURR,  
 NEIL MACDONALD,  
 JAMES MALONEY, Secretary.  
 Committee on Adjustment.

Delegate Maloney moved the adoption of the report of the committee as a whole. The motion was seconded and carried.

President Green: The committee will be continued for any further matters that might be assigned them.

President Green: We will pause for just a moment while I introduce to the convention a visitor from Denmark who is engaged in adult education and who is visiting Canada. We have with us Mr. Peter Manniche, who is now con-

nected with the International People's College, Elsinore, Denmark. I am pleased to introduce Mr. Manniche for a short address.

**MR. PETER MANNICHE**

**(The International People's College,  
Elsinore, Denmark)**

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen—I am very glad to have the opportunity to tell you of the International People's College in Elsinore, Denmark, which was the first international college established with a view of creating human relationships between students from different countries. In the same degree as the democracy all over the world is called upon to take an active part in the rule of their own country, it is also necessary that they should be trained for leadership in the international field, not only by books, but by the establishment of human relationships, by meeting men and women from different countries and studying together with them in fellowship.

The college began in a very small way ten years ago, but it has gradually developed and it now has about 1,300 students for its winter courses from November to March, and its summer courses from May to July, and there are some 1,200 students for its vacation courses. The students for the regular terms come chiefly from Workers' Travel Association in London and the National Union of Students, and for the vacation courses, it is largely teachers that come from the different countries.

The college follows the traditions of the famous Danish folk high schools. These folk high schools, which were started by Bishop Grundtvig, the Prophet of the North, as he was called, have had about one-fourth of the whole farming population in Denmark as students and educated most of the leaders in the co-operative movement in Denmark. As you know, Denmark is somewhat a co-operative commonwealth, and 90 per cent. of all the agricultural exports go through co-operative agencies. Due to the co-operative movement these farmers have been able to combine the advantages of small scale industries with the advantages of large scale industries.

But the co-operative movement could not operate in Denmark, were it not for the influence of these folk high schools, which have given them the idealism necessary to carry out co-operation. The International People's College now has students from different colleges from different nations in the world and is following the traditions of the Danish folk high schools. What are these

traditions? They are personal in method insofar as they emphasize the personal relationships between the students and the teacher, and the teacher with the student. The teachers get together with the students and eat with them, and are on equal terms. They adapt themselves to the individual needs of the students. They have no examinations, no degrees, they try to meet the students where they stand and answer the questions of the students. The college is ethical in its purpose, educating, not only for a national, but for an international co-operative commonwealth.

The student body forms in itself a little league of nations and in their fellowship each nation has a possibility of contributing characteristics of national value, the English their practical sense and straight-forwardness, the Germans their rich musical gifts and their industry, the Swedes their chivalry, the Danes their intensity. Education is not alone that we get more knowledge, it is not that we widen our horizon, it is not that we establish friendship by the strongest of all ties—to work for a common cause and a common ideal—education is all that, but it is more.

Grundtvig, the founder of the Danish folk high schools, would say that education is as high and deep and broad as life itself. Education is more than that. It is not out in those stormy experiences that we are educated, but it is in the soft winds that blow when we think of the experiences we have had and try to interpret our experiences so that it can become the basis for a newer life.

In the student international college the farmer and the workman, the teacher and the university student meet on equal ground, and we attempt to establish fellowship and harmony between these different elements. We must develop some of those personal qualifications for which the new world has use, a world where there is co-operation and friendship.

The League of Nations or any other combination cannot give us the outward framework for co-operation. It has no use for people who enter into this League full of hatred and suspicion for one another. We must be educated for that, there must be created a spirit for that, and the International People's College in Elsinore, which has been supported by the workers' organizations of England, of Denmark, and of Germany, is one of the channels through which a new spirit is led into our new life. Therefore, I think the college, working on the basis of the Danish folk traditions, working for the development of the new spirit, the spirit of co-operation and good-will and understanding between free born people, such a college I think should appeal to you, and I am very glad, Mr. President, that I have had the privilege of speaking to you here.

Thank you very much.

President Green: I desire to thank you for your visit and for your message, Mr. Manniche. I am sure we will read very carefully what you have said when your address appears in the printed proceedings of today's convention.

President Green: The Chair is informed that the Committee on Building Trades is ready to report, and will recognize the Chairman and Secretary of that committee.

#### **REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON BUILDING TRADES**

Delegate Madsen, Secretary of the committee, reported as follows.

##### **Road Construction**

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, pages 109 and 110, the committee reported as follows:

Under this caption the Executive Council points out that hundreds of millions of dollars have been appropriated by the Government of the United States to aid the various states in the construction of good roads and that in carrying out this program of road building, the lowest wages imaginable are paid. The council points out the necessity of having the prevailing rate of wage law amended to include road building for which the government appropriates a share. Your committee believes that the enactment of the prevailing rate of wage law is one of the most constructive and beneficial measures, in behalf of the building trades, ever enacted by the United States Congress, and we urge that Executive Council continue its efforts to have this law extended to include road building and similar projects and, if possible, all work carried on in whole or in part by the United States Government.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

##### **Collusion in Building Contracts**

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's report under the above caption, page 112, the committee reported as follows:

Under this caption the Executive Council deals with a resolution adopted by the U. S. Senate requesting the Federal Trades Commission to conduct an investigation of all facts relating to the letting of contracts for the construction of government buildings. The report is to be made on or before December 7, 1931, and your Committee on Building Trades requests that all organizations take due notice of this report when submitted.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

##### **"Lowest Bidder" Fallacy**

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's report under the above caption, pages 125, 126, the committee reported as follows:

Under this caption we note with pleasure that the Executive Council has prepared a bill to be introduced in the next Congress providing that awards of contracts shall be made to the "bidder whose bid, conforming to the specifications, will be most advantageous to the government, price and other factors considered."

While a bill of similar nature failed of passage in the 71st Congress we believe that continued efforts will bring about the desired results and urge that the council do all in its power to have this bill enacted into law.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

##### **Home Building and Home Ownership**

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's report under the above caption, page 133, the committee reported as follows:

Your committee notes with approval the activities of the Executive Council in behalf of adequate homes for our people.

We fully agree with the sentiment expressed in the closing paragraph that "Home is a very fundamental force in shaping the lives of children and in conditioning the effectiveness of adults," and we recommend that this work be continued.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

**Protesting Labor Policy of Proctor & Gamble Company in Construction of Its Plant in Long Beach, California**

Resolution No. 50.—By Delegate Edward McLaughlin of the California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The Proctor & Gamble Company of Cincinnati, Ohio, manufacturers of Ivory Soap, and of Crisco Cooking Compound, have received worldwide publicity upon the labor policy of that company in the operation of its plants located in several cities in the United States; and

WHEREAS, This company has built a plant in Long Beach, California, during the past year and a half, and said plant is now just about completed; and

WHEREAS, In the construction of this factory, the Proctor & Gamble Company condoned, and apparently encouraged wage cutting contractors on the work, and, with one or two exceptions, all crafts employed received from 50c to \$1.50 below the wage scale, and in many instances, they were employed for nine hours a day, despite repeated interviews and protests from representatives of organized labor in Long Beach and Los Angeles; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, that the widest possible publicity be given to the unfair attitude of the Proctor & Gamble Company in the construction of its plant in Long Beach, California.

Your committee recommends concurrence in this resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Delegate Madsen: This concludes the report of the Committee on Building Trades on all matters referred to it, and it is respectfully submitted and signed:

M. J. McDONOUGH, Chairman.  
WM. J. MCSORLEY,  
FRANK FEENEY,  
F. A. FITZGERALD,  
JOSEPH A. MULLANEY,  
EDWARD RYAN,  
JAMES J. RYAN,  
H. C. ROGERS,  
S. G. SMYLLIE,  
M. W. MITCHELL,  
J. M. GAVLAK,  
EMIL PREISS,  
CHRISTIAN M. MADSEN,

Secretary.  
Committee on Building Trades.

President Green: If there are no objections the final report of the committee will be accepted and the committee continued. Hearing no objections, it is so ordered.

The Chair now recognizes Chairman Ornburn and Secretary Flaherty, for the report of the Committee on Legislation.

**REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON LEGISLATION**

Delegate Flaherty, Secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

The following subject matters discussed in the Report of the Executive Council have been referred to this Committee:

National Legislation,  
Prevailing Rate of Wage Law,  
Stabilization of Industry,  
Seamen's Bill,  
Naval Construction,  
Canal Zone Retirement,  
Oil Embargo,  
Wages for Federal Employees,  
Oleomargarine,  
Credit Unions and Small Loans,  
Post Office Laborers,  
Wage Increases,  
Taxation,  
Convict Labor,  
Proposed Classification Bill,  
Age Limit Government Employees.

**National Legislation**

Under this caption on pages 104-108 of the Executive Council's Report, there is set forth in detail the efforts made by the Council to have beneficial legislation enacted and to defeat measures inimical to labor's interest. There are enumerated fifteen measures favorable to labor that became laws; four hostile bills that were defeated; and three favorable bills that were vetoed by President Hoover.

Your committee commends the Council for its efforts throughout the Seventy-first Congress which, in view of the general unsatisfactory legislative and economic situation, were unusually fruitful. We further recommend that the three measures vetoed be supported in the Seventy-second Congress, namely, Providing for a national employment system; increase of wages for village letter carriers; providing a practical way of solving Muscle Shoals' problem.

Your committee would call the delegates' attention to the close political division in the next House of Representatives, as mentioned in the Executive Council's Report, with the consequent better opportunity for favorable action on anti-injunction legislation and other important remedial measures. We would admonish local and state bodies to watch carefully legislative developments in the Seventy-second Congress in order to make known their views on legislative matters in a prompt and effective manner when the occasion requires. This is an opportunity when vigilance, if properly exercised, may bring to the movement substantial legislative results.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### **Prevailing Rate of Wage Law**

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's report under the above caption, page 108, the committee reported as follows:

Your committee notes with approval the results of the efforts of the Executive Council and the Building Trades Department to require contractors on government building work to pay the prevailing wage rate. Corrective and supporting legislation, as experience indicates is required, will be sought from the next Congress and data in its support is requested by the Council. We recommend a prompt compliance with this request on the part of all interested organizations.

In connection with the foregoing your Committee considered Resolution No. 52, as follows:

#### **Proposing That the Federal Prevailing Wage Law Be Made Applicable to All Federal Projects**

Resolution No. 52—By Delegate Edward McLaughlin, State Federation of Labor of California.

WHEREAS, The present Federal prevailing wage law applies only to public buildings of over \$5,000; and

WHEREAS, A large portion of the many millions of federal funds appropriated for public works in California is for public works other than buildings; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, that the Executive Council is hereby authorized to petition Congress to amend this law, so as to make it applicable to all federal projects.

We recommend concurrence in the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### **Stabilization of Industry**

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's report under the above caption, page 109, the committee reported as follows:

Under this caption the Executive Council recites the steps taken to secure the passage of the Wagner Bill for advanced planning and construction of public works, the stabilization of industry and the prevention of unemployment. For many years the American Federation of Labor has urged legislation of this kind.

We recommend that the Executive Council watch carefully the administration of the Wagner Bill so that its intent and purpose may be fulfilled.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### **Seamen's Bill**

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 110, the committee reported as follows:

Under this caption the Executive Council sets forth the attempts made in the last Congress to prevent the smuggling of immigrants as seamen into the United States.

We recommend that the Executive Council continue its active aid in behalf of this needed legislation.

The throttling of the Seamen's Immigration Bill in the House, as set forth in the Executive Council's Report, brings forcibly to attention the need for a revision of the parliamentary rules of the House to prevent a recurrence of this sorry spectacle, whereby the wishes of the majority were defeated and frustrated by the legislative manipulations of a reactionary minority group.

Your Committee believes the time is specially opportune for the Executive Council to arrange a conference in Washington with interested members of Congress and other parties and groups to bring about a liberalization of the archaic House rules, which now permit complete control by a small legislative oligarchy. The need for such a revision has long been recognized by the progressive element in and out of Congress and support for such a move, if now initiated by the Executive Council, would be popular and widespread.

We therefore recommend that appropriate steps be taken by the Executive Council to bring about in any suitable fashion this badly-needed revision of the parliamentary rules and practices of the House of Representatives.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### **Naval Construction**

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's report under the above caption, page 111, the committee reported as follows:

Under this caption the Executive Council tells of the successful efforts to secure employment for Navy Yard employes through the program for modernization and construction of battle-ships. In this connection your Committee considered Resolutions Nos. 11 and 12, introduced by Delegate John P. Frey of the Metal Trades Department, as follows:

#### **Favoring Legislation Restricting Competition of Enlisted Men in Navy With Civilian Workers**

Resolution No. 11—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department.

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in assembled convention at Vancouver, B. C., goes on record in opposition to the employment of enlisted men and officers of the navy in the performance of repair and overhaul jobs on vessels of the United States Navy, thereby depriving skilled mechanics and their helpers of the opportunity for continuous employment in the navy yards and stations of the country; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we favor the immediate passage of a bill to regulate

and restrict such work, and give greater employment to civil employes of the navy yards and stations, on vessels of the navy.

#### **Favoring Legislation to Provide That Construction and Repair Work on Naval Vessels and Parts Thereof Be Done in Government Navy Yards and Plants**

Resolution No. 12—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department.

WHEREAS, The Dallinger-McKellar amendment to the Fifteen Cruiser Bill (Act of Congress of February 13, 1929), provides as follows: "That the first and each succeeding alternate cruiser upon which work is to be undertaken, together with the main engines, armor and armament for such eight cruisers, the construction and manufacture of which is authorized by this act, shall be constructed or manufactured in the Government navy yards, naval gun factories, naval ordnance plants, or arsenals of the United States, except such material or parts as are not customarily manufactured in such Government plants"; and

WHEREAS, Considerable of the material and parts, similar in character to that customarily manufactured in the navy yards, is being purchased from private sources; and

WHEREAS, The Judge Advocate General, in his decision of July 3, 1930, held in substance that, "when it has been determined, by the chief of the proper bureau, that any such material or parts are not customarily manufactured in government plants, the Secretary of the Navy may lawfully proceed to procure such material or parts from other sources;" and

WHEREAS, It was chiefly because the heads of departments and bureau chiefs determined that certain material and parts for cruisers constructed under the Act of 1924, should be procured from private sources, when others considered it advisable to manufacture such parts in government plants, that Congress found it necessary to insert the language of the Dallinger-McKellar amendment in the Fifteen Cruiser Bill of 1929; and

WHEREAS, Practically the same conditions exist today regarding the purchase of material from private sources, as existed when Congress passed the above quoted amendment to the Cruiser Bill of February 13, 1929; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, place itself on record as favoring the passage of a law which will provide that the construction and repair of naval

vessels shall be done in Government navy yards, and that the structural and mechanical parts necessary shall be manufactured in Government plants; be it further

**RESOLVED**, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to put forth every effort to secure the passage of this legislation, and to urge that the language of the bill distinctly define the spirit and intent.

Your committee recommends concurring in both resolutions.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### **Canal Zone Retirement**

On that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption (page 111), the committee reported as follows:

Under this caption the Executive Council advises of the enactment by Congress of a satisfactory retirement law for employes of the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad Company who are citizens of the United States.

Your committee commends the Executive Council for having been helpful in securing this humane legislation, so important to the workers directly affected.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### **Oil Embargo**

On that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption (page 111), the committee reported as follows:

Under this caption the Executive Council recites its efforts to secure an oil embargo as an aid to unemployed oil workers.

Your committee recommends that the Executive Council watch future developments in this industry with extreme care and take any required action in the next Congress to stabilize the oil industry, primarily in the interest and for the benefit of the workers.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### **Wages for Federal Employes**

On that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption (page 112), the committee reported as follows:

Under this head the Executive Council makes mention of the attempts in Congress to lower government wage standards by failing to appropriate funds for increases under the Welch Salary Act.

Your committee recommends that the Executive Council continue to insist upon the proper application and administration of this law in accord with its original intent and, particularly to the end that the lower paid groups of government employes shall not be discriminated against by a denial of earned wage increases.

In connection with the foregoing your committee further recommends that the Executive Council endeavor to secure the appointment of labor representatives on the Advisory Committee of the Council of Personnel Administration for the Federal Government, which was created by an executive order issued by President Hoover on April 27, 1931. On this committee various groups representing industry, personnel research and educational institutions have been appointed, and we believe it essential that labor be adequately represented to more directly voice our wishes and ideas on government employment questions.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### **Oleomargarine**

On that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption (page 113) the committee reported as follows:

Under this head the Executive Council tells in detail of its successful fight in the interest of the wage-earner consumer to prevent the imposition of a tax on oleomargarine.

We recommend that the Executive Council continue to watch this proposal should the issue be again raised in the next Congress.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

**Credit Unions and Small Loans**

On that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption (page 114) the committee reported as follows:

Under this caption the Executive Council recites the attempts made to secure legislation to protect small borrowers in the District of Columbia.

Your Committee, while commending the Council for its interest and efforts and recommending a continuance of same in the next Congress, respectfully suggest that the closest scrutiny be given the so-called small loan bills to make certain they cannot be perverted to legalize "loan shark" methods, or any system of salary buying.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

**Post Office Laborers**

On that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption (page 114), the committee reported as follows:

Your committee notes with approval the interest shown by the Executive Council in the employment conditions of Post Office laborers and the determination to include this deserving group of workers in any future upward wage revision.

We recommend to the Council that every possible assistance be given the Post Office laborers in attaining their wage and other objectives that conform to the program and principles of the American Federation of Labor.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

**Wage Increases**

On that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption (page 114), the committee reported as follows:

Your committee notes with satisfaction the gains made by Immigration Inspectors and Custom Service Employees, in spite of the generally unfavorable conditions, and we commend the Council for its successful activities in these instances.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

**Taxation**

On that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption (pages 117-119), the committee reported as follows:

Your committee is in complete agreement with the Executive Council's denunciation of the Sales Tax, viewing it as an attempt to place an additional tax, in a particularly aggravating way, upon those least able to bear it.

We quote with approval and agreement from the Executive Council's Report:

We pay an indirect tax on every purchase we make. In 1927 only 2.2 per cent. of our then 114,000,000 population paid income taxes and three-tenths of 1 per cent. paid 95.5 per cent. of the total income tax. For 1930, 2 per cent. of the population paid all the income taxes. These are Treasury figures.

The only persons to be benefited by the consumption tax are the 2 per cent. of the population who pay an income tax. On the other hand, the burden of taxation would fall upon the 98 per cent. who do not pay an income tax. Besides they now pay an indirect tax on everything they buy. The "sales tax" will increase that tax load.

The Executive Council is alarmed at the persistent agitation of the well-to-do to relieve themselves of taxation. Because of that fact, we urge upon all State Federations of Labor, city central bodies and local unions to urge their respective United States Senators and Representatives to vote against the enactment of a "sales tax." They should also insist upon an increase in the estate tax and the restoration of the gift tax, as they are the fairest taxes collected by the government.

The attention of the delegates is directed to this pertinent statement in the Executive Council's Report, which might well be transmitted to your Congressmen and Senators for their information and guidance.

Members of Congress should not forget that while wages were increasing from 1923 to 1929 only from \$11,000,000,000 to \$11,421,000,000, corporation dividends were increasing during the same period from \$930,648,000 to \$3,478,000,000. Net additions to profit of banks were increasing from \$279,000,000 to \$556,000,000, and interest paid to bond holders was increasing from \$2,469,000,000 to \$7,588,000,000.

Congress, therefore, will find a fertile field from which to garner more income tax, if needed, among those who are well able to pay.

We agree further with the Executive Council's recommendation that more stringent state inheritance be enacted, in the forty-five states now having such laws, and the organized labor movements in Alabama, Florida and Nevada, and the District of Columbia, where there are now no inheritance tax laws, should more actively seek the enactment of such measures.

We commend the Executive Council for its taxation position to the effect that taxation should be aimed at acquired wealth and not at the consuming power of the nation's wage-earners.

Delegate Mahon, Street Railway Employees: I am not clear as to the report of the committee in only endorsing the Executive Council's position. The question of the sales tax is one of importance to us at the present time. It is being agitated in some cases by powerful forces. It seems to me there should be in this convention arrangements made to carry it into all our central bodies and organizations by special circulars, or in some other way. Call their attention to the importance of the battle that is on. Certain powerful newspapers and others are advocating the sales tax.

If it is in order, I make an amendment that a special circular be sent out by the Executive Council calling attention of organizations and central bodies to this important matter.

The motion was seconded.

Secretary Flaherty: The committee has no objection to the circular, so far as I know their feeling in the matter. We thought the expression of the Executive Council in its report was especially timely and especially pertinent to the point, and consequently we incorporated it into our report. That is a very direct and plain statement from the Council. It urges the various affiliations to take appropriate action. I can see no objection to having it fortified in a measure along the lines indicated by Delegate Mahon.

Delegate Martel, International Typographical Union: I don't desire to discuss the committee's report or to disagree with it, but I would like to ask a question. Several states have undertaken the enforcement of a sales tax

on chain stores as a means of equalizing the opportunities between chain stores and individual stores. If we pass a resolution opposing the sales tax, will that commit the American Federation of Labor on that matter? I know that independent merchants are fighting chain grocery and chain drug stores, and they are asking legislatures to impose a tax on the volume of trade of the store. Will this commit us to being opposed to that kind of legislation?

President Green: The Chair is of the opinion that it would not, because there is a difference as we see it between a tax imposed on chain stores, upon the property owned by chain stores, and the tax imposed on the contents of those stores, which would, of course, be a tax on a pound of coffee, a pound of bacon or a package of sugar.

Delegate Gainer: May I ask if the American Federation of Labor has ever taken action in opposition to chain stores?

President Green: We have never taken any position on the subject so far as I can recall.

The motion to amend was carried, and the report of the committee, as amended, was adopted.

#### Convict Labor

On that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption (page 120-121), the committee reported as follows:

Under this head the Executive Council sets forth the encouraging progress attained in making effective the Hawes-Cooper law restricting the sale of convict made goods. It is the Council's idea—and this should be noted by the delegates—to have every state adopt the state-use system and then prohibit the sale within its borders of convict made goods from other states. Illinois, Maine, New York, Pennsylvania and New Jersey have enacted the necessary laws.

Your committee approves these zealous efforts of the Executive Council to minimize the competition of convict labor in the interest of both employes and employers, and calls upon the officers of State Federations to actively seek from their respective legislatures

the legislation required to supplement the Hawes-Cooper Bill.

It is further noted that similar legislation is needed in the District of Columbia and we recommend to the Executive Council that arrangements be made with interested affiliates and other groups to have a bill introduced in the next Congress and seek its early enactment.

**Delegate Meehan, Painters:** Is it the intention of the committee to include the use of convicts in the construction of buildings for state use? This is a matter that has caused considerable controversy in the State of Massachusetts and we have had various opinions on the subject. I would like to have a ruling from the Chair if, in his opinion, the state use includes the use of convicts in the construction of public buildings.

**President Green:** It is the opinion of the Chair that the report of the committee deals only with goods manufactured and produced for sale by convicts employed in the prisons of the nation, and in no way applies to the construction of buildings to be used for public purpose.

**Delegate Meehan:** We were confronted with that situation in Massachusetts, and we were shown the policy of the American Federation of Labor in communications to the effect that it is the policy of this organization to use convict labor in the construction of public buildings on a state-use system basis. I come from a building trades organization and I am very much opposed to that particular system. I thought, inasmuch as the committee brought out that subject in their report, we might have a better understanding in this convention as to the interpretation of the state use of convict labor by the American Federation of Labor.

One international organization had a letter stating that it did not include public building work. I have another letter from the American Federation of Labor stating that it did include public building work. I am very much opposed to the use of convict labor insofar

as the construction of public buildings is concerned.

**Secretary Flaherty:** The delegate's question, I think, is answered very fully in that portion of the Executive Council's report under the head of "Federal Prisons," pages 120-121. The Executive Council states: "The Boston convention referred Resolution No. 31 to the Executive Council for the purpose of having a complete statement made on the subject. The resolution states that 'January 7, 1925, Congress passed a law which makes it mandatory for the Attorney-General to employ prison labor for the construction and maintenance of all Federal prisons and Federal reformatories wherever possible.'"

That is from the resolution. Here is the Council's comment:

"The law referred to and which was passed January 7, 1925, refers only to one thing and is not mandatory. It provides that in the construction of the Chillicothe Reformatory the Attorney-General shall employ the labor of such United States prisoners who are confined in the Chillicothe Reformatory 'and who can be used under proper guard in the work necessary to construct the building.'

"Free labor is doing much of the work of the Chillicothe Reformatory and all those employed directly by the Government are being paid the union rate of wages. Convicts are used only in the rough work. In the Seventy-first Congress provisions were made for the erection of a Federal prison, several jails and a reformatory. All of these buildings are to be constructed by free labor. A union contractor has the contract for the Federal prison to be erected at Lewisburg, Pa., at a cost of \$3,800,000.

"For many years the American Federation of Labor has endeavored to eliminate, as far as possible, the competition of convict labor products with those produced by free labor. Until the last two years our efforts were confined almost entirely to the production of goods, wares, merchandise and coal. The unusual demand for new penitentiary buildings or additions during the past two years has brought convict

labor in competition with the building trades. As said before, so far as the Federal Government is concerned, none of the new penal institutions will be built by convicts or will they have anything whatever to do with the work in any capacity. All work done by Federal prisoners is exclusively for the Government. Nothing is sold in the open market or sold to or exchanged with any state. The aim of the American Federation of Labor has been to minimize the competition of convict labor so that employers of free labor will not be driven out of business."

Your committee is in accord with this pronouncement of the Executive Council.

Delegate Price, Bricklayers and Masons: The statement says that "much of the work was done by free labor, and convict labor was used only on the rough work." Now I ask what was the "rough work"?

President Green: You are referring now to the Chillicothe Reformatory?

Delegate Price: Yes, under that so-called law.

President Green: May I explain, Brother Price, that for some reason Congress, in enacting the law providing for the erection of a reformatory at Chillicothe, directed that, so far as possible, those incarcerated in that reformatory would be used in the construction of the building. That was one instance where Congress specifically provided for the erection of a building by the Government without submitting it to contractors. We took up the matter with those in charge and protested against the discrimination which was shown against the employment of free labor. Those in authority then agreed that, so far as possible, building mechanics would be used in the construction of the building and that these convicts would be used, according to their own statement, in doing certain rough work. We construed that as common labor, not skilled work performed by skilled mechanics. The difficulty was that Congress had specifically provided that this reformatory up at Chillicothe must be erected, so far as possible by convict labor, while the larger prisons

referred to by the Council are to be erected by the Government, but the contracts have been awarded to fair contractors and they will be erected by free labor employed by these contractors. That is the best explanation I can make.

Delegate Martel, International Typographical Union: We ought to devote some attention to this subject, because it involves a question we are all going to have to face sooner or later. The labor movement has officially committed itself to the employment of convicts only in work that is for state use. The reason we have got into this position is a desire to help those trades that are suffering from the competition of convict labor. In Michigan it was the manufacture of overalls, in other states it was some other commodity. I don't believe it would be fair to include those people in certain occupations and say they are exempt in others. I presume one of the things they will be turned to, will be the printing of text books and state printing as one of the industries they can use convicts in. Now, we are going to object to the use of painters and iron workers and carpenters in print shops, because there will probably be enough printers there to do the work themselves. If every one says, "Keep off my occupation," what will they work at?

When you protest against the use of convict labor with your free labor, upon your shoulders rests the responsibility. First, it is said to keep these men busy and then when you start to tell the authorities not to use them on this work or that work, you will be responsible for the conditions that will arise. I know of no more suitable place to use these men than on the buildings they will be housed in. I don't want them used in the printing business, and I presume the same is true of every other trade. In my opinion, it is one of those things we have got to meet by every one giving a little something to the employment of those men. The carpenter, the bricklayer, the ironworker and every one else will have to give something. If we don't, we will

have the problem right back in our hands, where it was when we objected to the use of prison labor.

Delegate Meehan: I disagree with the position of the previous speaker. We find that, insofar as giving something is concerned, the building mechanics lose the maintenance work of the buildings in which those prisoners are kept. In Massachusetts they started to build a new state prison colony. It was going to be built on a little bit different system than the ordinary prison. It was probably twenty-five miles away from the present state prison. They had a superintendent employed who believed in the policies of organized labor as far as he could go, but when it came to negotiating for the employment of union building mechanics, we were confronted with the state-use system of the American Federation of Labor, and we were shown a record from the office of the American Federation of Labor endorsing that principle and interpreting our position to be that they had a right to use building mechanics in the construction of public buildings, that is, prisoners doing the mechanics' work.

Later on, Mr. Price's International Union got an entirely different interpretation from the office of the American Federation of Labor. We have two letters, one stating that it did include building mechanics, the other stating it did not include prisoners being employed in building mechanics' work. Now we are in this position: Perhaps one of the only two ways the government has of directly alleviating unemployment is the construction of public work. We have enough machines to contend with, but while hundreds of millions of dollars are being spent for housing of prisoners, the unemployed building mechanics might be employed. I believe we have enough to contend with to try to provide work for the unemployed membership without finding the endorsement of the American Federation of Labor given for the employment of convicts on building mechanics' work. I hope this convention will place an entirely different interpretation on it. The American Federation of Labor recommends that each state try to have that bill adopted.

I want to assure you that if assisting the Garment Workers will result in injuring the building mechanics, we are going to think of this very seriously in Massachusetts before we go on with the program. I don't think that this or any other convention should endorse the employment of convict labor on new construction work. The printer says to give something. Goodness knows, the building mechanics have given enough on maintenance work. For fifty-two weeks in the year the prisoners are doing this maintenance work, but we want to keep the building of new buildings for the mechanics.

I represent an international union of the building trades in this convention, but I am very much opposed to any state-use system of convict labor that includes the employment of convicts on new buildings, taking the place of building mechanics that are walking the streets of our country now by the hundreds of thousands.

Delegate Alifas, Washington, D. C., Central Labor Union: I sympathize very much with these different trades that have been encroached upon by convict labor, that is, clothing workers, shoe workers and others, and I am in sympathy with the idea of protecting free labor, but in connection with this policy of using convicts for state use, it has developed that another class of free labor is going to have to come in competition with the convicts, namely, the employes of the government service. The last Congress enacted two convict labor bills, but it was intended to have them confine their work with furnishing the Government with supplies of all kinds. We can see where it will interfere with the mechanics in the navy yards, arsenals, printing offices and other well-established Government departments that are employing free labor. It appeared to us that it was more important to protect free labor than to protect the employers so that their profits would be safe. We got an amendment which provides the exclusion of that work of the United States which came in competition with the work in the navy yards and arsenals where free labor is employed.

Our penitentiaries are filled with a lot of people who have violated a certain law with which this organization is not in sympathy, and we were told at the time the two convict labor bills were passed that all the Prohibition Bureau had to do was to put on a little more pressure and they could fill up the prisons with at least 20,000 more convicts. With forty to sixty thousand convicts in competition with our mechanics we will have a more serious problem than we have had heretofore.

I think the work that is to be done by convicts should be distributed over all the work that is necessary to be performed rather than to confine it to Government employes.

Delegate Graham: We in Montana have been fighting for a number of years against convict labor. We have fought against it at every session of the Legislature for the past ten years and we have it brought back to us that the American Federation of Labor is in favor of convict labor in state work. In the last session of the Legislature we had a fight on this matter. In the last election we voted \$3,000,000 for the purpose of public buildings and to give work to the unemployed, but when the matter came before the Legislature for the allocation of the fund it was found out that the convict labor squad had been on the job and they wanted all the brick made for the institutions by convicts. Not only that, they were willing to take the convicts to other parts of the state for construction work.

We put up a fight when the bill was amended to confine the work done by convicts to the state penitentiary, the insane asylum and the T.B. hospital. Yet the convict labor party were talking with tears in their eyes about the poor convict—the poor convict who had nothing to do but lie on his back! We said the convict had his meals given him and a bed to sleep on, but the fellow outside had nothing to eat and in many cases had nothing to sleep on. However, the Supreme Court decided the bonds unconstitutional, but every man who voted for the \$3,000,000 wanted to give a million and a quarter dollars of that to the convicts.

Now they are doing the work of printers in the pen in Montana. I don't think the American Federation of Labor should favor convict labor on state buildings. The next thing we will have the convicts building the ships. When we advocate a public construction program, the 100 per centers against labor oppose it, but they want a million and a quarter dollars given for work done by convicts. We are interested in finding work for the men outside the prison and not for the men inside.

Delegate Manning, Label Trades Department: I want to assure delegates who are speaking for the protection of their trade that I heartily endorse every word they say, but I am of the opinion that some of them are laboring under a misapprehension. When the agitation started against the use of convict-made goods on the open market, New York State was a pioneer. I remember advocating an amendment prohibiting the leasing, selling, or in any other way using the labor of the inmates of prisons for private profit. One of the greatest sufferers we ever had from the leasing of convicts was the organization that made hollow ware. In my home city a greater part of the hollow ware was made by convicts in Sing Sing prison, whose labor was sold to the stove manufacturers, who in turn used that labor to make hollow ware. When New York State amended its constitution it assumed, I think, a real moral position.

A man who violates some rule of society is taken by the state and the state is morally responsible for him. What happens to him after the state assumes charge of him? There are four choices to be made. Will the state use him for making products to be consumed, not by the state? Would it sell his labor to the contractor for so much a day? Would it lease out the labor of that convict to some other private contractor, or would the state take the products of his labor and sell it on the open market? I think the state wisely decided to use the labor of the convict in making commodities that could be consumed by the state, and that is all the state-use system implies.

The American Federation of Labor at no time has ever declared in favor of state-use for erecting public buildings. What it has done is to attempt to secure legislation protecting the free worker from convict leased inmates of the penitentiaries. In the industry where I have worked, but do not represent here, we have seen factory after factory go out of business because of that competition. The shoe worker can name almost as many factories as we can; the broom maker has been driven out of business; the brush industry that used to be represented here is out of business. Why? Because of the leasing of these convicts for thirty, forty and fifty cents a day as against the labor of free people who were paid \$2.50 to \$5.00 a day in those days.

It has been said, and figures have been quoted, that the amount of goods turned out under the convict leasing system is immaterial in comparison with the whole country's production. That is true, but here is the joker in the thing. Having these things for sale, the manufacturer gets the profit of the prisoner's work.

The American Federation of Labor, I think I am safe in saying, will never declare for the use of convicts in the erection of buildings of any kind. Now we ask you to differentiate between the manufacture of commodities for consumption and that which is for state use. I don't think the American Federation of Labor will ever agree that the erection of public buildings shall be turned over to the inmates of penitentiaries. It is true that this burden would be borne by all of us. We have never complained in this convention except to ask for the endorsement of a bill which gives the various states the right to regulate the work of convicts in their states. The American Federation of Labor has drawn a model bill for enactment. I have here a proposed bill by the National Committee on Prisons and Prison Labor. It doesn't mean a thing. They are recommending our state federations and other organizations interested in this phase of our social life to have enacted a duplicate of the Hawes-Cooper Bill which, after

all, is only an enabling act, and they have that power now.

Now I assure the building trades that whatever I can do or whatever the American Federation of Labor can do will be done to prevent any encroachment on your trades except for maintenance. Differentiate between that and the goods which go out in competition with free labor. That must be curbed by legislation, and the trades that put up permanent structures must be protected.

Delegate Price: I would like to go back to Resolution 31 of the Boston convention and what this report pertains to. In my opinion, the statements contained in the Executive Council's report is not clear enough, because the brother from Massachusetts distinctly said there were two interpretations sent out by the American Federation of Labor on the construction of buildings. May I ask the Executive Council, or you, Mr. President, if it would not be possible in order to clarify this matter for you or the Executive Council to get a clearer interpretation from the Attorney-General or whoever is in authority, that is, pertaining to construction work. The report says, "Much free labor was used." How much?

President Green: You are referring now to the Chillicothe Reformatory?

Delegate Price: I am, and what I am fearful of is that the law may be applied to some others.

President Green: I haven't quite made myself clear on that, I think. I explained that the special law for the Chillicothe Reformatory passed Congress in this way: That that bill specifically provided that convicts could be used so far as possible in the erection of that one building. Now, because of the passage of that law we have become more alert. That was one measure that slipped by, and we are watching now to see that no other bill shall contain such a provision. As evidence of that fact, we point out in the report that these other large prisons provided for by Congress will be erected by free labor; that the bills authorizing the erection of these buildings in no way authorize the employment of convict

labor upon the buildings, and it is our purpose to see to it that, so far as we are able to prevent it, no bill will get by containing a provision such as was included in the bill authorizing the erection of the reformatory at Chillicothe. That is a special occasion we dealt with as best we could because of the specific provisions of the law.

Delegate Price: I understood the statement that way, but the brother from Massachusetts claims that practically the same thing was done in that state.

President Green: I don't know what the correspondence he refers to contained. That, I suppose, would have to be determined on the facts, but we have consistently taken the position that prison buildings must be erected by free labor, and we are opposing the employment of convicts in the construction of buildings.

Delegate Taylor, Indiana State Federation of Labor: I am at a loss to know where to draw the line of demarcation. In the State of Indiana they make brick. Shall I say to the institution that it is satisfactory to make the brick for the building by prisoners, but not satisfactory to lay the brick by prisoners?

President Green: I take it that is the position of the American Federation of Labor.

Delegate Taylor: Would it be the position that prisoners may make brooms, brick, clothes and all the things they make in our prisons for the State of Indiana, but when the state wants to build inside the institutions, they will have to go outside the institution to get the men? I think we are a little inconsistent. I am a building tradesman. It is a little inconsistent for us to try to get the State of Indiana to take the work from one free worker and then say they cannot take it from another.

In the last session of our Legislature in Indiana, a bill was introduced for free text books. The Indiana State Federation of Labor has been on record for years for free text books. The bill was introduced by a very good friend, but the provision of the bill was that they be printed in the Pen-

dleton Reformatory. We had to take the position against the bill. We don't want our children to study from books printed by prisoners. The author of the bill came to me and said, "Why, Tom, your last convention instructed you to go on record for free text books." "Yes," I said, "and I don't want them printed in a prison, I want them printed in a free shop."

We are building an institution in Indiana now. I think it would be inconsistent to say, "You can take the brick maker's work away from him, but you cannot take the bricklayer's work." I would like to see the American Federation of Labor go on record definitely as to what the State Federations of Labor should stand for. I would like to go along with your program, but I want it to be consistent.

Delegate McDonough, Building Trades Department: Delegate Price asked the Chairman about the policy of the Government regarding prisons. I understood the question asked of President Green was that you were trying to ascertain the policy of the Government with regard to the building of prisons. Was that the question?

Delegate Price: In a general way, yes. I am asking for an interpretation of Resolution No. 31 of the Boston convention of the American Federation of Labor, which was referred to the Executive Council.

Delegate McDonough: I do not want to place myself in the position of answering that question, but in co-operation with the officials of the American Federation of Labor I have interviewed on many occasions Mr. Sanford Bates, who is Federal Director of Prisons, and he has not only announced to me verbally, but through letters, that the policy of the Federal Director is that on maintenance work they would use prisoners; on new construction they would award the contract to the lowest responsible bidder. That, briefly, is the policy enunciated by Mr. Bates, the Federal Director of Prisons. I did not hear the recommendation of the committee, but I want to say, representing the Building Trades Department, that we are strongly opposed to the use of prison labor in the erection of buildings.

whether it be the erection of new buildings or the maintenance of old buildings.

Delegate Davis, Boiler Makers: I perhaps am not directly involved, but as one of those industries under discussion I think it should not be a matter of whether we are directly affected or not. I think what this body needs is to define a policy against all prison-made goods and labor. I think that is what we ought to get. It isn't a question of one trade or the other; I think we are all opposed to it, and I think that is what the Federation should go on record for.

Delegate Meehan: I know Mr. Bates. I think he wants to be fair. He was formerly the Commissioner of Penal Institutions of Massachusetts. In his office in Massachusetts is a letter, placing an interpretation on the so-called state use prison bill providing for the employment of convicts on building construction work, from the American Federation of Labor. And then there is another interpretation placed on that proposed bill from the American Federation of Labor that is entirely different. What I desire here today is a definite interpretation to be placed on this so-called state use prison labor bill, not to include the use of convict labor upon construction, the addition to or the alteration of prison buildings or public buildings of any character. That is my position, and I would like a definite interpretation, not so much from the Attorney-General as from the American Federation of Labor so there cannot be any future conflict.

I agree with everything Brother Manning has said. We have accomplished a great deal in some directions, but some other smart fellow has placed an interpretation on our state-use convict labor bill to include the use of convict labor in preference to free labor on public buildings. Now, there are two interpretations on this subject from the American Federation of Labor in my files. I believe they are both honest interpretations, but we ought to know just where we stand. As one delegate to this convention I am very much opposed to the American Federation of Labor at least going on record in favor

of the employment of convict labor in the construction of public buildings, whether they are penal institutions or any other buildings, Federal, state or county.

President Green: The American Federation of Labor has been committed to the state use plan as we commonly understand it for about twenty-five or thirty years. That has been the definite, fixed, traditional policy of the American Federation of Labor. Briefly, the plan is as follows: We take the position that convicts shall not and must not be employed in the manufacture of goods to be sold in the open market in competition with goods manufactured and produced by free labor. It was the American Federation of Labor that led in this great reform movement, because in days gone by the convicts were leased to private employers to work in factories, to manufacture goods; they were leased to work in the coal mines. I think in some sections they are still leased out to work in coal mines. We have not yet corrected the evil.

Now we have gone thus far, however, in order to deal with this subject from the standpoint of humane consideration, that convicts may be employed in the prisons in the manufacture of goods to be used by the state and in the political subdivisions of the state; that is, that the convicts may manufacture clothing for the convicts and those who are incarcerated in the state institutions, those in the insane asylum, the institutions for feeble-minded, the reformatories. Convicts may manufacture clothing and shoes to be worn by these people who are the wards of the state. They may manufacture goods for the political sub-divisions, furniture for the buildings and for the schools. That has been what we call the state use system.

Now, the garment workers made some sacrifice, because if the convicts were not permitted to make clothing for the convicts free labor would make the clothing and it would be sold to the prison. The shoe workers made some concessions, because the convicts make the shoes that free labor would make and sell to the state for the convicts. The furniture makers made some con-

cessions, because the convicts make furniture that might be made by free labor and sold. But we recognize that there is involved in this a great social and humane problem. We don't want to see these prisoners put in the idle house, we want to create some opportunity for them. Some of them suffer in idle houses even under this arrangement, and that is not the way to reform a prisoner.

We have taken another step to correct this evil, because we find under the operation of the state use system which I have just described convict-made goods could be made in one state, shipped into another state and sold there. For instance, the State of New York could not prevent the prison managers in Massachusetts from shipping their convict-made goods into New York to be sold in competition with the product of free labor. It was for that reason that we got behind the Hawes-Cooper Bill. The American Federation of Labor secured the passage of this measure, and this measure confers upon the State Legislature the right, not only to prevent the sale of goods manufactured in their own state in competition with free labor, but to prevent the shipment of such goods into the state to be sold within the borders of the state. I think we have achieved a great deal.

As the report says, a dozen or more states have taken advantage of the power conferred upon them by the Hawes-Cooper Act to enact legislation to prohibit the sale of convict-made goods made in other states in their state.

The building trades men give up something when the convicts are used in the maintenance of buildings. You cannot very well prevent that, because in the buildings convicts are employed; they live there, they sleep there and they are working there. Of course they will be used in the maintenance of buildings, but in most instances when prisons are erected for housing convicts the contracts for these buildings are awarded to private contractors. Of course private contractors are not going to employ convicts in the erection of buildings, because if they did the trade unions would not supply them with men for

buildings being erected privately in other sections. For that reason we can virtually contend that building construction must be carried on by free labor. The report of the committee is to support the position I have just outlined to you in these few brief remarks.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was unanimously carried.

#### **Age Limit, Government Employees**

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's report under the above caption, page 128, the committee reported as follows:

Under this head the Executive Council states: "We recommend to this convention that a clear and definite declaration be made in opposition to the government setting any maximum age limit in the applicants for appointment to government service."

It is the opinion of your committee that the suggested declaration should be qualified and clarified; otherwise there would be harmful effects upon a number of affiliated organizations. The wide variation of government employment makes exceedingly difficult the adoption of a policy of this kind with universal satisfaction. Your committee agrees that mechanics and artisans and others in recognized professions and trades should not be barred from government employment at any age limit, provided they have had previous training and are qualified to perform the work. To this extent we concur in the recommendation of the Executive Council.

But, furthermore, we believe the present age limit of forty-five years for applicants for postal employment and other certain government employment is satisfactory and reasonable and has stood the test of time and experience. There is an important difference between the mechanical and professional work of our government and its postal service and some other activities. A mechanic and others can first be trained in private industry and then employed by the government. He may leave government employment temporarily and later on be qualified to return to it.

Postal workers, and many other government workers, must be trained by the government and serve their apprenticeship in such employment.

Therefore, to invite aged workers to seek postal jobs through a competitive civil service examination would be largely unavailing. For a postal employe must usually serve a very trying apprenticeship period, known as substitution, covering from three to ten years, during which time his employment is uncertain and his earnings are meagre. The futility of offering postal employment to older persons is apparent.

Your committee therefore recommends this declaration. The American Federation of Labor is opposed to the government setting any maximum age limit for applicants for employment if they are competent to perform the work because of previous training.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Wilson, Pattern Makers: Mr. President, this Federation is now confronted with a report of a committee that specifies that the government shall set an age limit in certain classes of the men that it employs in the doing of its work. I am not just satisfied with this committee's report insofar as it deals with men who are in the organization that I represent and in organizations that other men represent, who are in attendance at this convention.

In the provision of the bill that provides for retirement legislation, the government has set a limit beyond which no man shall be employed, because they figure that men should be able to work a sufficient number of years before they reach the age of retirement. Now the government of the United States employs many thousands of skilled artisans in trade, who do not expect to receive any retirement pay when they retire from the service of the government. These men may be working for some other institution. They may have had all of the training that is necessary to perform work for the government, and it may be that they are fifty, fifty-five, or even sixty years of age, and they make application to the Government of the United States

for employment, and they are denied that employment because they have passed the age of fifty-five.

Now this committee would make two reports, one dealing with the mechanical trades or those people who work only for the government, and one dealing with those that the people who have introduced this resolution are interested in, that perhaps would clarify the situation. But, Mr. President and Delegates to this convention, I even question the advisability of a convention of the American Federation of Labor taking an action that will at least to a degree endorse what private employers throughout North America have been doing in discriminating against the employment of men because they have reached a certain age.

I would direct your attention to the fact that when you discuss this question with these employers of labor, they advance the argument that on account of the passage of workmen's compensation legislation that has been brought about through the activity of our movement, older men are likely to become injured and subject to this compensation. They advance for that reason their idea that they do not want to employ men over a certain age.

Then again, they advance the argument that we give group insurance to our employes and the older the age of the employe, the greater then the cost of insurance, and they have adopted their plan and have endeavored to secure and have it put into effect, if you please, that men over a certain age shall not be employed, regardless of their qualifications as workers within that industry.

Now the Government of the United States has adopted that same kind of provision in employing metal trades workers in the navy yards and arsenals of this country, based upon the same line of reasoning as that advanced by private employers, that men will not be entitled to their retirement because they will have passed the age of 62, 63, or 65, whatever the retirement age is, before they have been permitted to work fifteen years in the employ of the government.

This Federation at previous conventions has condemned the practice of employers of labor in discriminating against men because of age. Now will this convention, by the adoption of the report of this committee, approve of the Government of the United States setting an age limit for the employment of any citizen of the United States in its service? I say that if we do, it will be wrong and it will be contrary to the expressed principles that have been proclaimed by this movement.

We appreciate the fact that the committee has distinguished in the employment of the Government of the United States, but I want this convention to clearly and emphatically state, on behalf of the metal trades organizations of this country, that we are opposed to the Government of the United States setting any age limit in the employment of men in mechanical trades or any other kind of men engaged in that service, and I don't want it mixed up with any other kind of a report to this convention. If in the postal service they believe that this should be the rule of our government, then why couple their proposition up with a resolution introduced here in this convention, in which protest is made against this system applying to that group of men?

Delegate Flaherty, Postal Clerks: Will the delegate yield?

Delegate Wilson: Yes.

Delegate Flaherty: There is no resolution before the convention. That is a misstatement of fact. The committee has reported upon the Executive Council's report, and in the report the request is made for a declaration, and in compliance with that request the committee attempted to make one, but there is no resolution before the convention, at least not before our committee.

Delegate Wilson: I accept the correction of the secretary of the committee, but I had in mind that a resolution was adopted at the Metal Trades Convention, or action was taken there, and I thought that the secretary had introduced a resolution to this convention. However, I maintain and I hold, and I hope and trust that the delegates to this convention will not adopt the report

of any committee that gives any private employer or that gives to the Government of the United States, to any city or to the nation a declaration that we favor in any respect whatsoever an age limit beyond which no man shall be employed.

Delegate Tobin, Teamsters: A question of information, Mr. Chairman—I understand the report of that committee to say that the committee did not favor an age limit for any individual in the government that required training prior to entering the employ of the government. That is my understanding.

Delegate Flaherty: In substance, yes—who had had previous training.

Delegate Tobin: The second part of your report states, if I understand it rightly, that you believe there should be an age limit for entering into the service of the government in certain occupations that require no training before entering into the service—is that right?

Delegate Flaherty: In those occupations where the apprenticeship period, so to speak, is performed within the government employment, such as the postal service.

Delegate Tobin: The age limit now for entering into the postal service is 45 years, is that right?

Delegate Flaherty: For the larger groups. There are variations.

Delegate Tobin: So that your report protects the trade of Delegate Wilson—there is no age limit?

Delegate Flaherty: Absolutely, the committee went the entire distance along the line he indicates.

Delegate Tobin: Your committee further reports that you believe there ought to be an age limit and it ought to be 45 years for persons entering into the postal service?

Delegate Flaherty: We believe that the existing age maximum, 45 years, which has stood the test of years, should be continued.

Delegate Tobin: I think the report of the committee is consistent and ought to be adopted by the convention.

Delegate Flaherty: To indicate that Delegate Wilson either misapprehended the report or perhaps I did not state it

clearly enough, I want to re-read two portions:

"Your committee agrees that mechanics and artisans and others in recognized professions and trades should not be barred from government employment at any age limit, provided they have had previous training and are qualified to perform the work."

Here is the declaration:

"Your committee therefore recommends this declaration: The American Federation of Labor is opposed to any maximum age limit for applicants for employment if they are competent to perform the work because of previous training."

Delegate Wilson: On that word "competent", that is exactly the word they use now, and that a man over that age is not competent.

Delegate Flaherty: Do you want it changed to "qualified?"

Delegate Wilson: Cut the word out altogether.

Delegate Flaherty: The committee discussed this resolution for hours and hours, and we finally agreed on this phraseology. We are not committed to it if the delegate can suggest something better.

Delegate Wilson: You have it "competent." A man over that age now is never called by the government because they say he is not competent.

Delegate Flaherty: Would you say able?

Delegate Wilson: They will use the same thing.

Delegate Furuseth, Seamen: On the question of the age limit, I have given some attention to it and it is one of the most terrible things we have to deal with in actual daily life. It is dangerous because a man working for a corporation reaches the age limit. He may be the best union man in the world, and he reaches the age limit, say of 45 years, and they don't employ anybody over the age of 45 years as a general thing nowadays. Having reached that age they are likely to, and often do give him a chance to determine for himself whether he will continue to work at a lesser wage for the corporation that he has been working for or whether he

will take his walking papers and fail to get any employment from anybody else. I don't know whether that has come to your attention or not. It has come to mine.

One of the serious things connected with it is this: that when a man has been brought up in a certain calling, a certain trade, he is mentally and physically attuned to that trade, and for him to change over to something else it is always to step down in comfort, in wages, and in everything else, or practically always.

I can tell you of an insurance agent who came to me at this convention and wanted to know what objections I had to the group insurance system, and I gave him the objections that I had, that the older the average age of the group the higher the premium, and as a result a man reaching a certain age is either compelled to work cheaper than he did before or he gets no more work. He was inclined to argue with me on this question, but after a while we quit talking about it. His life was so inseparable from insurance, and, of course, you could not expect him, selling group insurance, to admit the very things I said against it, because it condemned the entire system.

Now there is another aspect to it, and that is equally bad. A few years ago a machinist working in the arsenal for the government in California told me this story. I am satisfied that he told me the truth, consequently I repeat it. When we entered the war they had about 300,000 guns or more, rifles, the size of which had to be changed, and they said to him, we want that work done. "Well," he said, "that is a terribly difficult job because that kind of thing has to be done by machines and you will have to construct the machines." "Well," the general said, "I give you carte blanche on that; get the kind of men who can do it." And he, being intimately acquainted with the machinists' trade, set to work to find some men. A dozen men were put to work, and the oldest was 75 years of age and the youngest was 62. The general came in one day and said, "For heaven's sake, what is this, an old man's home?" The machinist

answered, "Yes, that is the kind of men you have got to get for this work." So the general let it go on. A few days later the general came in, picked up the gun, took the sight out of the gun and put another sight in, and the general said, "That is splendid, how did you do it?" "Why," he said, "we had the machine here to cut this out of prepared steel." "Well," the general said, "who is the man that invented this machine for you?" "That man there," he replied. And the general said, "Why, he is the oldest man in the whole lot." "Yes," the machinist said, "he has not been working for three years. He was working in the watch factory until he was 72 years old and then he quit, and I persuaded him to come here and use his knowledge for the benefit of the government." The general said, "You keep him and give him five times the wages he is getting."

I said to this machinist, "Could you find that kind of men now, men who could do the work of those twelve men under your supervision?" He said, "No, they are not to be found." Look at that, men, and think what it means—they are not to be found. They are putting a man out of his calling when his mind and body are attuned to it. It is destructive of the very things we are trying to preserve, and anything that even squints at an age limit for mechanics of any kind, no matter what excuse is brought in, you should put your foot on it as hard as you can, not in the interests of yourselves alone, not in the interests of the labor movement alone, but in the interests of civilization.

**Delegate Mahon, Street Railway Men:** I want to protest and object to any resolution or declaration on the part of the American Federation of Labor that establishes an age limit for the workers. For the past forty years I have been struggling against the employers in the line of work that I represent. First it was the rule of 45 years, and now in some cases 35 years is the limit. I have struggled, I say, in behalf of my organization, protesting against that condition of establishing an age limit that deprives hundreds of our best men of employment. We have contended that men from 45 to 60 years of age are in the

best years of their lives, so far as performing their occupations in our industry is concerned.

At the present time we have from 35,000 to 40,000 men that have been eliminated in the changes that have been taking place in the industrial condition, and they are walking the streets. Our men are barred from employment in our line of work. We have a number of municipal railways, and when we go to argue that point with them they point out to us the government's position.

I understand that among these government employe organizations, there is some reason for their wanting the 45 years to protect their benefits. Mr. Chairman, there is something more sacred to us than the mere benefits of a few men, and we must be careful not to establish a precedent upon the part of the government that is bound to reflect itself in all of our occupations, and I want to raise my voice against any recommendation on the part of the American Federation of Labor that establishes any age limit for the legitimate and honest workmen of America.

**Delegate Collins, Railway Mail Association:** I represent a group of workers that probably have the lowest entrance age of any, the railway mail clerks who handle your mail on the moving trains. It is a strenuous occupation. There is no previous training for that man until he comes into that service as an apprentice to learn that trade, and it takes him years to learn that trade. We don't object to taking into our service a man later on in life who has had that previous training, who has once been in the service, and later he asks for work with the government. During the past year we have taken into our service hundreds of these former railway mail clerks, because they had the training originally and were able to do that work. They were taken in as late in life as 52 and 53 years.

What we object to is taking them in at that age in their original employment, where they would have to come in and learn the trade at that age in life. I think you will agree with us, if you know the conditions, that they

could not take up that work at that age in life on these moving trains, where most of the work is done during the night hours, and for that reason we believe that our trade ought to be protected and only those taken in later in life who have had that previous training. That is the point involved insofar as we are concerned, that we must take these men in as apprentices, just as you men in your trade take in the new men as apprentices to learn the trade at 45, 50 and 55 years of age.

Delegate Duncan, Seattle Central Labor Council: I move that that portion of the report referring to the question of age limit be referred back to the committee for further consideration.

The motion was seconded.

Delegate Flaherty: I trust that that will not be done, because the committee has wrestled with this problem for two whole days, and this report represents the mature, honest judgment of the committee, reached only after a full and free discussion of all those interested. Re-reference, I fear, would bring no better results.

If the convention wants to dispose of the matter it might re-refer the entire subject matter to the Executive Council to call into session the interested affiliates, and possibly we can work out some program suitable to all.

I would offer that as a substitute.

The substitute motion was seconded and carried.

#### **Favoring a Federal Licensing Law for Business Firms and Corporations**

Resolution No. 14.—By John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department.

WHEREAS, The conditions under which labor is employed are of profound importance to the welfare of the nation as well as the wage earners themselves; and

WHEREAS, It is inadvisable that industry should be carried on under circumstances which lower the standard of living in any community; and

WHEREAS, Many states have enacted legislation establishing sanitary and safety conditions in all forms of industrial and commercial establishments; and

WHEREAS, It is contrary to the welfare of the nation and to the sound development of our American institutions and our American civilization to have industry carried on in a manner which fails to protect the wage earners' health, life and limb, or under circumstances which deny him an opportunity of exercising a practical influence in the determination of wages and conditions of employment; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be, and is, hereby instructed to have prepared a bill for introduction in Congress which will create a Federal licensing law, such legislative measure containing, among other things, the provision that all corporations, partnerships and individuals whose product enters into interstate commerce, shall be required to secure a Federal license to carry on such manufacturing or commercial business.

Your committee is in sympathy with the ends sought, namely that industry should maintain high employment standards, but we are not certain the remedy suggested by the resolution is the best and safest approach to the problem.

We therefore recommend reference of the resolution to the Executive Council for study and investigation.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### **Proposing Investigation Into Labor Policy of Firms Seeking Higher Protective Tariffs.**

Resolution No. 15.—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department.

WHEREAS, It has been the practice of Congress to establish tariffs for the protection of American industries, with the understanding that the protection of industry carried with it protection to the American wage earners' standard of living; and

WHEREAS, A number of industries which have been granted most liberal protection through tariffs have been notorious for the low wages paid to their employes, and the unjust and arbitrary conditions of employment forced upon them; be it

RESOLVED, That it shall be the policy of the American Federation of Labor when tariff legislation is being considered by Congress to have those who are seeking to secure a higher tariff for their industry subjected to questioning, which will make public the rates of wages paid to their employes,

the hours of labor they are compelled to work, whether they believe in the right of wage earners to organize for self-protection, whether there are trade unions among their employes with whose representatives they are accustomed to discuss terms of employment and conditions of labor, and whether this is by means of collective action, without interference, influence, or coercion exercised by either party over the other self-organization, or designation of representatives by the other.

With reference to Resolution No. 15, your committee heard much testimony from interested parties. The entire subject matter was discussed by the committee at length.

We recommend concurrence in the resolution with an amendment substituting the word "practice" for "policy" in the first line; changing the phraseology of the final resolve by adding after the word "Congress" in the third line, the words "to co-operate with national or international unions interested in any particular schedule"; and by the elimination of the words "a higher" in line five, and substituting the words "changes in," so that the final resolve will read as follows:

**RESOLVED**, That it shall be the practice of the American Federation of Labor when tariff legislation is being considered by Congress, to co-operate with national and international unions interested in any particular schedule, to have those who are seeking to secure changes in tariff for their industry subjected to questioning which will make public the rates of wages paid to their employes, the hours of labor they are compelled to work, whether they believe in the right of wage earners to organize for self-protection; whether there are trade unions among their employes with whose representatives they are accustomed to discuss terms of employment and conditions of labor, and whether this is by means of collective action, without interference, influence or coercion exercised by either party over the other, or designation of representatives by the other.

This is a majority recommendation, not a unanimous one.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

**Requiring the Use of American-produced Materials on Government Work in Canal Zone.**

Resolution No. 34—By Delegate Charles F. Wahl of the Balboa, C. Z., Central Labor Union.

**WHEREAS**, The Panama Canal, the United States Army and Navy, and private construction companies performing contract work for the above-named branches of the United States Government are not now required by law to purchase materials produced or manufactured in the United States; and

**WHEREAS**, A requirement that they should do so would tend to encourage our home industries; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled approves the principle that the Panama Canal, the United States Army, the United States Navy, and contractors performing work for the above-named branches of the United States Government, be required to purchase materials produced or manufactured in the United States, in every case where such materials of the quality required can be so purchased, irrespective of the cost of such materials; and be it further

**RESOLVED**, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor use their best efforts to have the Congress of the United States enact a law during its next session providing for the purchase of materials on Government work in the Canal Zone as set forth above.

Your Committee recommends concurrence in the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

The committee amended Resolutions Nos. 36 and 37 to read as follows:

**Providing for Employment of American Citizens on Panama Canal Work**

Resolution No. 36 — By Delegate Charles F. Wahl of the Balboa, C. Z., Central Labor Union.

**WHEREAS**, The United States Government has spent vast sums of money in the construction and operation of the Panama Canal; and

**WHEREAS**, Funds are appropriated yearly to provide for the operation and maintenance of the Canal; and

**WHEREAS**, Such funds should be spent as far as practicable to provide employment for American citizens; and

**WHEREAS**, That on March 18, 1931, employes of the Panama Canal and the Panama Railroad totaled 16,385, and of this total, 3,358 were citizens of the United States and 13,027 were aliens, subjects of European nations, an approximate ratio of one United States citizen to four aliens; and

**WHEREAS**, There are more than 3,500 aliens in the Canal and Railroad organizations occupying skilled or semi-skilled positions, which should be held by United States citizens; and

WHEREAS, There are now six or seven millions of workers in the United States who are employed; and

WHEREAS, The Panama Canal is an important part of our system of national defense, vastly increasing the sailing radius of our naval vessels; and

WHEREAS, In time of war attempts might be made by citizens of foreign countries, with whom we might conceivably be at war, to injure or destroy the Canal, it is therefore essential that all positions of responsibility be filled by American citizens; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled protest against the employment of aliens in positions of responsibility on the Panama Canal, and approve the principle that all positions on the Canal be filled by American citizens; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to endeavor to have the Congress of the United States at its next session enact legislation providing that all employes of the Panama Canal shall hereafter be required to be citizens of the United States.

**Providing for Employment of American Citizens in Government Construction Work on the Canal Zone.**

Resolution No. 37—By Delegate Charles F. Wahl of the Balboa, C. Z., Central Labor Union.

WHEREAS, The plans of the United States Army and Navy provide for the expenditure of approximately twenty-five millions of dollars in construction work on the Canal Zone in the next ten years; and

WHEREAS, It is anticipated that the Panama Canal will have a considerable amount of construction work performed by contract in the near future; and

WHEREAS, Insofar as practicable the expenditure of these funds should provide employment for American citizens; and

WHEREAS, It is obvious that the United States Army and Navy should pay the prevailing rates of pay in the locality for all work performed by or for them, and that contractors for the United States Army, Navy, or the Panama Canal should follow the same practice; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, go on record as approving the principles set forth in the preceding paragraphs; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to endeavor to have the Congress of the United States at its next session enact a law providing that all

employes of the United States Army and Navy on the Canal Zone shall hereafter be required to be citizens of the United States; that all employes of contractors performing contracts on the Canal Zone for the United States Army, the United States Navy, and the Panama Canal shall hereafter be required to be citizens of the United States, and that the United States Army, the United States Navy, and contractors performing work for the United States Army, the United States Navy or the Panama Canal shall be hereafter required to pay their employes rates of pay equal to rates paid by the Panama Canal.

Your committee considered the above resolutions jointly, as they both deal with the same general subject matter—namely, the necessity for employing citizens in place of aliens in the Canal Zone activities.

Your committee recommends that the words "laborer or messenger" be eliminated wherever they occur in the resolutions, so that the resolutions, as amended, will cover all classes of labor on the Canal Zone without exception.

As thus amended your committee recommends concurrence in both resolutions.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

**Endorsing Legislation Providing for Shorter Workday for Seamen.**

Resolution No. 62 — By Delegates Andrew Furuseth and Victor A. Olander, International Seamen's Union of America.

WHEREAS, S. 306 of the last Congress, a bill to amend certain laws relating to seamen, and for other purposes, was improved and recommended for passage by a sub-committee of the Committee on Commerce by four out of five members of such sub-committee; and

WHEREAS, The main objection to the bill in the full committee was that it provided for three watches for the sailors in vessels of five hundred tons or more; and

WHEREAS, The vessels are either keeping two watches, which means 84 hours per week, twelve hours per day, seven days per week or else a system of calashi watches in which the vessels are running in the night with sometimes one man on the lookout and sometimes not and very often no man at the wheel, the steering being done by a steering machine, known to the seamen as "the iron mike," the rest of the crew sleeping at night and working all day; and

WHEREAS, Such manner of operating vessels disregards all safety rules and causes great losses paid for in premiums on insurance and therefore makes it more and more difficult to compete with vessels properly manned; and

WHEREAS, The bill is to be reintroduced and has previously been endorsed by the American Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this bill be again urged upon Congress for immediate adoption in the interest of safety at sea and for the purpose of placing our vessels in a more competitive condition and for the further purpose of reducing the unemployment among seamen.

Your Committee recommends concurrence in the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

**Proposing Amendment to Liberalize United States Compensation Law**

Resolution No. 66—By Delegates J. A. Franklin, William R. Walter, J. N. Davis, Harry Nacey, International Brotherhood of Boilermakers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America.

WHEREAS, The United States Compensation Law as interpreted by the Compensation Commission, does not allow or provide for loss of compensation through inability to continue trade or rating caused by injury or disease in following such trade or rating and which necessitates change of employment at a loss of earnings; and

WHEREAS, The commission's interpretations do not permit compensation for rehabilitation when change of vocation is found necessary to preserve health and life; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention goes on record and instructs its officers to urge upon Congress the amendment of the U. S. Compensation Law to provide compensation where physical condition necessitates change of employment at lesser wages, so that no loss of earnings will occur through such change; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the amendment provide further for compensation where rehabilitation is found necessary, and that such rehabilitation be provided.

Your committee recommends concurrence in the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

**Postal Five-day Week**

Resolution No. 74—By Delegates Leo E. George, Thos. F. Flaherty, Olie Allen,

Robert Daney, Roy McIntosh of the National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Edward J. Gainor, M. T. Finnan, Charles D. Duffy, John T. Mugavin, Luther E. Swartz of the National Association of Letter Carriers; William M. Collins, Henry W. Strickland of the Railway Mail Association.

WHEREAS, The last Congress of the United States in response to the urgings of the organized postal workers and the American Federation of Labor enacted legislation, by practically a unanimous vote, establishing a five and a half day work week for the larger groups employed in the postal service; and

WHEREAS, While this legislation has been most beneficial in creating additional work opportunities for substitute postal employes, as well as granting a modest measure of earned leisure to nearly two hundred thousand postal employes, whose productivity has increased remarkably in recent years, it is now opportune to seek further employment stabilization by the establishment of a five-day work week in the postal service; and

WHEREAS, The postal service is the largest civil establishment of our government and, therefore, important economic changes in its employment policies are certain to have a profound effect on private employment; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Fifty-first Convention of the American Federation of Labor endorse the early establishment of the five-day work week in the postal service without any reduction in present pay rates, as an example to private employers, as opening the way for employment opportunities for substitute employes—many of whom are now without employment—and, furthermore, as a matter of sound economics in keeping with present compelling social needs; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council is hereby instructed to give every assistance to the affiliated postal organizations in placing the postal system on a five-day work week basis, with no curtailment in essential service to the public.

Your committee recommends concurrence in the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

At 5:30 p.m. the Convention adjourned to 9:30 o'clock Tuesday morning, October 13.

## Sixth Day — Tuesday Morning Session

Vancouver, B. C.,  
October 13, 1931.

The convention was called to order at 9:30 o'clock by President Green.

### Absentees

Gillmore, Dulzell, Abernathy, Schulte, Coulter, Zaritsky, Warfield, Schlesinger, Greene, Lawlor, Onyett, Scully, Lewis, Murray, Fagan, Boylan, Britton, Burke (J. P.), Sullivan (H. W.), Suito, Collins, (W. M.), Kaiser, Gorman (F. J.), Starr, Smith, Hatch, Fay, Provost, Gross, Rosqvist, Young, Sullivan (J.), Garrison, Joel, Campbell (G. C.), Michel, Driscoll, Coleman, Barger, Augustino, Sumner (S.), Rice, Foster, Quinn (J. C.), Moore, Sisson, Bower, Smethurst, Welsh, Martinez, Reed, Doyle (F. E.), Wood, Thomas, Bohm, Stephens, McElligott, Randolph, Webster, Hampton, Galvin, Mitchell (T.).

Vice-president Woll: The Committee on Resolutions will be ready to report tomorrow morning, unless earlier called upon by the President. I therefore move that it be made a special order of business to receive the report of the Committee on Resolutions tomorrow morning at 10:00 o'clock.

The motion was seconded and carried.

### Telegrams and Communications

Secretary Morrison read the following messages:

Chicago, Ill.,  
October 12, 1931.

William Green,  
President, American Federation of  
Labor, Hotel Vancouver,  
Vancouver, B. C.

After two months' negotiations with the Chicago Retail Meat Dealers' Association who employ two thousand meat cutters we have signed our contract. We resisted all wage cuts due to the stand yourself and executive board have taken on wage cuts. We were successful in retaining our wages and conditions. The highest wage paid meat cutters in United States. Our contract is the same as in 1929-30 and will continue for one year from October 1st, 1931. Sorry I could not attend convention. Negotiations with employers kept

me in Chicago. Best wishes for a successful and constructive convention.

MICHAEL J. KELLY,  
Secretary-treasurer, Local 546,  
1st International Vice-president  
Amalgamated Meat Cutters and  
Butchers of North America.

New York, N. Y.,  
Oct. 9, 1931.

American Federation of Labor  
Convention, Vancouver, B. C.:

In the name of the Organized Workers in Palestine and the great numbers of their sympathizers in America, we send fraternal greetings to the officers and delegates of the convention. Cognizant of the serious problems imposed upon you by the economic depression, it is our sincere wish that labor will emerge from it with new strength and vigor for constructive leadership of the American people toward a better economic order. We also take this opportunity to express our profound gratitude for your President's encouraging message to the Organized Workers in Palestine engaged in the double task of building a Jewish National Homeland and organizing the workers of that country. May the American workers again enjoy an era of continued prosperity for their own sakes and for the sake of those who stand in need of their moral aid.

ABRAHAM SHIPLACOFF,  
Chairman.

MORRIS FEINSTONE,  
Vice-Chairman.

ISAAC HAMLIN,  
Secretary.

National Labor Committee for  
Palestine.

Salt Lake City, Utah,  
October 6, 1931.

Dear Sir and Brother:

You and your delegates are invited to visit Salt Lake City enroute to your home from the American Federation of Labor convention in Vancouver, B. C. A hearty welcome awaits you here. The representatives of labor, political, civic, religious and business organizations of Salt Lake City join us in this invitation.

May your work be constructive and resultant of much good for all mankind in America.

With best wishes for a successful convention, we are,

Fraternally yours,

M. I. THOMPSON, President,  
Utah State Federation of Labor.  
W. P. ROLLS, Manager,  
Convention-Tourist Department,  
Salt Lake Chamber of Commerce.

Communications were also received from Russell Wilson, Mayor of Cincinnati, the Cincinnati Chamber of Commerce, and C. C. Schifler, Managing Director, Greater Hotel Gibson, Cincinnati, urging that the 1932 convention be held in that city.

A telegram containing the same sort of a message on behalf of the Memphis Chamber of Commerce, Memphis, Tennessee, was received from the president of the Chamber, Mr. W. R. Herstein.

#### REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON LEGISLATION

Delegate Flaherty, Secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

##### Improved Government Employment Standards

Resolution No. 75—By Delegates Leo E. George, Thos. F. Flaherty, Olie Allen, Robert Daney, Roy McIntosh of the National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Edward J. Gainor, M. T. Finnan, Charles D. Duffy, John T. Mugavin, Luther E. Swartz of the National Association of Letter Carriers; William M. Collins, Henry W. Strickland of the Railway Mail Association; Arthur O. Wharton, Charles W. Fry, R. A. Henning, Daniel P. Haggerty of the International Association of Machinists; C. L. Rosemund of the International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and Draftsmen's Unions; James Windsor of the International Plate Printers, Die Stampers and Engravers' Union of North America.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor at successive conventions has adopted resolutions favorable to improved working conditions in government employment, relating particularly to the elimination of harmful, objectionable, speed-up practices; the liberalization of sick and vacation leaves; the improvement in the retirement law; the reduction of night work; the establishment of a civil service employees' court of appeals; the improvement of postal substitute employees' and village letter carriers' working and wage conditions; the establishment of adequate wage standards and shorter working schedules and kindred betterments; and,

WHEREAS, Various bills covering these objectives of the affiliated groups of government employes will be introduced for action by the Seventy-second Congress, which will meet next December; and

WHEREAS, These measures will conform to the program and urgings of the American Federation of Labor to the effect that the government establish and maintain employment standards comparable to those existing in the more advanced establishments in private industry; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Fifty-first Convention of the American Federation of Labor reaffirms its position in favor of higher government employment standards and instructs the Executive Council to continue its co-operation with the affiliated organizations of government employes in furtherance of the remedial legislative objectives herein mentioned and those of similar purport that are in accord with the program and principles of the American Federation of Labor.

Your committee recommends concurrence in the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Secretary Flaherty of the committee said: Through an inadvertence the name of one of the sponsors, James Windsor of the International Plate Printers, Die Stampers and Engravers' Union of North America, was omitted from the resolution. Your Committee requests that it be included in the permanent record.

##### Opposing Finger Printing for Government Employment.

Resolution No. 76—By Delegates Leo E. George, Thos. F. Flaherty, Olie Allen, Robert Daney, Roy McIntosh of the National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Edward J. Gainor, M. T. Finnan, Charles D. Duffy, John T. Mugavin, Luther E. Swartz of the National Association of Letter Carriers; William M. Collins, Henry W. Strickland of the Railway Mail Association; C. L. Rosemund of the International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and Draftsmen's Unions; James Windsor of the International Plate Printers, Die Stampers and Engravers' Union of North America.

WHEREAS, The United States Civil Service Commission on July 1, 1931, established a rule requiring all applicants for positions under the classified civil service to be finger-printed; and at the same time stated that the Commission reserve the right to finger-print any individual or group of individuals in the classified service if "some special reason" arose; and

WHEREAS, The practice of finger-printing is associated with criminals and those charged with felonies and its

application to government workers is highly objectionable; and upright, law-abiding citizens should not be subjected to such humiliating and degrading regulations; and

WHEREAS, Organized labor is strongly opposed to finger-printing in any scheme of employment either in private or public industry and successfully fought an attempt to inaugurate this practice when William J. Burns was associated with the Department of Justice while Harry M. Daugherty was Attorney-general; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention instruct the Executive Council to co-operate with affiliated organizations of government employes in opposing the introduction of finger-printing by the government as a requirement for employment and that the Executive Council make known to the proper governmental authorities and, if necessary, to the Congress, the action of the convention in this matter.

Your Committee recommends concurrence in the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### **Columbia Basin Irrigation Project.**

Resolution No. 78 — By Delegates James A. Taylor, Washington State Federation of Labor, and C. M. Eyrnerson, Oregon State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has been familiar with the details of the Columbia Basin Irrigation Project in the State of Washington, U. S. A., since its inception in the year 1918; and

WHEREAS, The President of this organization, and its other officers, have repeatedly given their support to that great development, as being of interest to labor throughout the continent; and

WHEREAS, Engineers of the Federal Government have within a few weeks past reported the Columbia Basin Irrigation Project to be economically feasible; and

WHEREAS, The construction of said project will most admirably fit into any national plan for the employment of thousands of idle citizens, embracing both common and skilled labor, in addition to using huge quantities of materials produced in mines, mills and factories, as well as stabilizing business and furnishing splendid opportunity for laboring men to acquire homes where their children may be reared in ideal surroundings; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention at Vancouver, B. C., on this Sixth day of October, A. D., 1931, does urge the Congress of the United States to adopt

the Columbia Basin as a Federal Irrigation Project, and to provide funds for its immediate construction, thus aiding to solve the unemployment problem, which problem is of equal importance to that of farm surpluses.

In view of the Boulder Dam labor difficulties, as well as the experience of the labor movement in other large public projects, when the American Federation of Labor has enthusiastically supported such proposals to discover later that no consideration is given to the employment of union labor by the contractors, your committee deems it advisable to refer this resolution to the Executive Council with instructions to secure, if possible, some pledge or understanding from government authorities that union principles and standards will be followed in all construction and related work.

Your committee therefore recommends reference of the resolution to the Executive Council.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### **Reassignment of Resolution No. 70**

Delegate Wharton, Machinists: In the interests of promoting the work of the convention, may I call your attention, Mr. Chairman, to the fact that the subject of "Military Training in High Schools" was referred to the Committee on Resolutions. Resolution No. 70, second day's proceedings on the same subject, has been referred to the Committee on Education. It occurs to our committee that there might be a conflict in the findings of the two committees and the subject matter should be referred to one committee. We submit it to you for your action.

President Green: The Chair discovered the error after the reference of this subject matter had been made. I appreciate very much the fact that you call it to my attention this morning, so that in line with the rules of the convention in which all similar matters are referred to one committee, the Chair will now rule that the resolution to which you call my attention will be referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Delegate Flaherty continued the re-

port of the committee, as follows:

**Proposed Classification Bill**

Under this caption pages 125, Executive Council's report, the Executive Council discusses the proposed Personnel Classification Bill and states that it should be opposed by all employees of the government who will be affected by its provisions.

We considered in connection therewith Resolution No. 13.

**Opposing Classification Law Affecting Mechanical Trades Employed by the United States Government**

Resolution No. 13—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department.

WHEREAS, The craftsmen and mechanics employed by the United States Government and the International Trade Unions who represent them, have been actively opposed to any attempts by Congress to classify them; and

WHEREAS, Under the leadership of the Metal Trades Department of the A. F. of L. they have always been successful in preventing the enactment of classification legislation which would include them; and

WHEREAS, Congress specifically instructed the Personnel Classification Board to make no study of the mechanical trades for the purpose of classification at the time the Welch Bill was enacted, this action of Congress having been due to the activity of the organizations affiliated with the Metal Trades Department; and

WHEREAS, The final report of the Wage and Personnel Survey, Personnel Classification Board, contains a proposed bill relative to classification for action by Congress, which would place all mechanics, helpers and apprentices under classification; and

WHEREAS, There has been a developing tendency in certain governmental quarters to establish bureaucratic methods in the control of labor conditions in Federal service; be it

RESOLVED, That this convention declare its opposition to any attempt by Congress to classify mechanics, helpers, and apprentices; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be, and is, hereby instructed to give its assistance to the International Unions which comprise the Metal Trades Department of the A. F. of L. in preventing the passage of the classification law which has been recommended by the Wage and Personnel Survey, Personnel Classification Board.

Your Committee recommends reference of the Resolution to the Executive Council.

Your committee heard much testimony of a conflicting nature on the propositions herein mentioned. We find that the proposed legislation, while still in the form of a commission recommendation which may never materialize, is viewed with distrust and fear by organizations affiliated to the Metal Trades Department as destructive of wage fixing agencies already established for navy yard groups.

On the other hand, representatives of the National Federation of Federal Employees are emphatically in favor of the legislation as a measure of great potential value to the membership of said organization.

Your Committee is unable to reconcile these sharply conflicting views, realizing that each group is sincerely and earnestly concerned with protecting the interest of its respective membership.

We therefore recommend reference of Resolution No. 13, together with that portion of the Executive Council's Report, caption "Proposed Classification Bill" to the Executive Council with instructions to call the various interested affiliates together for the purpose of reaching an understanding satisfactory to all concerned.

Your committee makes this observation and further recommendation:

That the officers of the American Federation of Labor arrange for periodical meetings in Washington of representatives of affiliated organizations interested in legislation affecting government employment to the end that misunderstandings and unnecessary irritations might be eliminated. In former years round table discussions of this kind were frequently held and were productive of much good. After all, the general objective of each group is practically the same and disputes over details of procedure can very often be avoided if there is a thorough airing of views in meetings such as above suggested.

That is the majority report of the committee.

I have been requested to read also,

so that the convention may be fully informed, a minority report signed by three members of the committee, Delegates Davis, Rosemund and Donnelly:

**Minority Report, Committee on Legislation**

The Minority of the Committee on Legislation does not concur in the action of the majority of this committee and recommends the approval and adoption by this convention of the Report of the Executive Council as it appears on page 125, and which is as follows:

**Proposed Classification Bill**

The personnel classification bill recommended to Congress should be opposed by all employees of the government who will be affected by its provisions.

It proposes to repeal the classification act of 1923, the Welch act of 1928, the Brookhart act of 1930 and other laws that have been obtained by the employees of the government and establish an ex-officio board to be known as the personnel classification board. It is to consist of the Director of the Bureau of the Budget, a member of the Civil Service Commission and the Chief of the United States Bureau of Efficiency. The Director of the Bureau of the Budget will be chairman.

The bill proposes to revolutionize present methods and leave to the personnel classification board the making of rules and regulations to carry out the provisions of the act. The main purpose of the bill is apparently to regulate the classification and fix the wages of those who "perform or assist in apprentice, helper, or journeyman work in a recognized trade or craft, or to perform the work of a skilled artisan or a skilled or an unskilled laborer, or to serve as an officer or a member of the crew of a vessel." The rates of compensation for such positions shall be fixed and adjusted from time to time by the board.

Existing wage boards will not be abolished but the personnel classification board will have the last say as to what amount of wages shall be paid. All the work of wage boards and the time taken in hearings will have no effect on the personnel classification board as the latter's decision will be final. It is believed the intention is eventually to eliminate wage boards.

The Bureau of the Census recently issued a classified index of occupations. For instance, it divides some trades into

from 75 to more than 100 classifications. It is understood that the wages of each classification of a trade will be fixed by the Board and, therefore, cause a disruption of all trades. The Executive Council sees great danger in such legislation and recommends that the convention take a firm stand against passage of the proposed bill.

J. N. DAVIS,  
C. L. ROSEMUND,  
THOS. J. DONNELLY.

That, I repeat, is the recommendation of the minority committee, signed by Delegates Davis, Rosemund and Donnelly. The majority of the committee recommend reference of the resolution introduced by Delegate Frey and likewise this portion of the Executive Council's report to the Executive Council for further conferences in Washington with the interested affiliates, to see if some satisfactory adjustment cannot be had.

I therefore recommend the adoption of the majority report of the Committee on Legislation.

The motion was seconded.

Delegate Frey, Metal Trades Department: Mr. Chairman, a large number of delegates, some of whom are now in committee, are vitally interested in this question. I would move that the committee rooms be immediately notified that this question is now under consideration in the convention.

President Green: The Chair will be very glad to carry out the suggestion, Brother Frey, without the necessity of a formal motion, and will call upon the messengers to visit the committee rooms and advise them that this matter of classification in which they are interested is now being considered by this convention.

Delegate Frey, Metal Trades Department: A question of procedure. The committee has submitted its report. A minority of that committee has also submitted a report. Which comes first for consideration—the minority?

President Green: The report of the majority members of the committee, because the secretary of the committee moved the adoption of that report, and that is formally before the convention.

Delegate Davis, Boiler Makers: I move you as a substitute for the motion that the report of the minority members of the committee be adopted.

The motion was seconded and carried.

President Green: The report of the minority members of the committee is therefore before the convention. Are there any remarks?

Delegate Daney, Post Office Clerks: I rise to a point of order. Doesn't that make the motion contradictory?

President Green: The Chair rules that, in accordance with parliamentary law, a motion can be made to substitute the minority report for the majority report. The convention then can act upon the minority report, and if it adopts it, then the report of the minority members of the committee becomes the action of the convention. If it votes it down then the majority report automatically comes before the convention. The minority report is in the way of an amendment to the committee's report.

Delegate Donnelly, Ohio State Federation of Labor: Mr. President and delegates—As one of the signers of the minority report I want the privilege to speak for about five minutes. The Committee on Legislation, when it met, had before it two recommendations of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor. One was in reference to age limit in government employment. The other was in reference to this reclassification proposition. The committee gave a great deal of time to the subject and there was a very wide difference of opinion in the committee upon the two propositions.

A number of the committeemen, among which I was registered, felt that if the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor deemed certain subjects of such vast, widespread importance to the trade union movement of North America as to include them in their report to this convention and recommend that declarations be made upon them by the convention, the committees to which they were referred should provide ways and means so that the subjects would come clearly before the convention and the declaration

could be made if it was the desire of the convention to do it.

On that first proposition a great deal of time was consumed discussing the question of referring back the old age pension proposition, or the age limit proposition, and finally we brought in a report here which we thought was a fair report and took care of any of the governmental employes, such as postal and other employes, and yet made the declaration to this convention that this convention go on record against any age limit for men capable of performing work. There seems to have been some confusion about it and it went to the Executive Council, from which it came. In my judgment that was a mistake. This convention should have made the declaration.

Now we come to the second proposition. The American Federation of Labor is presented with this subject of reclassification. The Executive Council, in effect, tells us that there are things going on in Washington that will be detrimental to the trade union movement, and particularly to those who are craftsmen in the government service, and they in that particular instance have said to this committee if they desire something brought before this convention which would give authorization to the officers of the American Federation of Labor when they return to Washington, to oppose such reclassification. Now I signed that minority report for the purpose of bringing the whole subject before this convention, and if the convention in its wisdom desires to make a declaration upon it, it should do so.

Delegate Davis, Boiler Makers: As one of the minority members of the committee, I want to say that I concur in the remarks of Delegate Donnelly and, perhaps, have a few more words in addition to what has already been said. For some nine or ten years we have been confronted from time to time with some form of reclassification legislation. I might review just a little bit of history by saying that at the Denver convention of the American Federation of Labor the convention went on record as endorsing the Reclassification Bill which was then before Congress. We

discovered later that that reclassification legislation as it was then drafted and as it was later reported from the committee included the skilled tradesmen, if you please, and it was not at all the idea and thought of those of us who tried to speak for the skilled crafts. We were unable to reach a satisfactory agreement at that time and it was necessary to fight the legislation, with the result that I believe the legislation was defeated. The legislation later came before Congress and was enacted into law by omitting the skilled tradesmen.

From that time until now we have had what I would term a series of legislative acts affecting government employees, with the result that today we now have before Congress, or will have, this classification measure.

But the law that provides for that provides for a survey by this board or commission of government employees' positions, and the act specifically provided that the skilled craftsmen were to be excluded. But when the report is made we find that we are included, and as stated to you by the Executive Council in their report, it divides many trades into many classifications and ratings. The skilled craftsmen feel that to permit such legislation to be enacted, while it might be beneficial to the clerical forces of the Federal employes, would be detrimental to the skilled tradesmen, inasmuch as we believe that it would eventually tend to eliminate all identity as a fact.

Our organization, or at least mine, has repeatedly gone on record as opposing the Reclassification Bill or the Classification Act, or the Classification Bill as now proposed. In fact, Mr. Chairman, we do not care what form it is in. We feel there is something deep down behind it all and we are not so sure of ourselves that we can stand by and permit such legislation to be enacted.

For that reason and for the reasons expressed by Delegate Donnelly, I felt it would be impossible to vote in accord with the majority, and, inasmuch as the Executive Council has made a definite recommendation and declaration, if you please, to this convention, for this con-

vention to refer it back to them would be, to my way of thinking, a rejection of their recommendation. For that reason we have with us a minority report. I ask that all of the skilled crafts give some thought to it, and I am pretty sure, Mr. Chairman, that all of them have already gone into the subject pretty thoroughly.

Delegate Frey, Metal Trades Department: I desire to reply to the statement made by the last delegate. The Executive Council, in its report, recommends a firm stand against the passage of the proposed Classification Bill.

When the representatives of the American Federation of Labor discuss this question with members of the Congress, as they will probably be called upon to do, Congressmen and Senators will be largely influenced by the action of this convention. If, after the Executive Council has made a definite recommendation condemning a legislative measure, this convention should refer that measure back to the Executive Council for further consideration, it would convince practically every Congressman and Senator that this convention was uncertain as to the wisdom of the Executive Council's action in condemning the bill, and the influence of the legislative representatives of the American Federation of Labor would be greatly weakened in Congress.

I am speaking this morning as one of the representatives of the Metal Trades group in complete harmony with the Executive Council's report and in opposition to the report of the majority of the Committee on Legislation. It seems to me that the time has come when the delegates to this convention should have a more thorough understanding of certain influences continually at work to determine conditions of labor and wages for every one in the Federal employ. They should have a better understanding of the many ways in which the accumulating bureaus and commissions established in Washington work their own will, regardless of the positive action of Congress.

Congress is not the only authority which has a very definite bearing upon terms of employment and conditions of

labor in the Federal service. More and more bureaus and commissions are accorded authority, making them absolute dictators when it comes to the conditions under which men and women will work in the Federal service.

There are those in this convention who are thoroughly competent to discuss the welfare of those they represent who are in the Federal service, but the Metal Trades group have their interests which are equally dear to them, and it is because this convention should have a better understanding of how these bureaus and commissions work, to the steady detriment of trade unionism, that I desire to illuminate the way in which labor is more and more eliminated from having any choice whatsoever in determining their terms of employment and conditions of labor in the Federal service.

As an illustration, Mr. Chairman, of the exclusion of representatives of the American Federation of Labor in working with commissions and bureaus dealing solely with labor conditions, I would like to refer to the recent Personnel Council for the Federal Government, which has been named for the exclusive purpose of dealing with labor. This Council is composed mostly of members of the Cabinet, and so far as their function goes in correlating the activities, the labor policies of their respective departments, there is probably no criticism to be made. It is a necessary work. But with this Council, composed of members of the Cabinet and representatives of the Civil Service Commission and, may I add, representatives of the Efficiency Bureau, a formal advisory council was set up. In looking for advice and counsel this Federal body, this Federal Personnel Council, employed members of industry, representatives of the Engineering Society and representatives of what is known as the Personnel Group, that group of men who have built up a profession of handling the labor for large corporations. Now the names of the members of this Advisory Council for industry are: Mr. Dennison, President of the Dennison Manufacturing Company; Arthur Young, of the Industrial Relations Counsellors; C. R. Dooley, Personnel Manager of the Stan-

dard Oil Company of New York; J. W. Dietz, Personnel Manager of the Western Electric Company.

The committee representing independent personnel organizations is made up of L. W. Wallace, executive secretary of the American Engineering Council; Alfred Flinn, director of Engineering Foundation; W. F. Willoughby, director of the Institute of Government Research; C. R. Mann, chairman of the American Council on Education; H. S. Person, managing director of the Taylor Society; W. S. Donald, secretary of the American Management Association; W. V. Bingham, director of the Personnel Research Federation.

The Committee representing Educational Institutions is composed of Edward L. Thorndike, head of the Department of Psychology, Teachers' College, Columbia University, and W. W. Carter, head of the Department of Education of Ohio State University.

This Advisory Committee, Mr. Chairman, is to assist the Federal Personnel Council in working out these plans for co-ordinating personnel administration in the Federal service; to make possible partial or permanent careers; to improve selection methods; to attract better people to the service; to reduce waste due to excessive turn-over of the better qualified employes; to provide for the pooling of findings of Government agencies in personnel matters; and to avoid excessive increase in personnel from year to year.

So the recommendations of these executive or advisory groups is to deal exclusively or almost exclusively with the question of labor conditions and labor relations in the Federal Government. I want to call your attention, Mr. Chairman, to this one fact, that the great organization which should have a voice in advising as to labor conditions, the American Federation of Labor, is excluded from those who are to be consulted with. The business man, the educator, the personnel man, the representatives of scientific management are officially named, and labor itself and the organizations which it represents are definitely excluded. I am calling attention to this, because it is an evidence of the way

in which official Washington works steadily twenty-four hours in the day to undermine the ability of organized Federal employes to protect their interests. And now I come to the way in which this Personnel Commission, this Personnel Classification Board has endeavored to again place labor in a position where it may have a voice, but a voice which will be of no practical effect, and also to make clear that this body has gone forward in direct violation of the positive instructions of Congress, and they hope now to get away with their purpose.

When the Welch Bill was passed, it included instructions to the Personnel Survey Board, or the Personnel Board, to make a study of classifications of all positions in the Federal service. It was very evident that the mechanical trades, the apprentices, the helpers and the mechanics and laborers who worked with them were included. Immediately the representatives of the Metal Trades group went before the committee, talked over the situation with the chairman of the committee, Congressman Welch, who had also introduced the bill. He saw that the bill failed to safeguard the welfare of the mechanical groups, the craftsmen—not the metal workers alone, but all the craftsmen, painters, carpenters, woodworkers of all kinds, as well as those who were metal workers. An amendment was accepted by the committee which provided that these mechanical trades should be wholly eliminated from any study by the Personnel Classification Board.

So that there may be no question and that the record may read straight in this convention, I want to read that portion of the bill as it was finally passed, exempting the mechanics, helpers, apprentices and laborers who work under it. I will read the first sentence of Section 2 as enacted:

"Upon the passage of this Act the Board shall forthwith make a survey of the classes of civilian positions in the various field services, exclusive of the Postal Service, Foreign Service, and employes in the mechanical and drafting groups whose wages are now or have heretofore been fixed by wage boards or similar authority."

The Act specifically prohibited this Personnel Classification Board from making any study or any report upon the mechanical trades. These volumes, Mr. Chairman, constitute the report which this Personnel Classification Board has already made.

In its first report, a preliminary report, it did not agree with Congress and definitely expressed itself as being in opposition to the action that Congress had taken eliminating the mechanical trades from the survey to be made. This is what they say in their report:

"In the organizations coming within the survey there are more than half as many field employes in the excluded classes as there are coming within the scope of the survey, and these employes are distributed among the various departments and establishments, in each of which a different procedure is followed for the purpose of determining pay rates. Under these conditions it is not conceivable that any degree of uniformity is being maintained in pay levels for similar work under like conditions. We are therefore of the opinion that there is measurably the same necessity for this group of positions, both in the departmental and field services, to be brought under the jurisdiction of the classification board as for any of the other groups. We believe the legislation should provide that the rates of compensation for all positions, the duties of which are to perform apprentice, helper, or journeyman work in a recognized trade or craft, or to perform the work of a skilled artisan or a skilled or unskilled laborer, or to serve as an officer or a member of the crew of a vessel, be fixed and adjusted from time to time by the board so as to conform, as nearly as consistent with the public interest, with the prevailing rates for similar positions under similar employment conditions in private establishments in the locality where the work is performed or the employment made."

So that this Board, in the first report it submitted to Congress, definitely took issue with the position of Congress and told Congress it made a mistake in excluding these groups from its survey. They also had something else in mind, because they gratuitously brought in a

rather lengthy reference to the position of civil employes in Government service in Great Britain. Now we must take it for granted, Mr. Chairman, that the Personnel Classification Board had a definite purpose in everything that it introduced in its report, and so when it referred to the status of civilian employes in the government service in Great Britain they must have had a very definite purpose. I will not read all of this, but enough to give you an idea of its provisions. They say here:

"The rules regarding the personnel privileges and restrictions of British civil servants are not unlike those found in the United States. An Official Secrets Act prohibits a civil servant from divulging government information, and the Trades Union Act of 1927 prohibits associations of civil servants from affiliating with outside trades unions."

So that embodied in this report is reference to a British law which the commission states in its report to Congress prohibits the affiliation of civil servants with the trade union movement. If Congress would pay much attention to the criticism of its acts and changes its plans it might be well, but there are a number of members of Congress who would also re-establish or re-introduce the British Act of 1927, endeavoring to prevail upon Congress to pass a similar act which would prevent the affiliation of organizations of civilian employes with this trade union movement. If such a measure was enacted the international organizations which we have seated in this body, whose membership is made up of Federal employes, would be prevented from holding further affiliation with us and would be excluded from membership in the great trade union movement. They are interested, Mr. Chairman, in what they call classification. They were instructed to make no such study, but this volume in large part consists of the classification they have made of the mechanical trades.

Perhaps, instead of telling you in detail how the mechanical trades are changed from our own understanding of their function, it will be sufficient to call your attention to the fact that in each instance the classification provides

for the type of work which the helpers will perform, so that instead of this trade union movement or of affiliated international unions determining what shall be the journeyman's work and what shall be the helper's work, this Personnel Classification Board attempts to settle all of the jurisdiction questions which ever have arisen and which may arise in the future. If they have their way, Mr. Chairman, it may be possible when a jurisdiction question arises in this convention, to refer to some future decision of the Personnel Classification Board and be governed by what they have written into the rules instead of what our own judgment and experience has taught us are the proper lines of demarcation for the trades and demarcation between the work of helpers and of mechanics.

Not satisfied with having criticized the action of Congress, not satisfied with calling pointed attention to the British Act, which excludes civil servants from any participation in the British trade union movement, they go further and in their final report they have introduced a measure, a proposed Federal law which will very definitely place the mechanics and the helpers, the apprentices, the skilled and semi-skilled laborers who work with them very definitely under classification. The law is a very lengthy one. I have no intention of reading all of it, but so that there can be no mistake whatsoever as to the purpose of the measure which the Metal Trades Department condemn by unanimous vote and which the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, in its report to this convention, equally condemns, I desire to read a portion of Section 6. Section 6 reads in part:

"The compensation schedules prescribed in Section 14 of this Act shall not apply to positions the duties of which are to perform or assist in apprentice, helper, or journeyman work in a recognized trade or craft, or to perform the work of a skilled artisan or a skilled or an unskilled laborer, or to serve as an officer or a member of the crew of a vessel."

Section 14 deals exclusively with the professional and the scientific service.

This portion—and it was necessary for me to read it—points out that the professional and the scientific groups are not affected by what follows, and this is the succeeding sentence:

“The rates of compensation for such positions shall be fixed and adjusted from time to time by the Board so as to conform as nearly as is consistent with the public interests, with the prevailing rates for similar positions under similar employment conditions in private establishments in the locality where the work is performed or, in the case of marine positions, where the employment is made. Such rates shall be determined after an investigational procedure conducted by the Board.”

The Personnel Classification Board, under this law, would have authority to determine not only classification, not only to shift workmen from one group to another whenever they so desired, they would have authority to fix wage rates, and it would be impossible under this Act to appeal to any other source for relief, if the Board made a mistake, unless the President of the United States was willing to exercise his executive power or unless Congress was willing to repeal the law.

It is a most serious question, Mr. Chairman, which the mechanical trades in the Government service are faced with. We want our right to trade union organization in the Government service. We have our local unions in the navy yards and in the arsenals. We function as trade unionists. We work through our committees in very much the same identical manner in which the trade unions function in private establishments.

This law, if it is enacted, this attempt of the Personnel Classification Board to ridicule the Act of Congress exempting us from their investigations, this bureau seeking more power, is now endeavoring, through its proposed measures, to take away from us all of the trade union organizations and trade union methods which we have succeeded in establishing after years of effort, and place us at the mercy of a bureau whose judgment would be final and binding upon us. We can protest all we want, and our protest will not be listened to and

it will not move the Personnel Classification Board.

Another thing, Mr. Chairman, not only did this Personnel Classification Board proceed in the preparation of its report, so far as the mechanical trades are concerned, in direct violation of the positive instructions of the Welch Bill, they were careful not to permit the American Federation of Labor and its authorized representatives to know anything as to what they were doing. They were very careful that the chosen representatives of the organized mechanics in the Government service should have no inkling of what they were doing, should have no opportunity of making their protest, should have no chance to uncover the way in which this Personnel Classification Board was defying the Act of Congress so that they submitted their report without the American Federation of Labor and its representatives having any idea of what they were doing.

They knew from the past experience of Congress when classification was being considered that the mechanical forces, the men organized in the mechanical trades were determinedly opposed to anything of that kind. They come out now suddenly with a recommendation for a bill which, if it was adopted, would completely destroy all that our trade union movement has built up for the protection of the mechanical forces, the craftsmen, the artisans who are in the Government employ.

I submit to you, Mr. Chairman, that even though we see some merit in this Classification Bill, the proposed bill, the manner in which it was prepared, the manner in which this commission acted from the beginning, is enough to cast such suspicion upon anything that they would do that we would be justified in opposing it whether it contained beneficial features or not. I have presented the facts, Mr. Chairman, connected with the passage of the Welch Bill and the action of this Personnel Classification Board. I have no desire to go into a detailed statement relative to how this would work in many of the mechanical trades. You have already had your attention called to the fact that some of the mechanical trades have been divided up into eighteen, nineteen or twenty

different crafts, each with a different group of pay. Men who are members of the same organizations in private industry, who work under the same agreement with the employer, who receive the same rate of wages, are divided up into minute groups, each one receiving a different rate of wages.

That is the very thing which this trade union movement has fought against from the beginning. We have always had to contend with the employers' efforts to classify our members. We have always had to face their attempts. They want us to name our members as No. 1, first-grade mechanics, as No. 2, No. 3, No. 4, No. 5, so that they could have a variety of union scales in the same shop, so that we would be compelling some of our members to work at lower rates of wages upon the same class of work than others. This trade union movement has prevented that classification of mechanics and helpers and laborers where we are organized. And now, Mr. Chairman, when the Federal Government, or rather a bureau seeking autocratic power, attempts to do this thing, there is only one step for this American Federation of Labor to take, and that is to say we are interested in our trade union methods and our trade union protection in the Government service, as we are in private employment, and we will resist with all the strength at our command any effort upon the part of the American Government to classify the men who have learned their trade and earn their living by it.

President Green: The Chair recognizes the Secretary of the committee.

Delegate Flaherty: For the further information of the delegates and to reconstruct the picture a little more clearly in your minds, permit me to call your attention to the respective reports now before the convention. The majority report of the Committee on Legislation—and you have heard enough conflicting statements here this morning to realize how difficult it was for the committee to reach an agreement satisfactory to all—but the majority report of the committee recommended reference of this section of the Executive Council's report dealing with the pro-

posed Classification Bill to the Executive Council. The minority report, signed by three members of the Committee on Legislation, recommends that the Council's report suggesting that the Classification Law be opposed, be adopted by this convention. The Postal employes are excluded from the provisions of the Classification Act, and consequently I think I can view this problem in rather an impersonal, detached way. My organization really has no direct concern in the judgment of the evidence, except, of course, the concern of an affiliate that wants to see the convention do the wise and proper and decent thing.

We have at previous conventions endorsed the Classification Law. It has been eagerly sought by thousands of Government employes, especially in the clerical groups. It is viewed by them as a measure of great potential value, and it is important that this convention not recede from prior actions without at least being fully advised as to the consequences.

On the other hand, we find the Metal Trades Department especially opposed to the Classification Law, because, as Delegate Frey has indicated, they view it with alarm, believing it is destructive of trade union principles and likewise destructive of the wage fixing agencies built up for navy yard and other employes. I do not share Delegate Frey's concern regarding the outcome of this contest. He, I think, is unduly alarmed over the report of a commission. Keep in mind, delegates, that there is no bill yet before Congress. Keep in mind that this commission has merely presented a report. Keep in mind, furthermore, that there are dozens of reports from commissions that are heaped upon Congress. Many of them receive but scant consideration. Delegate Frey has pointed out that the Metal Trades Department was able, when the Welch Bill was up originally to have themselves excluded from the purview of that Act, and I am confident that they can do so again, providing that this legislation, if it assumes concrete form, is presented to the next Congress. In fact, his concern would indicate a lack

of confidence in the American Federation of Labor being able to defeat any untenable proposition presented to the next Congress.

I am familiar with legislation practices at Washington and I am fully aware that the United States Congress will not pass any classification law that will be harmful to any group of affiliates in the American Federation of Labor. In short, if this commission's report ever assumes definite form as a bill in Congress—and I doubt whether it will—Delegate Frey and others interested in it can have themselves excluded. That, to me, appears to be the sensible, logical, sportsmanlike thing to do.

But no, they are seeking to destroy a classification bill that is of great value and that is eagerly sought by thousands of Government employes, who, as far as numbers go, are far more numerous than those employed in the mechanical trades. I consider Delegate Frey second to none in this convention, in the recognition of his great erudition and learning and philosophical background, but when he has had some experience in Washington in legislative matters, he will not be so greatly alarmed over a mere tentative proposition of some obscure commission. These things are very often not heard of, and if they are heard of and assume concrete form, I repeat, then certainly the American Federation of Labor and the Metal Trades Department will have strength and influence enough to exclude those employes within the purview of this law who would prefer to handle their affairs differently. But, if we now go on record, after having endorsed classification, as being opposed to it, it will mean that we are invading in a very serious way the autonomy of an affiliated organization. It has been the traditional practice of the American Federation of Labor conventions to permit each craft to indicate as to the best method of procedure to benefit its own particular membership. The National Federation of Federal Employes in this instance is keenly interested in classification, because that benefits the clerical groups. It is not concerned whether the metal trades mechanics are

included in that legislation. They can be excluded.

Now your committee in its majority report, I think, does the right and sensible thing. We could discuss this thing interminably and get nowhere with it. The majority report recommends reference to your Executive Council. Delegate Frey says that is unseemly. We do it frequently. When the Council brings in a report that is entirely satisfactory, we refer it to the Council for further investigation and consideration in light of developments at the convention. There is nothing unseemly, nothing incongruous in that action whatever. It is, I believe, the sensible and logical thing to do under the circumstances.

Your majority report does more, it instructs the Executive Council to call into conference at periodical periods in Washington the various representatives of organizations having to do with legislation before the Congress. We formerly had such conferences and there in the Executive Council meeting room of the American Federation of Labor we threshed out these differences. Obviously, a convention of this kind is no place to thresh them out.

Most of you delegates have no particular concern with legislative matters, and regardless of how fair minded you may want to be, you are not sufficiently informed, perhaps, to reach a satisfactory judgment. So these things should be threshed out down in Washington with the Washington officers of the Executive Council and with the representatives of the various affiliates present. If that procedure is followed hereafter—and your committee's report so instructs the Council to establish it, then we will not have a recurrence or repetition of what has transpired this morning.

I appreciate Delegate Frey's position. If the Postal employes were included in the Classification Law I, too, would be concerned as to the effect, perhaps, of this legislation affecting them, but I would not ask this convention to destroy a measure that is important to one of its groups. No, I would go to Congress and ask them to exclude that.

That has been done when the Welch Act was up, and that can be done again if the necessity arises in the next Congress. At any rate, keep in mind that Delegate Frey's fear is a supposititious one. There is nothing definite before Congress except this report, and if the report should come before Congress in a concrete way, then the American Federation of Labor has influence enough to protect the mechanical trades by excluding them from the purview of the law.

Let us not destroy the Classification Law. Let us not, figuratively speaking, slap the Government employes in Washington in the face—a group that is deprived of the exercise of its political rights, a group that is deprived of the exercise of its economic rights, a group that depends very largely upon the trade union movement for assistance. Although larger in number, they need us far more than the Metal Trades Department, which, capably officered as it is, can largely protect itself.

So I will ask the convention now to vote down the pending motion, which is the report of the minority committee, and adopt the majority report, which does no violence to any one, which asks the Executive Council to call the affiliates into session in Washington, and which furthermore establishes the machinery which will, I hope, prevent a recurrence of discussions of this kind on the floor of the convention.

Delegate Mahon, Street Railwaymen: I am willing to accept the apology of the Secretary of the committee, but I want to understand how he makes the report conform to the recommendations of the Executive Council. The Executive Council sees great danger in such legislation and recommends that the convention take a firm stand against the passage of the proposed bill. The Executive Council has made its recommendation.

I can't understand how the committee gets itself into that frame of mind as indicated by the recommendation made this morning. I think, Mr. Chairman, we ought to adopt the report before the house.

Delegate Flaherty: As was pointed out by the committee, after listening

to much conflicting testimony, we believed it was in the best interests of all concerned to re-refer this matter to the Executive Council. That was pointed out, I think, quite clearly not only by myself, but by some of the preceding speakers, and the minority report of the committee is the adoption of the Executive Council's report. The majority of the committee is for reference.

Delegate Furuseth, Seamen: I arise, Mr. Chairman, to support the minority report. There are statements made in the speech of Mr. Frey that I am extremely pleased to have made on this floor. You are now dealing with some undercurrent but fundamental tendencies of government. The remarks of Mr. Frey call your attention to the proceedings, and hint broadly at the results that will follow if they are permitted to go on. There is no way by which you can check it except by the incoming Congress and the departments realizing the tendencies and plainly disapproving of them.

I was especially struck by the remarks of Brother Frey. If the convention here, after discussing this matter, refers this again to the Executive Council, members of Congress will see what the delegates of the convention have said in the debates, that a failure to adopt this minority report will put this convention in a position of not knowing what it is dealing with, and, feeling that it did not know, would be willing to take somebody else's advice.

If the convention has hedged on any question of importance and referred the matter, it is in violation of the Executive Council's own recommendation, and any action taken will be of no consequence at all. You may not believe that, and some of you may not think it. If the secretary of the committee gives a little further thought to this matter he will agree with me.

Those are bills that are important, and it is to the credit of many senators and congressmen that they can see the motive of these things. That is why Congress, upon an appeal of the mechanical crafts said: "No, you shall not be included in this bill." You classify the other civil servants upon their edu-

ational qualifications. The skill of the mechanic, the skill of the craftsmen is not to be classified in the same way as the others under civil service working there.

The Taylor System, represented by an organization scattered all over the country, which is taking the craftsman's skill and putting it into a card index, analyzing it and dividing it up until there is nothing left of it, is hostile and destructive of all skill. They undertake to give a few men an opportunity to exercise their creative powers and deprive the others of any exercise thereof, something that is in violation of the fundamental law of life, and inevitably ends in disaster.

There is no reason for voting down the minority report. Instruct the Executive Council as to what the skilled trades want. The convention can pass upon it definitely and settle it. The final part of the report is an additional reason why the minority report should be adopted.

Now I want to tell you something that will show you what this is. Some years ago, after we seamen had obtained the right to sue for damages, it of course resulted in vessels belonging to the government, against which such suits were filed, having to put up bonds so as to continue in business and at the same time furnish the necessary funds out of which to pay such damages as might be assessed by the court.

A bill was drawn up by some of the bureaus and introduced in Congress, exempting government vessels from putting up bonds. It was assumed by the lawyers who were conducting cases that such was the only purpose of the bill. I warned them that it had a deeper and more sinister purpose. They would not listen, they could not believe it had any sinister purpose. The bill was introduced while I was away and had been passed when I came back. I had no opportunity to be heard before the bill was passed. It turned out afterwards that by the construction put on the bill by the courts the seamen were deprived of the right to go into the common law courts and sue for damages, and were compelled to go into the admiralty courts where no jury was

being used, and thus the seamen were left to the tender mercies of a judge without a jury.

More than a million dollars was in question and some of those decisions had already been rendered when the decision of the court holding that the government, by virtue of its sovereignty, could choose the court in which it wanted to be sued, thereby nullifying all the decisions given that had not been paid, and for the future preventing seamen from going into a common law court with their grievances.

The intent to disregard any kind of skill is plain from the way in which they deal with seamen now. They realize that that is going to be the result, and as a result of that realization they are now trying to organize navigation schools to be conducted on shore, the purpose of which schools is to educate the officers for the marine service. This proposition shows that they realize that skill is departing from the man before the mast, and they think they can supply that skill through these new schools; but they will find that before they are through, instead of getting another and higher degree of skill, they are destroying the kind of skill that makes traveling at sea at all safe.

These are exactly the same tendencies as the thing in question here. It is basing men's knowledge and ability on school knowledge, not on experience obtained in daily life. We shall do well, indeed, in resisting these tendencies, the purpose of which is to take from working people the strength that lies in their knowledge and skill.

The Shipping Board introduced a bill, innocent in its appearance to the extent that the lawyers I consulted laughed at me because of what I said it contained. I said the vessels operated by the government were taken from under this law, and the result would be to take away from the men the right to go to court, and it will be an admiralty judge sitting in his own high mightiness who will decide whether the man has a case or not.

The result of that innocent bill that the lawyers could not understand and did not fear has resulted in depriving

those seamen of the right to trial by jury and the right to collect their money. This thing is growing and growing and growing, and it is gradually taking away what we have got.

Delegate Swartz, National Association of Letter Carriers: Mr. Chairman and brothers of the American Federation of Labor—As a delegate from the largest affiliated body of Government employes, and in the absence of our spokesman, President Gainor, who was compelled to leave the city this morning, I was sitting quietly in my place more or less complacent in the thought that this did not directly affect the letter carriers. Of course, there was a feeling of sympathy with the affiliated body of Government employes, the National Federation of Federal Employes, which this does vitally concern. However, the debate has developed in at least two important particulars that this might affect the affiliation of the National Association of Letter Carriers with this body.

Delegate Frey read from the report of that Personnel Commission their quotation from the English law, and he points out that we must assume it was done for a purpose. That quotation from the British Civil Service Law is to the effect that if applied in the United States it would immediately drive out of the American Federation of Labor every affiliated organization of Government employes. I do not anticipate that any such legislation is likely to occur. However, it is implied in that report of the Personnel Commission.

Brother Flaherty, speaking for the majority report, seemed also to be very complacent, as I was, that this does not affect Post Office employees; but Brother Frey has well pointed out that certain organizations were specifically exempted by the Act of Congress from the meddling, if I may use the word, of this Personnel Commission. Among these were the Post Office employes and also the mechanical trades. Now they have gone beyond the jurisdiction granted them by Congress and have presented an elaborate scheme for the classification of these mechanical trades. If they can do that to them, by the same token they can do it to us, so we are vitally affected.

Now, I do not stand here in opposition to Brother Frey and certainly not in opposition to the Federal Employes. I realize that that Commission has gone far beyond the powers delegated to it by Congress in presenting any such proposed classification. I do know they could do the same dirty work with us, because—not speaking for postal employes generally, because Brother Flaherty is able to take care of his organization—they could introduce an almost endless classification of the letter carriers. They could classify those who work in the residence districts and those who work in the business districts; they could classify us on almost any basis they please. And, by the way, the Post Office Department itself some years ago did inject into our organization a very radical and very unjust classification of letter carriers who were assigned to the collection service and those who were assigned to the delivery service, saying those collecting mail were not entitled to the same rate of pay as those delivering mail, although the classes were interchangeable at all times.

The Post Office Department did reduce the pay of a great number of letter carriers throughout the United States. Through the aid of the American Federation of Labor we secured legislation absolutely forbidding the Post Office Department to make that classification, but eventually restoring the pay of the one class.

Here are our brothers of the Federal Employes. There is a classification still pending that to them would mean much. They have long been loyal members of the American Federation of Labor. To that Classification Bill there have been added things that are very, very obnoxious to the mechanical trades. Why cannot they be separated? Why cannot those things our brothers of the Federal Employes' Association want be granted them and those things that are so obnoxious to the others be clipped from the bill? It seems to me that can be done by adopting the majority report.

Delegate Steward, National Federation of Federal Employes: In 1917 the American Federation of Labor chartered the National Federation of Federal Em-

ployes, covering the jurisdiction exclusive of the Postal service, and of already existing national and international organizations. At the present time within the jurisdiction of the National Federation of Federal Employes, there are more than 80 per cent. of all civil employes of the Federal Government outside of the Postal service. In this group are contained, not alone clerical employes, but a great variety of occupations peculiar to Government and not comparable to positions in private employment. This was a new field organized labor had not theretofore entered, and from that new field the National Federation of Federal Employes has developed a large and constantly growing organization, which has been highly successful in benefiting the membership within its jurisdiction.

From the outset our paramount issue has been the adjustment of compensation and working conditions in this miscellaneous group, and by reason of that fact the National Federation of Federal Employes has been able to secure from the Congress of the United States three laws bearing on classification, the Classification Act of 1923 and the two amendatory Acts, the Welch Act of 1928, and the Brookhart Act of 1930. We have always been careful to so phrase our legislative proposals that they should include only our jurisdiction. We have not attempted to legislate for any but our own group. We have devoted a great deal of time and attention to ascertaining the views of organizations that have some membership in the Federal service, in order that there might not be a conflict. Under the Welch Act of 1928, a provision was included providing for a survey of the so-called field employes, including employes outside the National Capital. Under the terms of this proposal a survey has been conducted by the Personnel Classification Board. It was instructed to make findings of fact as to existing conditions, and, among other things, to submit to Congress recommendations for legislation.

In those recommendations the Board has seen fit, in a proposed bill, to include certain provisions which would

affect craft organizations. That is a proposal with which the National Federation of Federal Employes has nothing to do. That is a proposal that has now been added, and if those organizations which object to that form of legislation do not want it, they have only to indicate, as they have done, their desire to eliminate their own jurisdiction from such legislative consideration and to do that they will receive, as they have in the past, the whole hearted support of the National Federation of Federal Employes in securing their objective.

Repeatedly the American Federation of Labor has gone on record as approving the personnel classification in the Federal Government. There is no other way in which the establishing of wages, working conditions and proper promotion can be secured.

Now we find, not only a resolution submitted by the Metal Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor, but also in the report of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, a proposal to oppose, not the inclusion of certain crafts of certain organization membership within the legislation, but a proposal to place the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled on record as opposing personnel classification. The report of the Executive Council makes that sweeping recommendation, notwithstanding previous pronouncements of the American Federation of Labor, without advising, notifying, or in any way getting the fact over to the organization which contains more than 80 per cent. of those who will be affected.

The question underlying the whole proposition is simply this: The constitution of the American Federation of Labor guarantees autonomy to its respective affiliated organizations. The report of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor invades that autonomy, on behalf of less than 20 per cent. of those affected, and completely ignores the autonomous rights of more than 80 per cent. of those to be affected, and that without even notifying the majority group that such a

course was to be taken, and supports that recommendation—if support can be used as a term—with an ignorance of the subject-matter that is grotesque. Statements appear under the caption of the Executive Council's report, "Proposed Classification Bill," that are far at variance with the facts and that to any one familiar with the history of legislation on these matters, are laughable.

It states: "To repeal the Classification Act of 1923, the Welch Act of 1928, the Brookhart Act of 1930, and other laws that have been obtained by the employes of the Government and establish an ex-officio board to be known as the Personnel Classification Board."

As the proposed bill has in mind codification of classification legislation, necessarily it contains a repealing clause, but it restates the provisions now contained in the existing law. The report of the Executive Council states that it purposes to establish an ex-officio board to consist of the director of the Bureau of the Budget, a member of the Civil Service Commission and the Chief of the United States Bureau of Efficiency. The Director of the Bureau of the Budget will be chairman. That is the existing law and has been since March 4, 1923. The report of the Executive Council further states:

"The bill proposes to revolutionize present methods and leave to the Personnel Classification Board the making of rules and regulations to carry out the provisions of the Act." That is existing law as applied to employes of the District of Columbia, some 48,000, since March 4, 1923. Then comes the statement:

"The main purpose of the bill is apparently to regulate the classification and fix the wages of those who perform or assist in apprentice, helper or journeyman work in a recognized trade or craft, or to perform the work of the skilled artisan or a skilled or an unskilled laborer, or to serve as an officer or a member of the crew of a vessel."

I submit in all fairness that the author of that portion of the report of the Executive Council must had had a somewhat distorted view

as to what constitutes the most important part of the legislation when it affects less than 20 per cent., when there is no mention made of the purposes of the 80 per cent. or what has already been done in respect to the 80 per cent. Are we to infer that the drafter of this extraordinary statement could not use simple arithmetic? Or are we to infer that there are two classes of organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, one that is graciously permitted to pay per capita tax and the other belonging to the class to which consideration is to be given? The whole question is as to whether the autonomy of the National Federation of Federal Employees is to mean less than a scrap of paper, or whether the jurisdiction of one organization is to be turned down and destroyed.

The proposal of the committee is to simply re-refer this, so that the rights of all organizations affected may be protected. If the report of the committee is rejected it means simply this: That autonomy as contained in the language of the constitution of the American Federation of Labor means nothing, and I submit to you, although on this occasion it relates to the National Federation of Federal Employees, that it is an issue that will ultimately affect many other affiliated organizations.

Vice-president Wilson: It is rather amusing to listen to this discussion this morning and to hear the secretary of the committee, who is a Federal employe, and my good friend from the letter carriers, who is also a Federal employe, say that the Reclassification Bill does not cover them, but if it did, what would be their attitude on the floor of this convention this morning. The Executive Council is making a recommendation to this convention, not, as has been presented here today, that we can safely pass it back to the Executive Council and permit them to review it and call the contending parties together.

The secretary of the committee says there is no bill now before Congress. The Council does not say there is, but the Council directs attention to the fact that there is a proposed bill recommended by this Reclassification Board,

and the Council by its study of this measure recommends to this convention that it oppose the enactment of that bill into law.

The Metal Trades, including thousands of skilled men who are in affiliation with this American Federation of Labor, joined with the Executive Council in its opposition to the enactment of this proposed classification bill into law. That is the thing the Council is dealing with, the proposed Classification Bill, and if you would take the trouble to read the hundreds of pages it contains you would think they could take wage earners and move them about just as you would move checkers on a board. And they would not alone classify men within the trade, but they would have one trade going out and doing the work of another trade. It is all set forth there, Mr. Chairman, in the findings of this committee.

Now, I have no quarrel with the Federal Employees; I am only anxious to see that they have a better condition of employment, but I am not unmindful of the fact that I represent men, too, who are occasionally employed by the Government, and we are unalterably opposed to the classification of these men.

As set forth by this Commission's report, or as attempted by the employer or his organization, no matter who he may be, if you refer this matter back to the Executive Council, what do you do? You have not opposed something that is proposed by the Commission, and the Congress can meet and they can say that the Federation was not opposed to this proposed new classification bill, and while you are considering it again Congress may enact it into law.

The minority report as submitted here this morning, and which I rise to defend, and which I propose to vote for, is merely accepting the views and endorsing the report of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor which, in my judgment—and which by no stretch of the imagination can injure in any respect whatsoever the Federal Employees—but if you fail to endorse the report of the Executive Council you will do a great injury to

the organizations that are protesting against this kind of legislation.

Delegate Mugavin, National Association of Letter Carriers: I rise, not as a Federal employe, to speak in behalf of the majority report, which I propose to support, but I rise to speak in the interests of fair play and to inquire of you gentlemen who can be harmed by a reference of this question back to the Executive Council? Brother Steward advised you gentlemen that the Executive Council did not consult his organization, did not advise him that they proposed to make such a recommendation, did not offer him an opportunity to present his side of the question. Although he points out that his organization represents more than 80 per cent. of the men affected by the proposed legislation, he was given no opportunity to present his case before the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor. I ask you, is that the proper way to treat a brother? Is that the fraternal spirit that actuates the American Federation of Labor? I refuse to believe that that is the spirit that will keep alive an interest in the American Federation of Labor. It is up to you representatives to see that we are given an opportunity to present our side of the question.

Brother Steward, representing a large body of men, loyal members of this organization, should certainly be given an opportunity to present their side, and the Metal Trades and other trades cannot be harmed by a reference of this matter to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor. Are we afraid that the American Federation of Labor, through its Executive Council, will not do us justice? I believe the adoption of the majority report can hurt nobody and may do a lot of people some good.

Delegate Alifas, Washington, D. C.: After the address that was made by the delegate from the Metal Trades Department, Delegate Frey, perhaps any further remarks in support of the minority report might seem superfluous, nevertheless I rise to support the minority report. I am not as optimistic as Secretary Flaherty, who thinks it is merely a perfunctory report among a score of

others. I think there was a well organized effort made, not only by the Commission, but by executive departments of the Government, to classify the skilled trades in the manner stated by Delegate Frey. I do not share in the optimism of the committee that by saying this year we will be excluded from the bill.

When the Classification Bill of 1923 was before Congress it was my duty to represent the metal trades organizations in order to keep us out of that bill. When the bill was referred to the Civil Service Department, that department and those who were in favor of the bill were attempting at that time to force us into the bill against our wishes. We were fortunate, however, in having that provision stricken out of the bill by a vote of 121 to 8 in the House. The senators in charge of the bill, who are not now in the Senate, criticized us for holding up the bill. They said if the bill did not go through it would be our fault, and we said if they would keep the skilled trades out of the bill there would be no trouble getting it passed. Finally we succeeded in getting most of the skilled trades out of the bill.

Delegate Steward criticizes the report of the Executive Council for minor inaccuracies. He cites that, due to the fact that his organization represents 80 per cent. of the employees affected and the skilled employees only 20 per cent., therefore that must be a wrong assertion. If, as pointed out, the intention of those behind the bill is to destroy labor organizations so far as government employes are concerned, or eliminate us from the American Federation of Labor, that might easily be the purpose of the bill, regardless of the number of employes concerned.

I believe in recognizing the jurisdiction of organizations over their respective members, and I want to invite the attention of the Federal Employees' Union to the fact that in recent years they have taken in thousands of members who are eligible to our organization. They must have at least seven or eight hundred machinists in their association who are eligible to membership in the International Association of Machinists.

Up to date they have not been dropped from the roll of that organization.

I see in this move also an attempt to force everybody under the classification to establish the idea of one big union in the government service. We are opposed to that. We believe that we have a right to protect ourselves to the extent of preventing legislation from coming before Congress which is exceptionally convenient as a vehicle to force us into such a union. I think there is nothing to be gained by passing the buck back and forth between this convention and the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor. The Executive Council made a recommendation to the convention. If the convention does not see fit to accept that recommendation what will be gained by passing it back to them? It will simply mean that we do not agree with the Executive Council. I believe the Executive Council has given this fair consideration. Minor details and alleged inaccuracies are rather unimportant, it is the main issue we are considering here, and I hope the convention will adopt the minority report.

Delegate McNally, National Federation of Federal Employees: I am truly sorry to have to add to the length of time this subject is under discussion.

Vice-President Wilson stated that no one would be hurt if the minority report is adopted. The Federal Employees will be seriously hurt if the minority report is to be adopted. He states, and Delegate Alifas also states, that this proposed bill will cause terrible things to be enacted into law. The fact is that reclassification is a law at the present time. You have had here in your organization a visitor, Mr. Edward Keating, who was the Chairman of the Joint Commission of the Reclassification of Salaries, who made the first report to Congress. In that report there was a reclassification proposed for Federal Employees in the District of Columbia. This bill now proposes to cover the Federal Employees in the field. The salaries of Federal Employees have been set by Federal legislation since there have been Federal Employees. There is nothing new in the proposal.

Mr. Alifas referred to the early days when the bill was under consideration. At that time the Federal Employees called into conference representatives of every trade and craft with membership in the Federal service. We paid for the meetings, we paid for the conduct of these conferences, and all we said was, "Decide what you want and we will support you." The conference first decided that they wanted a general Wage Board provision. Later they decided differently. Whatever that group has asked for we have always given our very best to secure for them. Mr. Alifas refers to some thousands of Federal Employees in our organization who do not belong there. The Vice-president of the International Association of Machinists came to our office and conferred with us. We finally learned there were twenty-eight employees. Those twenty-eight employees were suspended from our organization. Whether they have taken up membership in the machinists' organization I do not know.

Perhaps you had best think a little before you start voting on this proposal. We of the Federation of Federal Employees have, since our organization, been active in pressing forward for classification. Classification for us is the life-blood of our organization. All the things that have been complained of on the floor could be better taken care of if our group is classified and the other organizations remain on the outside. Our first intimation of this was when I read the Executive Council's report, but it is amazing that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor would offer a report affecting the life-blood of one of its affiliated organizations, the twenty-third in size in this convention, to that extent without saying, "Do you want this or do you not?"

Now, you all have decided opinions as to what should be done in this particular resolution. The only thing that can be gained by adopting the majority report is to give that which the lowliest citizen is entitled to, a hearing. The Executive Council should have been on their toes when a proposition to oppose that which it has been endorsing ever since the Federal Employees have

been organized. But, evidently, the Executive Council did not think. I do not wish to be in the position of criticizing the Executive Council for I know that frequently in a busy session some things will get by. All we ask for now is a hearing.

Vice-president Wharton: I was in hopes that it would be unnecessary for me to make any reference to what I consider some of the underlying facts in this case, at least as they appeal to me. In the first place, I desire to say that I am in favor of the minority report and against the majority report of the committee. I think it is well to consider just for a moment the actual facts as we are confronted with them as they relate to these organizations.

I have before me the charter granted to the National Federation of Federal Employees, which provides their jurisdiction. It was granted in 1917, and it excluded certain classes of employes and gave them certain jurisdiction. Miss McNally referred to taking action without consulting an interested organization. The records of the American Federation of Labor would indicate that the National Federation of Federal Employees, at a later date, changed its jurisdiction. I can find no record that they consulted any organization or came before the American Federation of Labor when they adopted the following:

"Section 2. Employees of the United States, the District of Columbia, or the insular possessions, subject to the restrictions of the preceding section, who are members of other trade unions affiliated to the American Federation of Labor, and in good standing, shall be eligible to membership in this Federation so long as they retain their membership in their respective trades unions."

That is the procedure under which the National Federation of Federal Employees has been operating for years. In the second day's proceedings of this convention, on page 200, you will find Resolution No. 58, an application on the part of the National Federation of Federal Employees for an extension of jurisdiction. That extension of jurisdiction would refer to all employes in the Federal service, commonly referred to

as field service. It would include machinists employed by Coast Guard stations, arsenals, flying fields and some others.

Miss McNally referred to a case where the Vice-president of our organization handled the affair, and she said it finally developed that there were twenty-eight men involved. I have the records to show that there were approximately 100 or 115 men in the San Antonio field, two or three of them belonging to our organization and some to other organizations. We have, over the signatures of this organization, an indication of their desire to see that these members are transferred to our organization or they would be dropped from their organization. The other day I received this official notice from the Vice-president to whom Miss McNally referred:

"Have been officially advised Federal Employes' convention Seattle instructed their delegates to make jurisdictional claims at Vancouver covering men formerly conceded our organization, also ordering San Antonio local not to drop membership of those refusing to join our organization."

That may sound like a rather unimportant feature of this discussion, but, to my mind, it is coupled up directly with the proposed classification legislation. If this classification were put into effect, you would immediately have recognized, as far as this particular organization is concerned, all the classes except those which they have excluded from their membership.

I went through the experience in 1921 of considering the classification of 2,000,000 men employed in the railroad industry. I know what it means to deal with this important question. Classification can improve or retard progress in connection with conditions of employment and any classification scheme, in my judgment, which does not grant to organized labor the right to have at least an equal voice in disposing of questions which may come before it, or in fixing classification affecting these employes, would utterly destroy organizations and destroy conditions organizations have been able to secure for the many years of their existence.

It might be well to inquire what percentage of the 80 per cent. belong to the Federal Employes' organization and then compare what per cent. of the 20 per cent. belonging to other organizations have to the membership of the mechanical trades represented in this convention. There isn't a mechanical trade I know of represented in this convention that does not have members employed by the Federal Government. You will find that so far as different organizations are concerned, the figures presented by President Steward would be absolutely reversed so far as the total of organized men and women in this country is concerned.

This is the only voice through which labor can speak, and surely we always attempt to be tolerant, we attempt to do justice by those affiliated with this organization, but when an organization sponsors legislation which so vitally affects the great percentage of organizations represented in this group, I cannot conceive why they should have rights granted to them that they are unwilling to grant to others.

President Green: May I make this observation? I am sure the delegates must be in a rather perplexing state of mind after listening to the presentation of contradictory views. The situation is indeed a paradoxical one. On the one hand we find the representatives of the civilian mechanics employed by the United States Government strong in their opposition to this proposed classification bill, a bill submitted by a Classification Board, not by the American Federation of Labor or the Executive Council. On the other hand, we find a large group represented by the Federal Employes, strong for the classification measure. A division in the representatives of civilian government employes! That is indeed strange! The one group strongly contending that the bill is good for them, the other group strongly contending that it is bad for them.

I did not understand that there was such a wide division regarding the attitude of civilian government employes toward this character of legislation. It occurred to me that the principle was the question involved and that there was

unanimity of opinion on the part of the government employes regarding the principle involved. Now I know the tolerant, fair attitude of the officers and delegates who attend these conventions of the American Federation of Labor, that is, to formulate such policies as may protect and advance the highest and best interests of all, to do that which is good for one group and do that which is good for another group so far as you may be able to accomplish that most praiseworthy purpose.

Now if the delegates in this convention believe that it would be possible, after this display of a very sharp difference of opinion, if they believe that the Executive Council might possess the power to compose the difference, then use your judgment along the line of referring it back to the Council. I am sure the Council would work all during the year to find a basis of accommodation to compose your differences if possible. On the other hand, if you believe the matter is of such vital importance that we ought to make a declaration along that line, use your best judgment.

The Council, I know, was inspired by a desire to do that which would promote the highest and best interests of all and it would be difficult for us, in view of this contradictory opinion, to formulate a legislative policy by doing one thing to advance the interests of one group and by doing another thing to advance the interests of another group. It is a matter of such grave importance that I thought I ought to bring this to your attention. If you want the Council to continue its efforts to compose your differences, the Council will gladly do it, and the Council will not feel hurt by having it referred back to them.

We have before us the report of the committee. Delegate Davis offered a motion that the report of the minority members of the committee be substituted for the report of the committee. The question will recur upon the substitute.

Delegate Tobin: I would like to have the Secretary of the committee read the recommendation of the committee and the minority report.

Secretary Flaherty complied with the request made by Delegate Tobin.

President Green: The parliamentary status is this: That the report of the committee is before the convention with a motion to adopt. Delegate Davis offered a motion to substitute the minority report of the committee. The question will now recur on the minority report. All those who favor the minority report will please say "Aye"; those who are opposed to it say "No."

After the vote was taken President Green said: "The Chair is in doubt."

A division was called for and after the Secretary had made a count he announced that 140 delegates had voted in favor of adopting the minority report and 50 delegates had voted against it.

President Green: The substitute offered by Delegate Davis is adopted as the report of the committee and it is so ordered.

Secretary Flaherty: That concludes the report of the committee, which is respectfully submitted and signed:

I. M. ORNBURN, Chairman,  
LUTHER STEWARD,  
HARRY H. JONES,  
W. W. BRITTON,  
EMANUEL KOVELESKI,  
E. M. JEWELL,  
WINFIELD KEEGAN,  
C. L. ROSEMUND,  
THOS. J. DONNELLY,  
D. J. TOBIN,  
JAMES M. DUFFY,  
J. N. DAVIS,  
JOHN E. GROSS,  
JAMES T. MORIARTY,  
ROBERT McLEOD,  
F. J. ELLISON,  
THOS. F. FLAHERTY, Secretary,  
Committee on Legislation.

The report of the committee as a whole was adopted and the committee continued until the conclusion of the work of the convention.

President Green: Officers and delegates attending the conventions of the American Federation of Labor will recall that at each convention we present to our fraternal delegates a set of presents that they may take to their homes with them as a happy remembrance of their visit to our convention. We are prepared now to present to these delegates the presents which are to be given to them on behalf of and in the name

of the officers and delegates to this convention. It is not my purpose this morning to make a presentation address in each case, but to say to these fraternal delegates, Brother Beard, Brother Wolstencroft and Brother McDonald, that we have selected a present for each of them and a present for each of their wives as well. We ask them to accept these presents in behalf of the officers and delegates to the convention as an expression of their devotion, their friendship and their admiration of these fraternal delegates.

First of all, I want to present to Brother Wolstencroft this beautiful watch and chain. I know he will appreciate it and that it will carry with it more than its merely intrinsic value. Please accept this from me in behalf of the officers and delegates to this convention. And likewise, we have a beautiful watch for Mrs. Wolstencroft, which we hope Mr. Wolstencroft will take to her and present on behalf of the officers and delegates to this convention. Perhaps it will make it a little easier on Brother Wolstencroft to return home.

Fraternal Delegate Wolstencroft: I thank you for the beautiful present you have given me. I will value it in the days to come because of the many happy memories it will bring back to me of my visit to America. The delegates have been very kind and courteous and have done everything possible to make our stay pleasant. Mrs. Wolstencroft did not make the journey to Canada, but she remained in New York with her sister for their first visit in eighteen years. While she is in New York, I am sure that in spirit she has been present all the time I have been here. I want to thank you, Mr. President, and the American Federation of Labor for all the kindness we have received since we have been here. I wish the American Federation of Labor Godspeed in its efforts to improve the conditions of the workers in America, and in doing so help to improve the conditions of the workers throughout the world.

President Green: In like manner we have a beautiful watch for Brother Beard. It expresses the sentiments that exist in the hearts and minds of the officers and delegates to the conven-

tion. Brother Beard, we ask you to accept this as our expression of good will and friendship. When you look at it, always remember your visit to America, to Vancouver, and to this wonderful convention. In like manner we have a beautiful wrist watch for Mrs. Beard. I am sure that when he gets home and shows it to her he will receive a hearty reception.

Fraternal Delegate Beard: Mr. President and Brothers—I thank you for these presents. They will not be necessary really to remind me of my visit to Vancouver. What I appreciate most is your attitude toward us. You have made us one of yourselves, and that is the sort of thing my colleague and I like. We come here to your convention and you are so kind and appreciative that we feel at home. We are very glad to have had the opportunity to be with you.

I appreciate everything you have done for me. This and the badge you gave me will belong to some one in my family; it will be passed on, I hope, to them because of the respect and appreciation you have offered to us. It has been a very great time in my life to have come to Vancouver and to have seen America. I shall be glad as long as I live of the opportunity my associates have given me. I shall always have the most pleasant memories of my association with you. I thank you very kindly.

President Green: And we have a watch just like those presented to Brother Beard and Brother Wolstencroft for Brother McDonald, the Fraternal Delegate from the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress. All I have said in presenting the watches to the other delegates will be included in what I will not say in presenting this to you. Please accept it, Brother McDonald, and please present this watch to your good wife, Mrs. McDonald, with our feeling of respect and friendship to her. Tell her we think she has a very good man.

Fraternal Delegate McDonald: Mr. President and friends, I don't know really what to say. I thank you for this valuable present. I regret that Mrs. McDonald is not able to be here to accept the watch for herself, because

she has been laid up with a severe cold. I know she appreciates it. I have enjoyed every moment of this convention. I have enjoyed meeting the delegates I have known by reading about them for the last twenty-one years of my stay in this country. I am glad to make your acquaintance, and I hope we will meet again.

Delegate Martel, International Typographical Union: Last year in the Boston convention of the American Federation of Labor we had the pleasure of hearing an address by Mayor Frank

Murphy of Detroit. I know the delegates were pleased to find out that Detroit had such a mayor. His election was brought about after the recall of a man who had been in office only eight months. We have all heard some criticism of the manner in which Mayor Murphy took care of the unemployment situation. I have just received word that in the primary election, with seven candidates, Mayor Murphy got 127,000 votes and his nearest opponent got 33,000 votes.

At 12:30 o'clock p.m. the convention recessed until 2:30 o'clock p. m.

## Sixth Day — Tuesday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order at 2:30 o'clock p.m. by President Green.

### Absentees

Gillmore, Dullzell, Abernathy, Horn, Bowen, Schulte, Coulter, Zaritsky, Warfield, Schlesinger, Brock, O'Keefe, Onyett, Kennedy (A. J.), Scully, Lewis, Murray, Fagan, Boylan, Britton, Burke (J. P.), Sullivan (H. W.), Collins (W. M.), Kaiser, Gorman (P. E.), Starr, Smith, Hatch, Fay, Provost, Gross, Rosqvist, Young, Sullivan (J.), Garrison, Winberg, Wahl, Possee, Joel, Campbell (G. C.), Driscoll, Coleman, Barger, Augustino, Sumner (S.), Rice, Foster, Quinn (J. C.), Moore, Sisson, Bower, Smethurst, Welsh, Martinez, Reed, Doyle (F. E.), Wood, Thomas, Bohm, Stephens, McElligott, Randolph, Webster, Hampton, Galvin, Mitchell (T.).

### Supplemental Report Committee on Credentials

Secretary Morrison submitted the following report, on behalf of the Committee on Credentials.

Your Committee on Credentials has examined credentials and recommend the seating of C. Gust Dahlbeck to represent the Newsboys' Union No. 15834, Seattle, Washington, with one vote, and Leo F. Flynn to represent the Twin City Central Labor Union of, Chehalis and Centralia, Washington, with one vote.

In accordance with instructions received from the International Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union of America, signed by President

Joseph V. Moreschi and Secretary-treasurer A. Persion, we recommend the seating of Louis Sidney in place of A. C. D'Andrea, who left the city to attend important business.

We also recommend the seating of Andrew Winberg, to represent the Aberdeen, Washington, Grays Harbor County Central Labor Union, with one vote.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### Communications

Secretary Morrison read a telegram from John L. Horton, Managing Director of the Sinton-St. Nicholas Hotel, Cincinnati, in which the facilities of that hotel were offered for the 1932 convention.

### American Legion

President Green: I have a communication from Major George L. Berry, in which he submits a short report of his attendance at the American Legion convention as a representative of the American Federation of Labor. Because of its character and its interest, I am going to call upon Secretary Morrison to read it and have it included in today's proceedings.

Secretary Morrison read the following communication:

International Printing Pressmen & Assistants' Union of North America  
Headquarters  
Pressmen's Home, Tennessee,  
Office of George L. Berry, Pres.  
October 2, 1931.

Mr. William Green, President  
American Federation of Labor,  
Vancouver Hotel,  
Vancouver B. C., Canada.

My dear Sir and Brother—

Agreeable to your telephonic and telegraphic request, I fulfilled the commission of representing the American Federation of Labor before the convention of the American Legion in Detroit.

You can easily understand the tremendous mental handicap which faced me in fulfilling this commission by reason of the fact that I was acting in the place of one of my dearest friends who had given up his life in compliance with your commission to fulfill the function which was later assigned to me, and in this statement I refer, of course, to the late Peter J. Brady.

I am pleased to be able to advise you that following my presentation of the felicitations of the American Federation of Labor, as directed by you, a motion was made from the floor and carried unanimously that the convention rise and remain standing for one minute in respect to the memory of Peter J. Brady. This is the first incident of its kind in the history of the American Legion conventions. Please be certain that the delegates to this convention of this great organization of ex-service men felt very deeply the far-reaching loss of one of America's greatest citizens and certainly one who has contributed as much as any living man to the dignity and the advancement of the trades union movement of our country.

There was no action taken by the American Legion convention in Detroit, which was in contravention to any principle enunciated by the American Federation of Labor. The convention was a most harmonious one. Its convening recorded the largest membership in its history—more than one million active members.

The convention was welcomed to Detroit by its distinguished mayor, Hon. Frank Murphy, a member of the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union of North America, and a legionnaire. The atmosphere of cordiality, therefore, as between organized labor and the Legion began under most favorable auspices and continued throughout the session.

By an overwhelming vote, and for the first time the subject has been given consideration, the convention called upon the Congress of the United States for the submission of the prohibition issue, or the Eighteenth Amendment, to a referendum of the people. It was quite evident that the great overwhelming majority of the delegates to the conven-

tion favored the repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment, and particularly the repeal of the Volstead Act. My judgment is that the greater number favored the repeal of the Volstead Act rather than the Eighteenth Amendment, and when I refer to the repeal of the Volstead Act, I of course, have in mind its amendment to increase alcoholic content from one-half of 1 per cent. to 2.75 per cent. or 3 per cent.

In concluding this report which I am sending you for your disposition, please be certain of the continued friendly relationship between the Legion and organized labor, and my judgment is that the circumstances now facing the country due to this perfectly indefensible depression has brought the ex-service men of the nation and the workers even nearer together than has been the condition heretofore. I have, as the intermediary between the American Federation of Labor and the American Legion, urged continued co-operation and closer relationship in the interest of the common good and in the interest of the conservation of our country.

It is with regret that I am compelled to advise you of my inability to be present at your convention in Vancouver. Vice-president Shuford B. Marks will head our delegation, and I am certain he will permit me to join with him in expressing the hope that the convention will be a most successful one.

Sincerely and fraternally yours,

GEO. L. BERRY, President.

Delegate Buzzell, Los Angeles Central Labor Council: Mr. Chairman, may I ask the indulgence of the convention to introduce a resolution?

President Green: Are there objections?

Objection was raised to the introduction of the resolution.

President Green: There are objections, and the resolution cannot be introduced.

#### REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON LAW

Delegate Doyle, Secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

**Open the 1932 Convention at Washington, D. C., on Labor Day**

Resolution No. 40—By Delegates William P. Clarke and Harvey H. Harshman of the American Flint Glass Workers' Union of North America.

WHEREAS, The problems confronting the men and women directly affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, as well as the countless numbers of human beings whose progress, happiness and welfare depends indirectly on the

advancement made by the trade union movement; and

WHEREAS, Our people and our country are now suffering untold misery and mental anguish as a result of the most depressing and far-reaching panic that has ever confronted our people, with present indications pointing to a continuation without any visible concerted effort being made to stem the tide; and

WHEREAS, It is of utmost importance that the workers formulate plans previous to the next presidential election with a view of focusing the attention of the common people on our problems, and to aid in ameliorating as well as advancing the interests of the masses; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That Section One (1) of Article Three (3) of the constitution of the American Federation of Labor be so amended as to provide for the 1932 convention convening in Washington, D. C., and that the opening session be held on Labor Day.

The foregoing resolution was withdrawn by the introducer, therefore no action is necessary.

President Green: In conformity with the report of the committee, Resolution No. 40 has been withdrawn by request of the author. If there are no objections that course will be pursued. Hearing none, it is so ordered.

**Proposing Amendment to A. F. of L. Constitution Requiring Affiliation of Organizations with Respective Departments**

Resolution No. 38 — By Delegate M. J. McDonough of the Building Trades Department.

WHEREAS, A number of the Building Trades organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor do not see fit to affiliate and consistently retain their membership in the Building Trades Department; as from time to time we find that some of them affiliated and then again perhaps, as their fancies choose, they relinquish such affiliations; and

WHEREAS, These inconsistent acts and practices of several International organizations are not only having a tendency to disrupt the harmony of the locally affiliated organizations, but further tend to tear asunder the morale of the rank and file of the Labor movement; and

WHEREAS, It appears evident that some of the generally recognized Labor representatives are rather inconsistently usurping their power in simply doing

as they please regardless of the effect upon the Labor movement as a whole; and

WHEREAS, It is undoubtedly best for the great Labor movement to have a much closer affiliation of all the trades connected with the building industry, and believing that this can best be accomplished by a change in the fundamental laws of the American Federation of Labor and its departments; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That Section 5 of Article XV. of the American Federation of Labor Constitution be amended as follows:

Strike out all the words beginning with the word "should" in the sixth line and including and ending with the word "subject" in the eighth line, and inserting in lieu thereof the following: "shall be required to be part of such respective departments and should comply with their actions and decisions or be subject to forfeiture of their charters in the American Federation of Labor, all being subject however."

Resolution No. 38 proposes an amendment to the American Federation of Labor Constitution, requiring affiliation of eligible organizations with respective departments.

While we realize that this resolution may be prompted by specific situations that create serious difficulties for our movement, yet this proposal involves a basic principle which is of vital importance to all departments and all affiliated unions. Indeed, our decision upon this proposal will apply to all other relationships.

The American Federation of Labor has never attempted to compel any of its components to belong to any prescribed group. To do so would likewise place in the hands of such groups of unions the right automatically to suspend organizations from membership in the American Federation of Labor. Thus a department of the Federation would become the determining agency as to right of unions to membership in their parent body. Clearly such a procedure is illogical and contrary to the principles that have guided our development. It is for the foregoing reasons we recommend non-concurrence in resolution No. 38.

While disapproving resolution 38, because of its compulsory affiliation character, we are not unmindful that the

principle of voluntarism as applied to our Federation of Labor involves duties and responsibilities on the part of eligible unions to departments as well as on the part of the departments. If organized labor is to marshal its trade union forces under group form, then it becomes the duty of every eligible union to affiliate with that group and its responsibility of remaining within its affiliation. Especially is this true by reason of the fact that means and methods for appeal are provided first to the Executive Council of the Federation and thereafter to the convention of the American Federation of Labor. Thus the ultimate power of decision is placed where it rightly belongs and every occasion removed against unjust and unwarranted action on the part of any department.

Thus, too, under the principle of voluntarism there is placed the duty and responsibility on all departments of safeguarding the rights and interests of affiliated unions and in avoiding decisions and policies that arouse antagonism, friction and dissension. The strength of the departments, like that of the Federation, depends upon the good will, respect and voluntary adherence of affiliated unions to decisions reached and not upon power of coercion.

Finally upon the American Federation of Labor there rests the duty and responsibility of using its good offices, advice and counsel in harmonizing conflicting views and opinions and in adjusting whatever internal disputes or differences may arise. Indeed, by this method of persuasion it has made the value of membership the compelling reason for affiliation. Your committee believes that with the American Federation of Labor, its Officers and Executive Council continuing to apply itself in that direction and with eligible and affiliated unions and departments complying with the duties and responsibilities heretofore outlined, there will be no necessity for the application of power or compulsion such as is involved in this resolution, and as a result a united influence, power and strength will develop as can be attained by no other method or means.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

President Green: Are there any remarks? If there are no delegates who wish to speak upon this resolution, it seems quite appropriate to the Chair to bring to the attention of the officers and delegates in attendance at this convention some extracts from the last message of our venerated leader, my distinguished predecessor, the late Samuel Gompers. You know as we march along, step by step in our service and in our work, we are sometimes apt to forget the basic principles upon which our movement has been so securely founded. Sometimes, in a desire to satisfy our feelings, or perhaps further some peculiar ideas, we seem willing to venture into the field of experiment.

I know there has developed in the minds of some that, after all, there ought to be more force and compulsion used by our movement in requiring organizations to affiliate with standard departments and with central bodies and with state federations of labor. Splendid arguments can be offered by those who advance the proposal that local unions should be required, compelled, if you please, to affiliate with central bodies and with State Federations of Labor. On the other hand, there are those who sincerely believe that organizations chartered by the American Federation of Labor should be compelled, as is proposed in this resolution, to affiliate with the departments created by the American Federation of Labor.

Now I think I express the feeling and the sentiment of every member of our unions when I say that it is our deep, intense desire that every local union eligible to membership ought to affiliate with Central Trades Councils and with State Federations of Labor. On the other hand, we wish that all organizations might be brought into affiliation with the different departments. We believe that through such affiliation, strength and influence can be developed.

But if they are to be brought into a co-operative relationship, if we are to blend them into serviceable organizations, human nature must be considered. We cannot achieve our purpose through the application of force and compulsion.

Our movement rests fairly and squarely upon the broad, sound basis of voluntary action. Now let me quote from this great message delivered by my distinguished predecessor when he was standing in the shadow, when he was able to look closer into the Great Beyond. His feet were almost across the line. He was speaking in the shadow of eternal things. After relating the story about the different efforts that had been put forth to organize a great American labor movement, he said:

"Again in 1886 a national labor conference was called. This time it was designated a trade union conference to be composed of representatives of trade unions and to consider trade union problems. The deliberations of that conference resulted in the formation of our present American Federation of Labor with which the old Federation of Trades and Labor Unions was merged. This new federation recognized only the trade union card as a credential and proposed to deal primarily with economic problems. It was an organization that had no power and no authority except of a voluntary character. It was a voluntary coming together of unions with common needs and common aims. That feeling of mutuality has been a stronger bond of union than could be welded by any autocratic authority. Guided by voluntary principles our Federation has grown from a weakling into the strongest, best organized labor movement of all the world.

"So long as we have held fast to voluntary principles and have been actuated and inspired by the spirit of service, we have sustained our forward progress and we have made our labor movement something to be respected and accorded a place in the councils of our Republic. Where we have blundered into trying to force a policy or a decision, even though wise and right, we have impeded, if not interrupted, the realization of our own aims.

"But the very success of our organization has brought additional and serious dangers. Office in the labor movement now offers opportunity for something in addition to service—it offers opportunity for the self-seeker who sees an instrumentality for personal advancement both in the economic and in the political field. There are serious problems confronting us. Wisdom and conviction are necessary to wise decisions.

"Men and women of our American trade union movement, I feel that I have earned the right to talk plainly to you. As the only delegate to that first Pittsburgh convention who has stayed with the problems of our movement through to the present hour, as one who with clean hands and with singleness of purpose has tried to serve the labor

movement honorably and in a spirit of consecration to the cause of humanity, I want to urge devotion to the fundamentals of human liberty—the principles of voluntarism. No lasting gain has ever come from compulsion. If we seek to force, we but tear apart that which, united, is invincible. There is no way whereby our labor movement may be assured sustained progress in determining its policies and its plans other than sincere democratic deliberation until a unanimous decision is reached. This may seem a cumbrous, slow method to the impatient, but the impatient are more concerned for immediate triumph than for the education of constructive development.

"Our movement has found these voluntary principles the secure foundation upon which the workers of all America make united effort, for our voluntary co-operation has ignored lines of political division separating the United States and Canada, because economically we are a unit. Because we refuse to be bound by arbitrary restrictions or expedients, we have fostered cohesive forces which give play to the finer and more constructive faculties of the peoples of both countries. We are eager to join in an international labor movement based upon the same principles of voluntarism. We are willing to cooperate if we can be assured a basis that will enable us to maintain our integrity—a condition necessary for our own vitality and continued progress.

"Understanding, patience, high-minded service, the compelling power of voluntarism have in America made what was but a rope of sand, a united, purposeful, integrated organization, potent for human welfare, material and spiritual. I have been with this movement since the beginning, for I have been given the privilege of service that has been accorded but few. Nor would that privilege have continued open to me had not service to the cause been my guiding purpose.

Events of recent months made me keenly aware that the time is not far distant when I must lay down my trust for others to carry forward. When one comes to close grips with the eternal things, there comes a new sense of relative values and the less worthy things lose significance. As I review the events of my sixty years of contact with the labor movement and as I survey the problems of today and study the opportunities of the future, I want to say to you, men and women of the American labor movement, do not reject the cornerstone upon which labor's structure has been build—but base your all upon voluntary principles and illumine your every problem by consecrated devotion to that highest of all purposes—human well-being in the fullest, widest, deepest sense."

These words come to us like a voice from the grave. We are not yet far removed from the death of our distinguished leader. We still walk in the shadow of his majestic presence. These words of wisdom, given as the last message of President Gompers at the El Paso convention, are eminently fitting and especially appropriate to the subject now under consideration. I read them because it seems to me we ought to refresh our memories. We ought to stop and consider and appraise the situation from time to time. Would we ignore his words that he spoke out of an experience of sixty years? He was there when the organization was born. He helped to lay the foundation upon which this superstructure has been erected.

I was tremendously impressed with this message. I am impressed with it now, as you must be, and it occurs to me that after reading this, considering the proposal, that we ought to be strengthened in our faith and determined to maintain the principle of voluntarism in our movement. If we have walled well for half a century upon that wonderful principle, let us continue as we have in the past, building, building, making stronger, and, as he said, make out of this rope of sand, which our organization is sometimes referred to, a mighty, strong, compelling force, blending men and women into our movement through persuasion and not through force.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### Amendment to Constitution

Your committee gave consideration to the following proposed amendment to the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor recommended by the Executive Council and recommends its adoption:

Amend Section 1 of Article X, by inserting after the word "lockout" in the 11th line the words "unless otherwise ordered by the Executive Council," so that the provision amended will read: "from Local Trade Unions and Federal Labor Unions, thirty-five cents per member per month, twelve and one-half cents of which must be set aside to be used only in the case of strike or lockout unless otherwise ordered by the Executive Council";

Amend Section 1 of Article XIII, by adding after the numeral 1, line one, the following words: "Unless otherwise ordered by the Executive Council," so that the section will read: "Unless otherwise ordered by the Executive Council the moneys of the defense fund shall be drawn only to sustain strikes or lockouts of Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions when such strikes or lockouts are authorized, indorsed, and conducted in conformity with the following provisions of this Article":

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the committee's report.

Delegate Mahon, Street Railwaymen: Listening to the committee's report upon that matter, it seemed to me the word "approved" ought to go in. There might be a strike which the Executive Council would approve of after it had occurred, and it seems to me the word "approved" ought to go in as well as the authorization.

Treasurer Ryan: The committee's report has not attempted to change that provision of the constitution. Here is what the report of the committee means to do. From time to time the organizers of the American Federation of Labor organize Federal Labor Unions. Later on these unions are absorbed into International Unions or go out of existence, and it is the desire of the Executive Council to give the officers of the Federation, the President or the Secretary, the right to use that money if they desire to do so for organizing purposes. That is the whole intent and purpose of the recommendation. It has no bearing on changing any phase of the law as it exists today.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Delegate Doyle: This concludes the report of the Committee on Law, which is submitted and signed:

MARTIN F. RYAN, Chairman.  
DENNIS LANE,  
JOSEPH KEHOE,

A. J. KUGLER,  
THOMAS F. McMAHON,  
CHARLES ANDERSON,  
THOMAS C. CASHEN,  
EDWARD McLAUGHLIN,  
CHARLES W. FREY,  
THOMAS FLYNN,  
WM. C. BIRTHRIGHT,  
JAMES CLOSE,  
HENRY ROSENDALE,  
JOHN B. SCHULTE.

FRANK DOYLE, Secretary.  
Committee on Law.

Delegate Doyle moved the adoption of the report of the Committee on Law as a whole. The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote, and the committee was discharged with the thanks of the convention.

President Green: The Chair recognizes the Committee on Education, Delegate Wharton, Chairman.

#### REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION

Delegate Hanson, Secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

Your Committee on Education begs to submit the following report:

The American Federation of Labor is and always has been in the forefront in the promotion and fostering of education. The American Federation of Labor has an unequalled reputation as a leader in progressive education. The pronouncements of our President in his opening address to the 51st Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor setting forth the constructive economic philosophy of organized labor have greatly enhanced this reputation.

Your Committee on Education believes that in this time of world-wide economic, educational and social crisis, when every one is looking for constructive planning and leadership out of this morass of distress and threatened disaster, the sound philosophy and economic principle of our chief officer should have the widest possible distribution. The educative value of this address is very great. Non-trade unionists, who are most in need of economic and social education, are looking to Labor and this Convention for direction.

Your Committee on Education therefore suggests that this opening address of President Green at this 51st Annual Convention be given the widest possible distribution, that it be sent to schools and colleges for reprinting in their journals wherever possible, to school, college and public libraries, to educators, to Chambers of Commerce and to State and Federal Government officials, and further urges that all members of Organized Labor aid fully in the distribution of this address to non-members.

Your Committee also urges the same procedure as far as possible with other addresses and literature of the American Federation of Labor.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### Fifty Years of Service

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's Report under the above caption, pages 35 to 74, the committee reported as follows:

Your committee is proud that it has been permitted to examine and report on the historical study of the service of the American Federation of Labor for the past 50 years. It desires to express its great satisfaction in this work.

Your committee begs to submit the following brief summary:

A conference in Terre Haute, Ind., in August, 1881, motivated by a desire for a national labor organization for the protection and advancement of wage earners, resulted in the formation of the Federation of Trades and Labor Unions which met in Pittsburgh, Nov. 15, 1881, with 107 delegates.

This first Federation after the model of the British Trade Union Congress placed its emphasis on legislative activity. In 1886 the Federation was reorganized on the principle of economic organization and progress. The soundness of this principle is demonstrated in the results attained, namely the highest wages and standards of living ever achieved by producing workers.

The policy has been one adapted to American conditions and not one copied from other countries with unlike conditions.

A steadily increasing membership from approximately 100,000 to 2,889,550 is shown. The influence of the organized labor movement can hardly be measured by the total of its membership; this influence is wide, affecting unorganized as well as organized workers in wages, working conditions and standards.

A list of all organizations which have at any time been affiliated is given with dates of charter and other statistical data, a distinction in type, indicat-

ing those now affiliated. This list is tentative only because of the incompleteness of the early records.

Starting with no paid officials and no headquarters, in 1886, the President first became a paid executive and established an office in New York City.

The correlation of workers' gains and trade union strength is strikingly shown. Wages have increased and hours shortened in direct ratio to trade union membership gains. The report states: "The work of the past 50 years may be summed up as an effort to establish status in industry for wage earners, to define their relationships within industries and to establish securities for them in their work relationships."

Under the caption, "Trade Agreements," the report cites specific instances of successful work in conference and joint labor agreement.

The nature of the Federation as the channel through which all organized labor co-operates and as a clearing house for affiliated national and international unions is explained.

The necessity of organization for the well-being of the worker is brought out and the progress of national and international unions through their association in the Federation is clearly shown.

The report emphasizes the principles upon which the Federation acts, the spirit and practice of co-operation, and sustained intelligent self-activity. It truly says: "It (the Federation) has held that freedom and progress can be achieved by thought and organization."

Under the caption, "Control of Workers' Time," the report shows the gains that have been made in daily hours of work and how they have been secured. It states that the shorter workday has been a primary objective from 1881 to 1931 and declares the shorter workday and work week to be an economic necessity.

The elimination of Sunday work in those industries where such work is not imperative, as an accepted practice, thus securing at least one day's rest in seven, and the general adoption after years of effort of the Saturday half

holiday, are among the accomplishments of the half century.

The American Federation of Labor has made great contributions to the cause of social justice in the development of ethical standards in the relations between workers and employers. Laws protecting the workers in payment for work, establishing the principle that factory management supply all the tools and materials of industry, laws for workmen's compensation and for greater security in their relationship to industry are among the results of the work for a greater degree of social justice.

The Federation in the present serious emergency takes a strong position on the ethical obligation of the employers to recognize the investments which producing workers have made in the plants as obligations which the industry can meet only by continuing to supply these workers with an opportunity to earn a living.

It holds the necessity and the justice of including representatives of organized wage earners in conferences and policy making groups that are considering problems of organization, production and distribution. It urges the use of collective intelligence for the planning of a better order. Since business organization has failed when acting alone, it is the part of good sense as well as justice that a consultative, co-operative relationship shall be established.

Labor offers its co-operation in working out problems and in carrying through plans for the achievement of higher levels of excellence for all groups. Labor expresses its belief in the principle of co-operation for all the relationships of our industrial life. Labor believes in brotherhood, in democracy, in humanity—Labor's belief in the sanctity of human personality has made it the relentless foe of all forms of oppression and human degradation. Labor has arrayed its strength against the five enemies of mankind, poverty, ignorance, disease, waste and inhumanity, that it may achieve social justice for all.

Under the caption, "Contributions to Education", page 66, Executive Council's Report, are shown some facts of organized labor's great work in the field of public education.

Organized labor was the major instrumentality in establishing the public school system. One hundred years ago the courageous and far-seeing advocacy of free education by Labor was responsible in a large part for the establishment of our system of public education. To the growing class of wage-earners in sound organization we are indebted for our free tax-supported schools. Since that day Labor has been the consistent protector and defender of the public schools.

Compulsory education laws, legislation providing for vocational, continuation and evening schools, for free textbooks and for increases in school revenues, material increases in teachers' salaries, administrative reforms, such as the reduction in the size of classes and the more democratic participation of classroom teachers in the conduct of the schools, the election of progressive boards, of education with labor and occasionally teacher representation, are among Labor's accomplishments in public school education.

No labor convention has been held in recent times which did not devote an appreciable part of its time to a consideration of the school problem. It has adopted an educational platform in which every one of its demands aims at the improvement of the schools. Among these are:

Better enforcement of the educational laws, wider use of the school plant, reduction in the size of the school unit and in the size of classes, revision of salary schedules upward, increase of school revenues to maintain and develop public schools, co-operation between Boards of Education and superintendents and committees representing the teaching body in all cases of controversy between school authorities and teachers.

Tenure of position for teachers during efficiency.

Textbooks for social subjects to reflect a comprehensive presentation of the social sciences; a curriculum for

sound training in citizenship; promotion of adult education; elimination of adult illiteracy; workers' education and vocational re-training for the unemployed. This is an educational program second to none and organized labor does well to be proud of it.

Under the caption, "Contributions to Industry", on page 63, of the Executive Council's Report—Among the contributions to industry compelled by union demands for standards and increasingly higher wage rates and shorter hours are:

1. Intelligent cost accounting.
2. Installation of improved machinery and technical processes.
3. Application of sound business principles to wage earning as a business.
4. Collective negotiation and co-operation.
5. The principle of the work contract.
6. Principles of time economics, that is the adjustment of work-day and work-week standards as conditions change, with scientific evaluation of the use of leisure.
7. Principles of Personnel Relations on the basis of union management co-operation.
8. Policy of regularity of employment for individuals and its essential concomitant regularity of production.

Under the caption, "Contributions to Politics," page 67, of Executive Council's Report—The American Federation of Labor believes in democracy and the American Federation of Labor has worked to put the principles of democracy into actual practice.

It has advocated and helped to establish:

1. The Australian ballot system.
2. Woman suffrage.
3. Initiative, referendum and recall.
4. Popular election of senators.
5. Primary election.
6. Support of agencies working for international understanding and world peace.

The non-partisan political policy of the American Federation of Labor has been consistently adhered to. In every branch of government, executive, legislative and judicial, organized labor has

helped in the selection of constructive representatives with a vision of national progress.

Under the caption, "Protection to Wage Earner Incomes," Executive Council's Report, page 68—Full responsibility has been taken in meeting this fundamental need of protection to wage earner incomes. Legislation regulating attachment of wages for debts has been enacted in every state.

Assignments of wages have been safeguarded by careful legislation and in some cases entirely prohibited. Legislation exempting from execution the tools of one's trade or profession and one's homestead have been enacted in all states.

Two-thirds of the states in the United States have fair laws dealing with the time, method and place of wage payment. All states have mechanics' lien laws and a number have laws which make stockholders in certain designated corporations liable for debts owed employees for labor. All the states except Arkansas, Florida, Mississippi, North Carolina, and South Carolina have workmen's compensation laws. These laws are being liberalized each year.

Rehabilitation to include all that can be done by surgery, general re-education, technical retraining and assistance in finding re-employment, initiated by Massachusetts in 1918, is now undertaken in 40 states.

Sanitary conditions in industry and regulations for special industries have been a part of the Federation's active endeavor.

Protective legislation for women, as limitation of the work-day, abolition of night work, and a minimum wage, has been an active principle of the Federation.

Social and political equality has been urged and a woman's bureau and a children's bureau have been advocated. Mothers' pensions and child labor laws have been secured. Labor bureaus for the gathering of labor statistics are now the rule rather than the exception. Laws against the importation of foreign laborers under contract and

against contract prison labor have been secured.

The Federation has held consistently to a regulatory policy for immigration along such lines as would permit assimilation of immigrants and the preservation of American standards, while it has at the same time diligently protected immigrants from exploitation.

Under the caption, "Social Service of the Federation," page 71, Executive Council's Report—The American Federation of Labor is primarily a constructive social organization founded on social idealism and on a broad vision of a better social order.

The Federation looking back over 50 years, views with pride the social progress that has been made through its efforts and through its co-operation with other progressive groups of organized citizenry.

Higher wages, shorter hours, better homes, better schools, provisions for the right use of leisure time, promotion of health, the cultivation of beauty, all those things which make for a proper standard of living, for security, plenty, leisure and freedom, can be traced through the history of the American Federation of Labor and its united efforts. Unions stimulated by the American Federation of Labor have brought order and progress and increased opportunity into the lives of wage-earners.

The American Federation of Labor represents the social idealism of a large number of American citizens. They are walking forward, facing the future, instead of walking backward looking into the past.

The American Federation of Labor is widely representative; it is ably led; it is soundly conservative. It is increasingly reliant upon the spirit of conciliation and co-operation.

Your Committee recommends that this portion of the report of the Executive Council be printed in separate pamphlet form and widely distributed.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

**Legal Information Bureau**

Under caption Legal Information Bureau, page 137, of the Executive Council's Report—Your Committee on Education cannot commend too highly the work of the Legal Information Bureau. This Bureau is becoming increasingly more valuable. The interchange of reports and communications between the bureau and the constituent members of the American Federation of Labor has been complete. Mutual service of a very valuable kind has thereby been rendered.

The reviews cover the following cases:

1. Chinese American Restaurant vs. Finnigan involving a contract with the Musicians' Union.
2. Van Dusen vs. Dept. of Labor and Industry involving Workmen's Compensation.
3. Gnatt Co. vs. Jackson involving prison-made goods.
4. Crouch vs. Central Labor Council involving freedom of labor press in referring to a non-union establishment.
5. Seattle Local 200, American Federation of Teachers vs. Sharples involving yellow dog contract for teachers.
6. Philippides vs. Day, Commissioner of Immigration, involving deportation of aliens.
7. Master Builders' Association of Kansas vs. Carson, involving fees for securing of contract.
8. Opinion of the Justices — New Hampshire involving old-age pension and conflict of administrative and judicial departments of government.
9. Missouri Pacific Railway Co. vs. Norwood involving Arkansas Full Crew Law.
10. International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers vs. Western Union Telegraph Co., involving the union shop.
11. Opinion of the Justices—Massachusetts, involving constitutionality of a proposed anti-injunction bill.
12. Bayer vs. Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America, involving right to place on unfair list.
13. Long Island Railway Co. vs. Department of Labor of the State of New York, involving the eight-hour day and the prevailing rate of wage laws.
14. Bizue vs. New York, New Haven and Hartford Railroad Co., involving workmen's compensation.

Reports on the various decisions of importance to Labor, eight bulletins in number, have been widely distributed. An index is being prepared.

Your committee recommends that this distribution be continued and extended. It also urges response to the request of the Bureau for the continued complete co-operation of affiliated unions in furnishing the Legal Information Bureau with information and details concerning any legal controversy in which they may be involved.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

**Educational Work**

Under the caption, Educational Work, Executive Council's Report, pages 140, 141, 142, the following topics appear:

American Federationist.

American Federation of Labor Weekly News Service.

Notes for Speakers.

Legal Information Bulletin.

Reprints and Pamphlets.

Monthly Survey of Business.

Library.

Your Committee feels that it cannot emphasize too greatly the value of these services to members for education and to non-members for propaganda. The American Federationist has maintained its high standard, it is a source of pride in content and format. It keeps itself strictly abreast of the times in its discussions of immediate problems and has taken the lead of other publications in its sound economics and in emphasizing prevention of unemployment, security of jobs and stability of employment.

Your committee finds great satisfaction in the extension of this, our official publication. Its trade union readers have increased; its value as an authoritative source for reliable information to universities, governments of foreign countries, business men, industrial undertakings and research groups is increasingly recognized. It has been used advantageously as a text book in

college courses in economics and study groups of trade unionists. Your committee urges very earnestly that every member feel a personal responsibility in securing a wider distribution of this magazine. It should be read literally by millions each month.

Your committee has no firmer conviction than that the future of our movement rests with the children. Sound trade union principles must be given them. The inauguration during the past year of a supplement for children, the Junior Union Magazine, is an important step in the direction of developing in children understanding and respect for trade unionism. The beauty and charm of the Junior Union Magazine, together with its educational value, make it an important addition to our union literature.

Your committee recommends that every trade unionist place this magazine in his home and that efforts be made to have it adopted in the schools for supplementary reading.

The American Federation of Labor Weekly News Service is published by the American Federation of Labor to assist the labor press in promoting the cause of trade unionism. In this service it is invaluable. It gives an excellent, up-to-date news service. It helps to keep the labor press clean and sound.

Your committee recommends the continuance of the Weekly News Service on the established lines as an effective agency for a better labor press consecrated to the growth of the labor movement.

The monthly pamphlet, Notes to Speakers, which helps trade unionists to sources of information in Federation publications, is proving very valuable.

Your committee recommends the extension of this excellent service during the coming year.

The economic system of reprints in pamphlet form of valuable material published in various ways is especially commended.

The Monthly Survey of Business giving accurate information on business developments which affect workers' interests has proved of great worth. It is in demand by business organizations, colleges, libraries and research groups.

Your committee desires to repeat and endorse the statement "The Survey is a useful means of keeping before the public information on workers' problems which is fundamental in guiding business developments toward a balanced progress."

The Library of the American Federation of Labor has been increased this year. It is maintained for your use. Here you will find much reference material to meet your need, books covering the general subject of Labor in its broad application, convention proceedings of the national and international labor unions and state federations of labor, the labor press, labor legislation, federal and state bureau of labor reports, trade publications and periodical literature containing material on industrial conditions, and special trade union documents on wages and working rules.

The service which the Library can give to trade unionists in many departments of interest is immeasurable.

Your committee urges its larger use by trade unionists in the study of their problems.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### **Workers' Education Bureau 10 Years' Service**

The Workers' Education Bureau of America completed in April of the year 1931, ten years of educational service to the American wage earners. In that decade its educational objectives have been made clear, its methods have been tested by a wide variety of experience; and a most valuable body of material has been developed. The Bureau has acquired a status and a reputation both at home and abroad which are the result of a decade of effective leadership in the general field of adult education. Upon its successful completion of this first decade of constructive educational service to American wage earners your committee recommends to this Fifty-First Annual Convention that it record its appreciation and admiration for the high-minded and unselfish devotion of the officers and directors of the Bureau in carrying forward this pioneering but essential service to our labor movement.

### The Year's Work

Your committee commends the Workers' Education Bureau on the range and variety of its activities during the past year. The work of the Bureau has been carried forward in a most constructive manner. The accomplishments are the more significant in view of the added burdens that have been placed upon the staff of the Bureau.

### The Labor Institute at Rutgers University.

The most notable work of the Bureau during the year and the outstanding project in the entire workers' education movement was the Labor Institute held upon the campus of Rutgers University in the State of New Jersey. The manner with which the Bureau succeeded in drawing into a co-operative agreement and working arrangement of the State University and State Federation of Labor, is not only a notable achievement, but an example for other state federations to follow. For a good many years the Federation of Labor has declared its belief in closer co-operation between our tax supported universities and the labor forces in the several states. Convention resolutions have added to the weight of this conviction. It has remained for the Workers' Education Bureau to work out the method and practical details, first in the California plan for non-resident study groups, and second the Rutgers plan for a resident institute. On previous occasions the convention has discussed with entire approval the California plan. On this occasion your committee desires to record its enthusiastic approval of the Rutgers plan.

To bring together mature members and leaders of the labor movement on the campus of a state university for a week's institute and enable them to consider with the faculty of the university matters of great economic importance, which concern both Labor and the community, is not only a highly significant, but a highly practical thing to do. The complete approval with which this plan was received by Labor

has been set forth in the vigorous resolution adopted by the New Jersey State Federation of Labor at their annual convention in September as follows:

WHEREAS, The last Convention of the New Jersey State Federation of Labor by unanimous vote decided to support the proposal of the Workers' Education Bureau that a Labor Institute be held on the campus of Rutgers University; and

WHEREAS, The Institute held was such a tremendous success that it received the unstinted approval of President Green and Vice-President Woll of the American Federation of Labor, as well as the faculty of Rutgers University; and

WHEREAS, The New Jersey labor men and women who attended the Institute are unanimous in their expressions of appreciation on the benefits derived from this Institute; and

THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED by the Fifty-third Convention of the New Jersey State Federation of Labor that we renew our endorsement of the Labor Institute on the campus of Rutgers University and that our Executive Board and Officers be instructed to renew negotiations with the Workers' Education Bureau and the Trustees of Rutgers with a view toward making the Institute one of labor's annual activities; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That we renew our recommendation to the Central Bodies, Building Trades Councils and Local Unions, that they and their membership heartily co-operate in this activity.

The added endorsement of President Green and other leaders of the movement to this commendable project is full and final proof of its value.

Your committee commends the Workers' Education Bureau for its initiative and leadership in this work and the New Jersey State Federation of Labor for its whole-hearted co-operation and subsequent determination to make this institute a part of its annual educational work. It recommends to the officers of the other State Federations of Labor this plan as successfully developed in New Jersey and urge these officers to call upon the Workers' Education Bureau for its good offices in making contacts with their state universities, and setting up similar institutes.

#### **Week-end Conferences**

Your committee has in previous conventions endorsed the plan of week-end conferences as developed by the Workers' Education Bureau some seven years ago. It is glad to know that they are continuing to prove a serviceable medium in the Workers' Education movement. The week-end conference held at Fort Collins, Colorado, this spring, was a splendid example of the value of such a conference when the entire labor movement has given it a full measure of support. It commends the Colorado State Federation of Labor and the Workers' Education movement of that state on their successful conference. It commends also the Wisconsin Federation of Labor on its successful conference over the Labor Day week-end as well as other similar projects throughout the country.

#### **Visual Instruction in Workers' Education**

The pioneer work of the local unions in Springfield and Boston, Massachusetts, and Providence, Rhode Island, of the International Union of Operating Engineers in visual instruction of the membership is deserving of notice. A regular series of monthly lectures on technical subjects illustrated with lantern slides and motion pictures and conducted by a competent instructor, has not only added interest to the meetings, but genuine education for the members. The plan has immense possibilities with the wide range of educational films available at present. It deserves to be carried forward.

Your committee commends the International Union of Operating Engineers for its support and encouragement of the educational work of these three locals and urges other unions to see to what extent similar methods can be utilized for their own membership.

#### **The Use of the Radio in Adult Education**

The possibilities of the medium of the radio in the field of adult education is unlimited. Perhaps no event since the invention of the printing press has equalled the possibilities of the radio

in education. Labor early recognized this new medium in the creation of WCFL in Chicago. But labor also recognized and has utilized the facilities placed at its disposal from time to time by the national chains and the local stations.

The recent creation of the National Advisory Council for the Radio in Education is a significant trend in the adult education movement. The endeavor of this Council to secure a contact with Labor through the Workers' Education Bureau is but another indication of the recognition which the Bureau has won. The further offer of the Council to arrange a broadcast of the record of Labor's contribution to the public welfare in various fields of endeavor over a nation-wide hookup should be a service of the first importance.

Your committee unanimously commends the Workers' Education Bureau for its service in this field; in the formulation of the Labor Committee, and approves the plan for a series of nation-wide broadcasts of Labor's contribution to the public welfare. It further urges all national and international unions, state federations of labor, and central bodies to co-operate with this Labor radio committee in the preparation of its lectures and in assuring a wide hearing on the part of Labor when the series begins.

#### **For Special Educational Activity on the Part of Central Labor Unions and State Federations of Labor.**

Your committee has given due consideration to the proposal that this convention should urge a more determined and sustained program of educational activity on the part of the central labor unions and the state federations of labor. The critical and changing character of our present economic situation makes such educational activity on the part of the state and local branches of the Federation indispensable if labor is to meet the challenge of the present crisis.

Your committee makes its own the proposal that the central labor unions throughout the United States and Canada appoint educational committees, where such committees do not exist, that shall be charged with the responsibility of a systematic fact-finding study of the

local economic situation, the growth of technological changes in the industries of the local communities, of the occupational shift of workers, of the expansion or contraction of work opportunities, of the availability of resources in our public and vocational schools for re-training workers for new crafts, of the willingness of public libraries to facilitate such study of new processes for old, and, in general, the local provisions for developing adult educational opportunities for leisure time. Your committee further recommends that this information be gathered and submitted to the American Federation of Labor and the Workers' Education Bureau at regular intervals.

Your committee further recommends that officers and educational committees of the state federations of labor get into direct touch with the state universities in the several states and discover what facilities for research on economic and labor problems are available, and in what way the educational facilities of the state universities can be made available to Labor for study groups, institutes, or summer conferences.

**For the Co-ordination and Consolidation of All the Educational Activities of the American Federation of Labor.**

One of the most notable contributions of the American Federation of Labor to the public welfare during the fifty years of its existence has been its unwavering support of the extension of education for all the people. Indeed Labor's contribution to the widening of educational opportunities for the entire citizenship would alone justify its existence and merit a generous measure of public approbation. Such service in behalf of wider educational facilities which began with the needs of the children of the Nation has been extended until today Labor recognizes that the education of the adult population is an inseparable aspect of democratic citizenship and should be universal and lifelong.

Many of the organizations affiliated with the Federation have furthermore come to place increasing reliance not only on education and educational methods during the past half century, but

also have developed certain notable educational activities under their immediate direction which are an indivisible part of their function as trade unions. The plans for apprentice training in some of the more highly skilled trades, the program of re-training journeymen for new technical processes in certain branches of the printing trade, the provisions for correspondence instruction for the membership in still other crafts, and the conference method of education in the development of union-management co-operation programs are but a few examples of the manner in which education has become both the measure of union progress, and the essential method of its accomplishment.

In still other cases the Federation through its affiliated organizations has in the past half century made functional contacts with various departments and branches of our educational system from the elementary schools to the universities. It has set up co-operating relationships with various educational societies for the advancement of its educational work. In more recent years the Federation has developed an organic and functional relationship with the Workers' Education Bureau of America in the development of adult education opportunities for the entire membership which has been of unique and lasting value.

Your Committee on Education is firmly of the opinion that there is no clearer trend of labor development for the past fifty years than the utilization and extension of both educational methods and objectives for the labor movement. Educational methods have been stamped upon hundreds of Labor's proclaimed policies. It is the rule of a wide variety of Labor practices. It is the prophecy of Labor's future development and service to the public welfare. Your Committee is accordingly of one mind in feeling that the Federation at this historic milestone in its development can no more fittingly signalize its past trend and its future direction than to make education one of its foremost working policies.

Your Committee further realizes that the most effective manner of giving education its proper place among the work-

ing policies of the Federation would be to co-ordinate these various educational activities now carried on by the Federation through the Permanent Committee on Education and the Workers' Education Bureau into a unified whole. It would add weight to what is now being done and concentrate and focus more sharply the direction of Labor's educational advance.

Your Committee on Education therefore unanimously recommends to the Fifty-first Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor that the President and the Executive Council be authorized to undertake an appraisal of all of the existing educational activities now carried on by the American Federation of Labor either directly or indirectly as heretofore described and be empowered to co-ordinate and consolidate all such activities as may serve the most effective growth and development of the labor movement in the future.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### **Labor's Own Days**

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 144, the committee reported as follows:

Labor's own days are Labor Day, the first Monday in September; Labor Sunday, the Sunday preceding; Labor's Memorial Day, the fourth Sunday in May. Your committee is proud to report that the dignified and proper observance of these days is increasing. Labor Day and Labor Sunday are recognized by the public generally and by the churches. Your committee urges that you honor yourselves by fitting observance of these, our days. It also urges that each individual member feel a personal responsibility in making early and careful plans for the suitable notice of each of these important occasions.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Duncan, Seattle Central Labor Council: On that portion of the committee's report referring to Labor Sunday, I want to say it has been our experience—and we have tried to work with and through the churches in the

matter of putting over our educational work in Seattle—that the Sunday immediately preceding Labor Day is not the best day on which to reach the largest number of persons in the interests of our educational work. We had a meeting with some of the representatives of the ministry in our city early in July, and we determined that this year we would try the experiment of urging the churches to observe the Sunday following Labor Day as Labor Sunday, feeling that many of our people and many of the good citizens of our municipality were out on their camping trips and had not completed their vacations, and that they usually came in on Labor Day and the people were not back to their normal life until the children were in school again.

The arrangement on this last Labor Day, observing Labor Sunday on the Sunday following Labor Day, we felt worked out much more effectively, was greatly enlarged, and many more people reached and many more labor services preached than heretofore, and I wish that the Executive Council might give some consideration to that point before next Labor Day rolls around, with a view of making our Labor Sunday message more effective in the future than it has been in the past.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### **Samuel Gompers Memorial**

Under the above caption, page 144, of the Council's Report, your Committee congratulates the Executive Council upon the progress made upon the Samuel Gompers Memorial in the acceptance of the design and the advancement of the actual work upon the memorial.

It urges that the dedication of this memorial to our revered leader be made a very special occasion in which all national and international unions, state federations of labor, central labor bodies and local unions may participate in putting before the world what organized labor has done in the promotion of the status of the worker and in the progress of society under the leadership of this great man, Samuel Gompers.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

**Celebration 200th Anniversary Birth of George Washington.**

Under the above caption, page 144, of the Executive Council's Report, your Committee approves heartily the recommendation of the Executive Council regarding participation in the celebration of the 200th Anniversary of George Washington. This opportunity to rededicate ourselves to the principles upon which our country was founded, freedom of speech, freedom of press, freedom of religion, right of peaceful assemblage, right of trial by jury and protection from the forcible and unwarranted entry of the home and seizure of goods, and to honor the character and achievements of the Father of our Country should be taken advantage of by all the component groups in the American Federation of Labor.

Your Committee urges that you give special heed to the recommendation of the Executive Council that every delegate to this convention consider himself as a committee to promote the spirit and interest of this celebration in his own group and community.

Your committee also urges that the Executive Council work out plans for the adequate participation of Labor in this celebration in which all affiliated groups may have a part.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

**Legislation (Maternity and Infancy)**

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's Report under the above caption, page 112, the committee reported as follows:

Your committee expresses very great gratification in the work done to protect the Children's Bureau in the Department of Labor in its function of caring for maternity cases.

It recommends that every effort be made to secure the passage of a maternity and infancy act that will enable the Children's Bureau to function as formerly in the care of maternity cases.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

**Legislation (Free Press Upheld)**

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's Report, pages 126 and 127, under the above caption, the committee reported as follows:

Your committee finds itself in complete sympathy with the report of the Executive Council on the decision of the Supreme Court in the famous Minnesota Free Press Case.

It urges your careful attention to this case and the decision and to the provision in the anti-injunction bill supported by the American Federation of Labor, which will be considered by the next session of Congress, which provides for this protection in labor disputes as set forth in this Supreme Court decision.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

**Child Welfare**

Under this caption on page 134 of its report, the Executive Council has on one page provided food for volumes of thought upon this very important subject.

The high lights of the council's statement, in addition to the statistical information given, are:

1. The need for authority to enact federal legislation for which ratification of the Child Labor Amendment is necessary, a subject treated in another section of this committee's report.
2. Need of uniformity of school laws in the various states, to prevent exploitation of children, bringing all states up to the standard of the best.
3. The prevention of minors taking jobs of adults during the present national emergency by the suspension of exemptions for work permits and of the permits themselves.
4. Need for effective enforcement and administration of this portion of the education laws.

Your committee commends the Executive Council for its vision and splendid statements on this subject and urges all state federations of labor, city central bodies and local unions to greater activity in this matter.

Your committee recommends that, if practicable, the Executive Council review the laws of the various states and, taking the best features of them all,

draft a bill for submission to the various state legislatures.

Your committee also urges that local labor movements give special attention to violations of their education laws covering the various topics commented upon in this part of the Executive Council's report and insist upon strict enforcement thereof by the authorities.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### Child Labor Amendment

Pages 124-125, Executive Council's Report—The Executive Council calls attention to the fact that this amendment to the Constitution of the United States has been before the legislatures of the various states for several years, and that but six have so far ratified it.

The report calls special attention to the last of these, Colorado, where consideration of the amendment had been postponed indefinitely by the Legislature of that state, but due to persistent efforts of the labor movement of that state the Legislature has changed its mind upon this important subject, and has ratified it.

The Executive Council urges the state federations of labor, city central bodies and local unions, in the states that have not yet ratified this amendment, to follow the lead of the Colorado trade unionists and to elect legislators who will vote for ratification.

Your committee recommends that the initiative in securing the ratification of the child labor amendment be taken by local labor groups in the various states and that they in co-operation with national and international unions and the American Federation of Labor assume largely the responsibility for securing this action, and that in each of the states every candidate for the Legislature who will not pledge himself to vote for ratification be opposed, and it also recommends that state federations of labor and city central bodies be so advised by the President of the American Federation of Labor. It also recommends that state federations and city central bodies be called upon for a report of their activities on this subject,

to date and each year until the amendment is ratified.

Resolution No. 73, page 207 of the second day, which is referred to this committee deals with this subject in much the same manner as the Executive Council's Report and commends the statement of the Council thereon. However, the resolution proposes that the labor movement in the several states seek to secure special sessions of the legislature in the states where the legislature will not meet early in 1932, to act upon this matter.

Your committee does not believe this to be a wise manner of directing the energy of the movement, although we recommend that in such states where special sessions of the legislature may be called for other purposes, the state federations of labor make every attempt to have consideration of the Child Labor Amendment included in the call for the special session.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### Parent-Teacher Movement

Resolution No. 69—By Delegate Florence Curtis Hanson, American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, The traditional interest of the Labor movement of the United States in the public school system is well known, dating from those first public demands in the halls of Trade Unionism for free public schools, and continuing to the present day in an unbroken record of loyal and efficient support; and

WHEREAS, There has been developed in every section of our country parent-teachers' associations formed for the purpose of bringing about a better understanding between parents and teachers and fuller co-operation between them in the training of our children; and

WHEREAS, The activities of these organizations are extending into many fields, embracing some that should compel the serious attention of organized labor; and

WHEREAS, The children of working people comprise the great majority of all pupils in our public schools; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor call to the attention of organized labor the importance of the Parent-Teacher Movement, and its relation to the maintenance of those

ideals which American workers regard as sacred; and be it further

**RESOLVED**, That the American Federation of Labor urge on its members that they bring this matter before local labor bodies urging on such members as are parents of public school children that they participate in the activities of the Parent-Teachers' Association of their communities to the end that this influence upon the training of the children of America shall be in furtherance of the ideals which they as Trade Unionists are pledged to sustain.

The committee recommends concurrence in Resolution No. 69.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### **Denouncing Discriminatory Tactics in Employment of Teachers.**

Resolution No. 26—By Delegate Florence Curtis Hanson of the American Federation of Teachers.

**WHEREAS**, The present industrial depression has caused school boards in certain sections of the country to make economic needs rather than teaching efficiency, the basis for selection in the employment of teachers; and

**WHEREAS**, Such practice is certain to lower the efficiency of the schools and create a deplorable condition in our educational system; and

**WHEREAS**, Such practice leads to unwarranted inquiry by school boards into the personal affairs of teachers in determining their needs for employment; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, By the American Federation of Labor that it declare that the basis for the selection of teachers should be their preparation and training for their work and their ability to render efficient service, and that the economic status of the individual should have no place in determining a teacher's fitness for employment; and be it further

**RESOLVED**, That the American Federation of Labor reiterate its declaration for equal opportunity for employment for workers, without discrimination on grounds of sex, race, creed, or other extraneous considerations.

The Committee recommends concurrence in Resolution No. 26.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### **Unemployment Among Teachers.**

Resolution No. 25—By Delegate Florence Curtis Hanson of the American Federation of Teachers.

**WHEREAS**, The condition of unemployment among young, recently licensed teachers is general, at least in the large cities throughout the country; and

**WHEREAS**, This condition leads to discouragement and waste in the lives of presumably well-qualified young teachers, in that many of them are obliged to wait for appointment from two to three years, and some miss appointment altogether, due to the lapse of license; and

**WHEREAS**, Many of these teachers are exploited by boards of education by being offered employment as substitute teachers when regular appointments are denied because they cost more; and

**WHEREAS**, This condition of unemployment is brought about by the policy adopted in many cities of accepting for training as teachers many more young persons than can be employed in school systems at existing rates of replacement and increases in number of posts in school systems; and

**WHEREAS**, The presence of many teachers who are not employed tends to discourage from taking up the career of teaching other potentially well-endowed young persons, thus depriving the schools of possible future benefits; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the American Federation of Labor urge upon its members and other citizens throughout the country that they make demands upon boards of education to seek the advice of educational experts outside their several localities to reorganize their teacher training institutions for a normal growth of school systems, and in order that increasing efficiency in the training and a more enlightened professional outlook of the teachers may be assured; and be it further

**RESOLVED**, That immediate steps be taken to absorb unemployed teachers into school systems by making room for regular appointments through reducing the number of children in classes to a maximum of thirty children in a class.

The committee recommends concurrence in Resolution No. 25.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### **Age Standards for Compulsory Full-time and Part-time Education.**

Resolution No. 24—By Delegate Florence Curtis Hanson of the American Federation of Teachers.

**WHEREAS**, The unemployment of the able-bodied adult is a continuing menace in the United States; and

**WHEREAS**, The employment of 1,000,000 children between the ages of 10 and 15 is a social crime; and

**WHEREAS**, It is possible in this period of potential prosperity to give an adequate education to every child; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the American Federation of Labor go on record as favoring compulsory full-time education to the age of sixteen and part-time education to the age of eighteen for all children in every state, and that adequate machinery for such law enforcement be provided and maintained.

The committee recommends concurrence in Resolution No. 24.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### **Vocational and Continuation Schools**

Resolution No. 23—By Delegate Florence Curtis Hanson of the American Federation of Teachers.

**WHEREAS**, The vocational and continuation schools fill a long-felt social need; and

**WHEREAS**, In many localities there is a tendency to restrict the activities of the vocational or continuation schools; be it

**RESOLVED**, That the American Federation of Labor in national convention reaffirm its support of such schools and urge all its locals, component bodies and members to support and protect the vocational and continuation school ideas nationally and in their own communities, securing active co-operation of organized labor and other social groups interested in maintaining comprehensive educational opportunities for all children.

The committee recommends concurrence in Resolution No. 23.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

This completes the report of the Committee on Education.

Respectfully submitted and signed by:

A. O. WHARTON, Chairman  
L. P. LINDELOF  
THOMAS E. BURKE  
WM. R. TROTTER  
JOHN B. HAGGERTY  
LEO E. GEORGE  
DAVID LEVINE  
S. E. MARKS  
W. RALPH FETTERMAN  
R. G. SODERSTROM  
ROY MCINTOSH  
J. W. BUZZELL  
FLORENCE CURTIS HANSON,  
Secretary,

Committee on Education.

Its adoption as a whole is recommended.

The recommendation was unanimously adopted.

President Green thanked the committee for the report and announced that the committee would be continued.

#### **REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON STATE ORGANIZATIONS.**

Delegate Bugnizet, Chairman of the committee, reported as follows:

#### **Rehabilitation Plans for Porto Rico.**

Resolution No. 4—By Delegate Santiago Iglesias of the Free Federation of Workmen of Porto Rico.

**WHEREAS**, Disastrous economic conditions prevailing in Porto Rico, as denounced by organized labor, have been found to be true by the insular and federal authorities, and to the effect a general plan of rehabilitation has been agreed upon to relieve local conditions in the Island; and

**WHEREAS**, The Free Federation of Workmen of Porto Rico has endorsed unreservedly plans of effective economic rehabilitation to make of the Island a country which will give employment to the unemployed, where children should receive the greatest protection and where the wealth created by labor will be better distributed in order to attain the happiness and welfare of the great mass of that people instead of a small group, against the health and life of the many; and

**WHEREAS**, The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, in its report to this convention on Porto Rico (Page 146), contains a great suggestion to face the economic problems and to stimulate more the building of a sounder, healthier community of American citizens; and

**WHEREAS**, The American Federation of Labor was always ready at all times to give its worthy support to the cause of Labor in Porto Rico and to help our Island in every sense; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, By the Fifty-first Convention of the American Federation of Labor that we heartily endorse the proposals on Porto Rico above referred to, and pledge our moral support to the rehabilitation plans for the Island of Porto Rico; and, be it further

**RESOLVED**, That the President of the American Federation of Labor be authorized to earnestly urge the President of the United States and recommend to Congress to favor the petitions of Porto Rico on its general plans of rehabilitation as set forth in the report of the Executive Council; and, furthermore, to instruct and direct the Legislative Committee of the American Federation of Labor toward the economic plan of the Porto Rican Federation of Labor so that the needs of the Porto Rican people be properly presented and duly heard, and so that the proper action might be taken before Congress to secure adequate means of rehabilitation from Congress.

**Porto Rico**

The Committee on State Organization had referred to it several sections of the Executive Council's Report and Resolution No. 4, dealing with conditions in Porto Rico.

We have observed with a good deal of interest the progress that has been made in Porto Rico during the past year as set forth in the Executive Council's Report.

The establishment of a Department of Labor in Porto Rico should provide the machinery for assisting the Porto Rican workers in their struggle for better conditions.

While the economic condition of Porto Rico is not entirely satisfactory, marked improvement is noted, and the proposal for refinancing the debt of Porto Rico, now amounting to fifty million dollars, as suggested in the Executive Council's report and Resolution No. 4, together with the proposal for an additional fifty million dollars to be advanced, to provide funds for improvements and economic development of Porto Rico, meets with the approval of your committee. We therefore recommend that the resolution introduced by Delegate Santiago Iglesias of the Free Federation of Workingmen of Porto Rico be concurred in.

We further recommend that the President of the American Federation of Labor and the Executive Council, render every assistance possible to the Porto Rican workers in their efforts to improve their industrial condition. We urge that the President of the American Federation of Labor personally place before the President of the United States the economic condition now existing in Porto Rico, and urge upon the President a correction of these conditions by placing into effect the suggestions contained in the Executive Council's report.

**Older Workers**

Your committee also had before it a section of the Executive Council's report dealing with older workers. We concur in the suggestion of the Executive Council that those who are planning for the care of the unemployed shall include provisions for older workers and that State Bureaus of Labor Statistics

shall continue inquiries to get the facts of employment on older workers.

If industry is going to continue to discard men who have reached the age of 45 and 50 years, then we must have a readjustment in the wage system that will permit of a saving wage ample to allow for retirement of wage workers at the new age limits now arbitrarily set by industry, and we recommend that in negotiating wage scales in the future all local unions demand that wage scales be made on this basis.

**State Federations of Labor and Central Bodies**

While nothing has been referred to your committee on the question of affiliation with state federations and city central bodies, your committee feels in justice to the splendid work carried on by the state organizations and city central bodies, that it is its duty to again bring to the attention of this convention the action taken at Boston wherein the convention concurred in a recommendation of the Committee on State Organization that "International Unions in affiliation with the American Federation of Labor be requested to include a provision in their constitutions which shall provide that local unions of such internationals shall be directed to affiliate and attach themselves to the various state and central bodies in their localities."

We recommend that the above action of the Boston Convention be called to the attention of all international organizations by a special letter sent out by the President and Secretary of the American Federation of Labor.

Very respectfully submitted,

G. M. BUGNIAZET, Chairman  
 E. G. HALL  
 JOHN T. MUGAVIN  
 WILLIAM E. WALTER  
 C. M. RYNERSON  
 THOMAS S. EZART  
 T. N. TAYLOR  
 HENRY L. KOCH  
 S. C. HOGAN  
 JOHN BOYLAN  
 JERRY HORAN  
 PATRICK GORMAN  
 HERBERT RIVERS  
 FRED BAER  
 J. M. GILLESPIE  
 FRANK X. MARTEL, Secretary  
 Committee on State Organizations.

The report of the committee as a whole was adopted. The committee was continued to the close of the convention.

Delegate Tobin, Teamsters: Have you any idea, Mr. Chairman, when this convention will adjourn? The delegates want to make arrangements for their return to their homes.

President Green: The Chair is of the opinion that we can conclude our work Thursday evening. That is my personal opinion.

Delegate Tobin: I offer a motion that the election of officers be made a special

order of business for 10:30 o'clock Thursday morning.

The motion was seconded and unanimously adopted.

Secretary Morrison announced that there was a great deal of mail in the post office in the rear of the hall, and the postmaster had requested that the delegates be notified to call for it.

At 5 o'clock the rules were suspended and the convention recessed to 9:30 o'clock a.m., Wednesday, October 14th.

## Seventh Day — Wednesday Morning Session

Vancouver, B. C.,  
October 14, 1931.

The convention was called to order  
at 9:30 o'clock by President Green.

### Absentees

Gillmore, Dullzell, Abernathy, Horn, Bowen, Schulte, Coulter, Zaritsky, Warfield, Schlesinger, Onyett, Kennedy (A. J.), Fljoldal, Scully, Lewis, Murray, Pagan, Boylan, Britton, Burke (J. P.), Sullivan (H. W.), Suito, Collins (W. M.), O'Brien (P. J.), Kaiser, Manion, Gorman (F. J.), Starr, Smith, Evans, Hatch, Fay, Provost, Gross, Rosqvist, Young, Sullivan (J.), Garrison, Joel, Campbell (G. C.), Driscoll, Coleman, Barger, Augustino, Sumner (S.), Rice, Foster, Quinn (J. C.), Moore, Sisson, Bower, Smethurst, Welsh, Martinez, Reed, Doyle (F. E.), Wood, Thomas, Bohm, Stephens, McElligott, Randolph, Webster, Hampton, Galvin, Mitchell (T.).

### Communications

Secretary Morrison read the following telegrams:

Tulsa, Okla.,  
October 5, 1931.

Frank Morrison,  
Secretary, American Federation of  
Labor, Convention Headquarters,  
Vancouver, B. C.

Tulsa Typographical Union No. 403, at regular meeting, Sunday, October 4, 1931, adopted the following resolution: "Whereas, The Eighteenth Amendment of the Constitution of the United States has created a condition endangering respect for law and the security of American institutions; Therefore, be it Resolved that Tulsa Typographical Union No. 403, in this regular meeting assembled, favors the submission by Congress of the repeal or modification of the present prohibition laws to the several states with a request that each state submit this question to the voters thereof."

SAM F. MOORE, Secretary.

Phoenix, Ariz.,  
October 9, 1931.

Secretary Frank Morrison,  
American Federation of Labor Con-  
vention,  
Vancouver, B. C., Canada.

Greetings on behalf of the Arizona  
State Federation of Labor. Permit me

to urge that the Vancouver Convention reaffirm the position of American labor taken at previous conventions favoring the application of the quota basis to Mexican immigration. If immigration bars are left down the return of prosperity in the United States will be accompanied by another smothering wave of peon labor from Mexico.

B. P. CARPENTER, Secretary,  
Arizona State Federation of Labor.

Newport, R. I.,  
October 10, 1931.

American Federation of Labor Con-  
vention,  
Frank Morrison, Secretary,  
Vancouver, B. C.

The Newport Central Labor Union, Newport, Rhode Island, reaffirm their belief in unemployment insurance as expressed by our delegates at the Boston Convention. We again urge the convention to endorse unemployment insurance legislation and use the full power of our organized movement to have Congress adopt a Federal unemployment insurance act. We want justice from industry, not charity from Main street.

GEORGE A. SPOONER,  
Recording Secretary.

New Orleans, La.,  
October 13, 1931.

American Federation of Labor,  
Vancouver, B. C.

New Orleans Central Trades and Labor Council cordially invites you to come to New Orleans for the next convention. Municipal Auditorium can be secured gratis.

J. G. MUHS, Secretary.

President Green: The Chair now recognizes the representatives of the Resolutions Committee.

Vice-president Woll: Mr. President and delegates—In presenting the report of the Committee on Resolutions I wish to call the attention of the convention to the fact that the Executive Council's report on several subjects has a considerable number of subdivisions on those subjects. Likewise we have a number of resolutions dealing with one or more phases of the subject dealt

with in the general subject. In addition several of the resolutions embrace several thoughts contained in different sections of the Executive Council's report. Your committee, considering both the Council's report and the resolutions, has joined them in one so as to deal rather with subjects than with specific resolutions. The committee feels that the delegation, particularly those having introduced resolutions, might understand the procedure the committee was compelled to follow in order to present an intelligent report and give fair consideration to all proposals submitted.

The Secretary will submit the report on behalf of the committee.

#### **REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS**

Delegate Olander, Secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

The several portions of the Report of the Executive Council referred to the Committee on Resolutions, dealing with various phases of the difficult problems confronting the organized labor movement, have prompted the committee to preface its report on specific matters with some general observations which seem appropriate and which are indicative of the thoughts which have served to guide your committee in its deliberations and conclusions.

The statistical evidence of the extent of the present depression supplies an invaluable fund of information, but does not of itself indicate the major reasons for the unfortunate industrial situation in which we now find ourselves.

Powerful influences have been carrying out unfair industrial policies in recent years, which though not differing in principle from those which in the past served to handicap our progress, have been applied under circumstances which made them more effective.

Within a generation the ownership of manufacturing and other industrial and commercial enterprises has undergone a profound and revolutionary change. A comparatively few years ago the workmen knew their employer, whether or not he was acquainted with them. He was a personal being, a living individual

like themselves. The very business which the individual employer established is now an impersonal corporation which may employ many thousands of wage earners.

The ownership of the business has passed from the individual owner and manager to the stockholders. Most of the stockholders never see the establishment in which their money has been invested. They are absentee owners, having no personal contact with the employes. In many instances, the president and the other chief executives of the corporations are in turn, merely the employes of the stockholders. It follows that the labor policy of industrial executives is influenced partly by their own viewpoint, what they conceive to be their own self interest, and partly by what they believe to be desires of the stockholders.

The replacing of the personal by the impersonal employer, has brought with it a train of serious problems, but these are minor when compared with the problems created as a result of the fact that the labor policy of each corporation is frequently modified or determined largely by the labor policy of other corporations, with whom a semi-official relationship has been established through interlocking directorates.

Not only has the labor policy of the individual corporation been influenced by the relationship established with other corporations and by the labor policy set into operation by national associations of employers, but an additional and exceedingly grave situation has been created through the influence of bankers who often, as a condition for extension of credit or the granting of loans, insist upon bank representation on the board of directors of industrial and other commercial corporations.

When our trade union movement began to make progress in collective bargaining—the application of the principles and methods of democracy in the relationship of employer and employed—substantial progress was made in developing intelligent, friendly and economically sound relations with employers.

As the practice of collective bargaining by trade unions began to secure the outspoken approval of the leaders of the great religious denominations, of economists, of statesmen, and of right-thinking men who believed that labor was entitled to all of the rights, privileges and opportunities to which all other citizens were entitled, a definite policy to eliminate collective bargaining from industry was inaugurated by a number of national associations of employers, and by corporations which were large employers of labor. Collective bargaining has been considerably weakened and almost entirely eliminated in the industrial relationship in a number of the principal large manufacturing corporations, and their evil influence has had its effect upon a large number of employers in less extensive industrial enterprises.

For a few years immediately preceding 1929, the labor policy of the dominating industrial corporations of the country was definitely hostile to the existence of trade unionism and its practice of collective bargaining. During these years the so-called captains of industry, commerce and finance were the dominating figures. Because the country seemingly prospered, because national wealth mounted rapidly each succeeding year, because dividend payments to stockholders rapidly multiplied, many legislators, a large portion of the public, and perhaps even a number of workmen, believed that it was best to leave industrial management and the determination of labor policies in the hands of these dominating industrial and financial leaders.

Since 1929, the industrial debacle has thrown a white light upon the inability or unwillingness of these "captains" of industry, commerce and finance to safely guide the nation's industrial, commercial and financial activities. Instead of their proving to be statues of indestructible bronze, capable of withstanding the storms, they were discovered to be mere forms of common clay. Instead of being constructive leaders and dependable executives, they were the ones who, unable or unwilling to understand basic economic facts, unable or unwilling to appreciate the social

and political results of the policies they were carrying into effect, were largely responsible for the morass of financial collapse, stagnation of industry and unemployment from which we are now suffering so disastrously, and from which we have not as yet been able to emerge.

Yet, it is these very "captains" of industry, commerce and finance who now insist that they, and they alone, shall determine the industrial and labor policies which are to lead us to solid ground. Their most apparent recommendation up to the present, in view of the fact that they failed to pay sufficient wages during the so-called years of prosperity to enable the mass of the people to buy industry's products, has been to still further depress the people's capacity to purchase industry's products by reducing wages.

It would be folly, considering our responsibility to those we have been chosen to represent, did we fail to call labor's attention to these outstanding facts.

There never has been a time when labor was justified in depending upon the wisdom and willingness of the employer to establish those industrial conditions to which labor was entitled. There never has been a time when it was more essential that labor should exercise an influential and determined voice in matters concerning the welfare of the common people. There has never been a period when it was more necessary that the principles and the methods of collective bargaining through trade unions should be extended more rapidly and more widely.

The leaders responsible for the unsound and fatal industrial and economic policy of the years immediately preceding 1929, are today opposed to the existence of trade unionism. To expect that they will willingly change their position because we advance facts and logic to support our position, is to place faith in controlling groups of that sort which is not justified by a single page in the history of man's development from barbarism to civilization.

Our trade union movement was born and developed in the face of every

form of opposition of which employers could conceive. The organization of trade unions met with the fiercest opposition. Although the beneficial influence and salutary results following collective bargaining by trade union methods became well recognized a generation ago, many employers were nevertheless successful in preventing its application in their establishments.

We must not lose sight of this basic fact, that the prime purpose of our trade union movement is to assist the wage earner through collective action to secure a practical voice in determining terms of employment and conditions of labor. Our trade union movement would never have developed had it depended upon the employer's consent. Its existence is due to the determination of wage earners to have a definite voice in advancing their own welfare.

Wages were not advanced and the hours of labor reduced because labor humbly presented its petitions. Industrial conditions for labor improved because workmen, organized into trade unions, after exhausting all friendly methods of adjusting their desires, applied their collective and their militant strength. Had it not been that trade unionists, time and again, collectively refused to work unless the terms of employment and conditions of labor were more satisfactory, progress towards a higher standard of living would have been impossible.

If we understand the spirit and the basic purpose of our trade union movement, it is that primarily wage earners shall be taught to depend upon themselves rather than upon the fair promises or good intentions of others. The experiences of the past, particularly those of recent years, have taught labor a lesson which must be given practical application if trade unionism is to make continued progress.

We will be grossly negligent of our duty to ourselves and the great mass of wage earners if we do not now determine to give full application to our rights. In the establishment of any general labor policy the wage earners, who are to be affected by it, must have

an equal if not a dominant voice in determining what that policy shall be.

We declare our unqualified faith in friendly conferences and negotiations with employers as the most effective method of maintaining just, humane and satisfactory industrial relations. We unqualifiedly reaffirm our faith and loyalty to the principles and methods of collective bargaining, through trade unions. We emphatically affirm that the time has come when these policies for which our trade union movement has always stood must be given a wider and more practical application throughout industry, and that if industry refuses to permit us to apply these methods in working out industrial problems, that we must then use the militant strength of our trade union movement to establish them.

Unless we are willing to become the voiceless and helpless cogs in an industrial machine, unless we are willing to have our conditions of labor determined by those men who are principally responsible for wrecking the country's prosperity, we must use every lawful means at our command and apply every collective effort of which our trade union movement is capable, to compel recognition of our movement.

Our movement does not exist to ask for favors, it does not exist that wage earners by bending a suppliant knee might be given minor consideration by industrial dictators. It exists to establish in everyday practice those principles of human liberty and of equality of rights which are our priceless heritage, a heritage which we are determined to defend and apply more actively in the future than we ever have in the past.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### Unemployment

The Committee will report jointly on the section of the Report of the Executive Council entitled "Extent of Unemployment," page 74, under which there are a number of sub-titles dealing with various phases of the unemployment problem, and upon Resolutions Nos. 5,

28, 29, 44, 64, 71, 86 and 90. Reference to certain parts of some of these resolutions will also be made in another section of the committee's report. The resolutions are as follows:

**Favoring Federal Appropriation for Public Works to Promote Employment.**

Resolution No. 5—By Central Labor Council, Tacoma, Washington.

WHEREAS, The unemployment situation with which these United States are now confronted has reached the point where it is beyond the ability of the various city, county and state administrations to deal with; and

WHEREAS, The Federal Government is the only agency that is able to cope with the unemployment situation, which is nation-wide in its character; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the next session of the United States Congress be requested to make an appropriation of not less than five billion dollars, to be used in carrying out public works; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Central Labor Council of Tacoma, Washington, does hereby go on record in favor of the six-hour day and the five-day week, without any reduction in the existing weekly earnings, as being an absolutely essential measure in order to alleviate the distress from unemployment; and, be it still further

RESOLVED, That a copy of these resolutions be forwarded to the next convention of the American Federation of Labor for their endorsement and action.

**Proposing Endorsement of Demand for Special Session of Congress and Appropriation for Government Construction Work to Promote Employment.**

Resolution No. 28—By Delegate E. N. Nockels, Chicago, Ill., Federation of Labor.

The United States of America is facing another winter of vast unemployment.

The optimistic press and the near-sighted politicians have told us over and over again that prosperity is just around the corner.

The radical press and the soap-box orators are predicting a social revolution.

We hope prosperity will win the race, but we are not unmindful of the fact that the politicians are fiddling while Rome is burning.

Government construction projects are all too slow in getting started to meet this great need.

RESOLVED, The Chicago Federation of Labor in regular meeting assembled, September 6th, 1931, endorses the proposed demand on President Hoover to call a special session of Congress and that said Congress, without red tape or delay, float a ten billion dollar (\$10,000,000,000) prosperity loan to meet this great emergency by starting government construction work without delay and employ the American wage earners at present wage standards; and be it further

RESOLVED, Copies of these resolutions be sent to President Hoover and his cabinet and members of the United States Senate and Congress; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Chicago delegate of the Federation of Labor be directed to present these resolutions to the convention of the American Federation of Labor in Vancouver in October, 1931, and that copies be furnished the press.

**Proposing Creation of Labor and Industrial Board.**

Resolution No. 29—By Delegate Fred W. Sutor of the Quarry Workers' International Union of North America.

WHEREAS, There exists in our country a condition that is rocking the very foundation of our civilization; millions upon millions are out of employment and so cut off from their wage upon which their welfare—yes, and even their lives as well as the welfare of all those dependent upon them—rests, homes are being lost, property and funds representing life savings are being sacrificed in a desperate effort to exist; and

WHEREAS, There is not only plenty of everything necessary for life and home for all, but an abundance of all such things; and

WHEREAS, We, in the United States, have had experiences during the late World War by which we ought to reap some benefits, in that we used the draft and some of our most patriotic organizations have gone on record in favor of a universal draft in the event of another war, we had a war Labor Board, and during the late war our government did deem it necessary and expedient to take over our railroads, unify these systems to make it possible for them to deliver their important job of transportation; and

WHEREAS, We believe that now, if ever, there is justification for our government taking far-reaching, immediate and drastic action in order to save our country, our homes, our property, our institutions and to serve all of our people; and

WHEREAS, There are great stores of all necessary products, millions of idle men and idle machinery ready and anxious to produce more which are a total loss at present, but if these sup-

plies are distributed and industry made to function, jobs will be provided, production and consumption co-ordinated and all of this can be accomplished without making raids on our treasury; industry made to function for service; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, By the Fifty-first Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor that we call upon the President of the United States to immediately call Congress into session to give relief to suffering humanity and solve our deplorable condition; and, be it further

**RESOLVED**, That we demand the creation of a Labor and Industrial Board, with equal representation of labor and industry, with power to regulate all industry and determine how they shall be operated or to take over all essential industries for a period of one year, or until the present national crisis has been solved, to establish minimum wage rates, which in all cases, shall not be lower than the highest weekly wage rates now in effect in said industries, establish a maximum six-hour work day and a five-day work week; and be it further

**RESOLVED**, That we believe that this plan honestly put into effect at once would prove a wise solution for our present deplorable conditions and give us valuable information to guide us in incorporating into the fundamental laws of our country in the future, such laws as will best serve society, prevent recurrence of these depressions and preserve our American institutions; and be it further

**RESOLVED**, That this resolution be sent to President Herbert Hoover and our Executive Council instructed to use its efforts to have this plan carried out immediately.

**Favoring Calling of National Conference for Relief of Unemployment.**

Resolution No. 44—By Delegate Edward McLaughlin of the California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Existing unemployment in the United States demands of Federal, State and Municipal Governments prompt and energetic measures of relief to care for the more than six million workers with their families and dependents; and

WHEREAS, The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor has proposed an extensive program for the consideration and adoption of the various governments and agencies of relief against unemployment, among the chief features of which are the following:

1. In order to create work opportunities, proposal is made that the five-day week be immediately introduced and accepted in private and government employment.

2. That the hours of work per day be reduced to six hours, if necessary, in order to supply work for all, and that, so far as possible, work security shall be accorded to working men and women.

3. That the standard rate of pay be maintained, so that the purchasing power of the masses of the people may fairly balance with their productive capacity.

4. That the Federal, State and Municipal governments inaugurate and introduce a government building and construction program which in operation will enlarge and create the opportunities for the unemployed to secure work; these plans should be sufficiently comprehensive to take up the slack of unemployment so that working people may become wage earners supplying their families with food and clothing out of their earnings rather than to be recipients of charity.

5. That a plan of stabilization of industry, of economic planning, of a thorough and accurate survey of economic needs and of the actual adjustment of working time required in order to supply all with an opportunity to work, be formulated and put into effect; and

WHEREAS, We believe that such an economic program should be formulated and put into effect without any delay other than required to study and put same into active operation; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, By the Delegates in attendance at the Fifty-first Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, that we endorse the said remedies proposed by the Executive Council, and to that end support their proposal for the calling of a National Conference, at earliest possible date, such conference to be composed of leading representatives of Industry and Labor called together by the President of the United States for the purpose of working out a practical plan for submission to Congress, the various state legislatures, and local governments.

**To Petition the President of the United States to Create a Committee of Public Works.**

Resolution No. 64—By Delegates M. J. Colleran, J. J. Rooney, W. A. O'Keefe, J. H. Donlin, M. J. McDonough, Operative Plasterers' and Cement Finishers' International Association.

WHEREAS, The question of unemployment and how to cope with it is one of the major problems of this convention; and

WHEREAS, Consistently for the past twenty-eight years we have been visited by a depression every seven years; and

WHEREAS, In 1921, President Hoover, acting as Chairman of a Committee to study future unemployment appointed

by the late President Harding, brought back twelve principles of a probable solution; and

WHEREAS, The sixth principle of the twelve proposed a long range planning Committee of Public Works:

RESOLVED, That the President of the American Federation of Labor, with the Presidents of the other Departments, call on the President of the United States and request that a long range planning Committee of Public Works be created so as to avert future unemployment.

#### **Urging Maintenance of Prevailing Wage Scales for Relief Work.**

Resolution No. 71—By Delegate James A. Duncan, Central Labor Council of Seattle, Wash.

WHEREAS, The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, undoubtedly reflecting the sentiment of the membership, has taken a most commendable position against wage reduction policies, whether practiced by public or by private employers, particularly during this grave period of unemployment; and

WHEREAS, Certain committees or commissions appointed by governmental authorities to give work to the unemployed, have established policies of paying as low as \$1.50 a day for work which would normally command a minimum wage of from \$4.50 to \$5.00, and this on the plea that only very limited amounts could be spent to provide relief; and

WHEREAS, Such public policies open the way to private employers to adopt similar wage scales on the plea that they too are providing relief work, thus endangering the standards of living built up through the efforts and sacrifices of organized labor over a long period of time; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, that we register an emphatic protest against such unjust practices, and call upon our membership wherever such policies are invoked, to protest vigorously and to use every honorable means within their power to have, as nearly as possible, the going scale of wages for like work, paid for all relief work, and the amount of relief given to each bread-winner governed by the number of days he can be employed at the going scale of wages for such work, rather than employing him for a longer period at a reduced scale, to the distinct detriment of both the unemployed and the employed.

#### **Promotion of Public Works for Relief of Unemployment.**

Resolution No. 86—By Delegate R. M. Burr of the Order of Railroad Telegraphers.

WHEREAS, The great increase in our national wealth during recent years has been created by the workers of our country through ever-increasing production in industry and the financial capitalization of our natural resources inflated to many times the amount of actual investments; and

WHEREAS, These inflations of value and bonded indebtedness by private corporations have been brought out by the Federal Trade Commission's investigations sufficiently to cause shame and disgrace to honorable citizens resulting in exorbitant burdens being placed upon users of water, electricity and gas in the U. S.; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we recommend and urge the prompt and progressive extension of already existing public works, municipal, state and federal projects which are revenue producing, such as municipal water works, electric light and power plants, gas works; and in the federal field such projects as the great public developments of hydro-electric power, nitrate plants, etc., at Muscle Shoals, the development of the great Boulder Canyon project for municipalities, similar developments upon the St. Lawrence River, the Columbia River, the great revenue producing hydro-electric projects in connection with the development of flood control we have the most constructive and promising means of affording an ever-increasing employment for the unemployed without burdening those who are still employed with additional taxation, since projects of this kind will not only pay for themselves, return every dollar of capital invested in them by municipalities, the state and the federal government but, as has been many times demonstrated, bring a safe margin of surplus earnings in addition.

#### **Unemployment**

Resolution No. 90 — Introduced by Florence Curtis Hanson, American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, The question of unemployment presents the outstanding problem of the moment; and

WHEREAS, The productiveness of the American worker with the improved machinery is so great that we are now destined to live in a surplus economy; and

WHEREAS, The evil of unemployment is due to our economic system under which the burden of economic maladjustment falls with crushing force upon the innocent—the worker and his dependents; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That, pending the evolution of a saner economic system dominated by the service ideal, instead of

individual greed, the American Federation of Labor meet this problem by sponsoring legislation:

(a) For the establishment of government employment agencies;

(b) For the provision of unemployment insurance maintained by the Federal Government of the states with Federal aid, including the creation of a reserve fund to pay the unemployed in crises beyond the requirement of unemployment provisions;

(c) For the establishment of the shorter work-day and work-week;

(d) For the stabilization of private industry; and

(e) For the long-range planning of public works.

#### Extent of Unemployment

Under the caption "Extent of Unemployment" and sub-captions following, pages 74 to 81, the Executive Council sets forth graphically and impressively not alone the development and extent of unemployment but in addition undertakes to present a comprehensive program designed to meet the emergency unemployment situation confronting the people of both the United States and the Dominion of Canada during the oncoming winter.

In so far as the report of the development and extent of unemployment is concerned we commend the officers and the Executive Council for the efficient manner in which permanent records are made, indicating the progression or retrogression of employment and for the wise judgment displayed in providing all available information as to facts and factors involved as affecting this problem. We record with particular emphasis the soundness and wisdom shown in developing trade union sources of essential information and urge not alone a continuance but an extension of this service.

In the emergency unemployment program submitted, intended to deal with the immediate problem, the Executive Council has outlined nine specific activities so co-ordinated as to present a well-rounded and effectual program. In considering this program your Committee has embraced consideration of all resolutions introduced on this subject, as affecting any one of the nine specific activities involved. Thus the convention will have presented to it all expressions and proposals in the order of subjects rather than in the form of specific resolutions.

The resolutions introduced and thus embraced in this report in part or in whole are as follows:

Resolutions Nos. 5, 28, 29, 44, 64, 71, 86 and 90. The particular proposals contained in these resolutions will be dealt with in connection with our comments and report on the specific nine proposals of the Executive Council.

The nine specific activities advanced by the Executive Council are as follows:

1. Maintain wages;
2. Shorten work hours;
3. Assure employment to minimum work forces;
4. Each employer to take on additional workers;
5. Create work through public building;
6. Strengthen employment agencies;
7. Keep young persons in school to prevent their taking jobs from older men and women;
8. Preference for workers with dependents;
9. Financial relief from public and private funds.

In support of the first proposal, viz., "Maintain Wages," the Executive Council makes clear and definite that "falling wages have an effect on business comparable to falling prices," thus calling attention to the fact that business itself should be as much concerned as wage earners in maintaining wage standards and wage levels, and that our whole industrial fabric, its stability and usefulness for economic and social services, is interdependent and not independent.

Resolution No. 5 concurs in this point of view. So does resolution No. 44.

Your Committee concurs in this proposal of the Executive Council.

The second proposal in the program submitted relates to shortening of work hours per day and in lessening work-days per week. In this the Executive Council not alone reaffirms former declarations on this subject, but exceeds all former pronouncements in declaring that "Work hours should be shortened to divide all available work among all workers." It estimates that if this procedure were universally followed the major portion of our immediate unemployment would be solved. Embodied in this proposal is the appeal to those in charge of industry to reduce excessive hours of work per day and lessen the work days per week. In its report the Executive Council directs attention to the destructive and unsocial conduct of some industries in operating their plants at long work hours in order to gain a competitive advantage over their trade rivals, thus preventing a general lessening in the required working time per worker and retarding the development of employment opportunities to all. Then, too, this proposal involves an appeal to the workers and affiliated organizations to encourage and make effective, wherever possible, this general shortening of the work-day and work-week. Resolutions Nos. 5, 44 and 90 support the declarations of the Executive

Council on this subject. We record ourselves in full approval with this proposal of the Executive Council.

The third proposal in the Executive Council's program is designed to call on "all employers to assure employment to their minimum work force at least from November to April." The Council estimates that if this were done, some twenty millions of wage earners could plan their purchases ahead with confidence, and thus release a tremendous buying power, which, today, is stagnant, if not frozen, because of fear created in the mind of the masses by some of our industrial leaders, through enforcement of pernicious, destructive and brutal policies designed solely to safeguard capital and earnings, regardless of the enlarged and grave social responsibilities they throw upon the state, the people and individual wage earners and their dependents. We hold that industry can not shift its responsibilities in so ready and easy a manner. It is a social obligation upon industry to respond to the appeal herein presented. We have no hesitancy in concurring in this proposal of the Executive Council, but we note none of the resolutions presented deal with this phase of the problem.

Carrying further the declaration of social responsibility on the part of industry to assure employment of work forces, the Executive Council directs attention to the further social obligation and responsibility of industry to add additional workers to their minimum work forces, so that the average addition would amount to at least two workers to every establishment. The Council estimates that with about 3,000,000 employers in the United States, excluding farmers, this procedure would give employment to all but 1,000,000 of the unemployed, and would distribute the labor cost involved so that it would place a relatively small fraction upon each industry, a cost which would be far less than is now involved in the loss to capital by failure to stimulate, stabilize and enlarge the buying power of our people. Surely the work opportunities thus provided, with the resultant and increased flow of buying power, would at once turn the tide of individual inertia and prove a most valuable investment for industry itself. It is of first and foremost concern for industry to safeguard and build up its markets, for without markets reduction of labor costs will not, and can not, maintain reserves to satisfy the promptings and claims for dividends and earnings on investments, capital or otherwise. Indeed, history has demonstrated that all other values ultimately rise and fall, dependent upon the value placed on man and man power and service and upon the opportunities presented to the workers for gainful employment and enlarged purchasing power.

We recommend concurrence in the proposal of the Executive Council and note no resolution presented deals with this subject.

Having addressed the first four proposals to private enterprise and factors involved, the Executive Council next in its fifth proposal, directs its attention to public enterprise and public undertakings. It calls attention to the fact that now is the time to undertake public projects, municipal, county, state and national in character, and thus create work opportunities and contribute to the enlarging and unloosening of buying power.

In this connection Resolution No. 5 proposes the calling of a special session of Congress to make an appropriation of not less than five billions of dollars for public work. The Resolution does not indicate the manner in which this sum is to be obtained or expended.

Resolution No. 28 suggests the calling of a special session of Congress to appropriate ten billion of dollars for public works. This resolution proposes to raise this sum by floating a ten billion dollar prosperity loan, or in other words, a bond issue.

Resolution No. 44 in general terms calls upon federal, state and municipal governments to inaugurate a government construction program.

Resolution No. 64 embraces the creation of a long range planning committee on public works by the Federal Government.

Resolution No. 86 recommends prompt and progressive extension of already existing public works, municipal, state and federal, and intimates that additional taxation involved would ultimately prove a valuable investment.

Resolution No. 90 calls for the long-range planning of public works.

All these resolutions are in agreement with the proposal of the Executive Council that public works and projects should be extended to create work opportunities. However, the resolutions differ in methods to be used. Some would have these undertakings advanced without careful planning, others would only do so through long-range planning, and others again would confine these activities to projects already contemplated. Again all but two resolutions are silent as to the financing of most projects, one calling for a ten billion dollar prosperity loan or bond issue, the other suggesting taxation in a limited way.

The Executive Council has carefully and rightly avoided the dangers and limitations involved in all of the foregoing resolutions on this phase of the problem and has confined itself to the necessity and urgency of creating work opportunities through

public works, municipal, state and national, leaving the problem of financing and resultant effects on general values to be considered in each specific instance and in accordance with the exigencies involved. Merely to provide a huge sum of money without careful planning would be disastrous. We therefore recommend approval of this proposal of the Executive Council.

Next the Executive Council in its sixth proposal, directs attention to existing federal and state employment agencies. It points out that all existing public agencies are essential to make any of its work-providing programs possible. Resolution No. 90 is in accord with the Executive Council on this subject. We concur in the point of view expressed by the Executive Council and recommend approval of its proposal.

Then the Executive Council, in its seventh proposal, turns its attention to our schools and the youth of our land, sounding the new note that exploitation of child labor is not alone harmful to the child life and future citizenry of our land, but that the employment of boys and girls for gainful ends deprives parents of children and all adult workers of an enlarged opportunity of employment. Certainly when we have millions of wage earners unemployed, the overwhelming number being heads of families with dependents, it is a social as well as industrial crime to place dependency of family life upon the toil of the children of the home. We concur in this section of the Executive Council's report.

In the following proposal, the eighth, the Executive Council first directs attention to the unfortunate trend of family life and tendencies towards disintegration which appear in that both husband and wife are viewing their relationship to one another and to industry in an entirely different light than was formerly common. The Executive Council expresses the belief and urges preference of employment to those upon whom family or dependency rests. We recommend approval of this proposal.

Finally, the Executive Council in its ninth proposal, holding, as it rightly does, that the application of any or all of the foregoing proposals will relieve in a large measure, but will not entirely remove the problem of unemployment for the present, justly states that those who are or may continue to be unemployed during the coming winter must be cared for and that funds must be provided for that purpose. It urges that such funds should be provided from both private means and public sources. Resolution No. 29 calls for general relief through Congressional action, while Resolution No. 90 calls for an unemployment insurance system, which latter subject is dealt

with separately and therefore not embraced in this program.

Again the Council very wisely did not particularize regarding methods and means of providing relief during the present emergency, because of differing conditions prevailing in different communities and states and by reason of the varying ability of people within such respective social and political divisions to provide for those unemployed.

In connection with the foregoing, Resolution No. 86 would have the prevailing or current wage paid to all engaged or to be employed in relief work. This matter was dealt with in the first proposal of the Executive Council and therefore requires no further action. Indeed it has been the practice of the American Federation of Labor, and of affiliated unions, to urge the retention of the prevailing or current wage standard on all relief work, and wherever and whenever relief work funds were limited then to place restrictions on the number of hours or days to be worked, rather than to lower the prevailing or current wage and extend the work hours or work days.

Considered in the light of the foregoing statements your Committee recommends approval of the Executive Council's Report on the general subject "Extent of Unemployment," in lieu of the several resolutions mentioned herein and related to this subject.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Duncan, Seattle Central Labor Council: My understanding now is that the question of unemployment insurance will be dealt with separately from this portion of the report?

Vice-president Woll: Yes.

Delegate Alifas, Washington Central Labor Union: Mr. Chairman, I would like to offer an amendment to this report. I move that the American Federation of Labor stand committed to unemployment relief through Federal appropriation, pending the working out of the unemployment program submitted by the Executive Council in its report.

The amendment was seconded.

Vice-president Woll: I am quite sure that the delegate who introduced the amendment to the committee's report either did not carefully listen to the reading of the report or did not understand its import. The committee and the Executive Council report not only on the unemployment relief, but they would not limit the methods or means of that relief solely to one political agency. To the contrary, its appeal is directed to both municipal, state and federal governments for relief during the present crisis and situation. The

amendment would only limit and restrict and place the sole responsibility on the Federal Government.

Your committee believes that all political divisions are responsible in this time of need, and I do hope that the convention will not take action that would limit the appeal. Such action would weaken and narrow the appeal we are making for the relief of the unemployed.

Delegate Alifas, Washington Central Labor Union: Perhaps I should apologize to the convention for bringing this matter before it, owing to the fact that I am here representing only a central labor union, but in my work as a representative of an organization it has been my duty to give some thought to the question of Federal appropriations. At the present time the administration in Washington appears to be trying to solve the unemployment problem by curtailing Federal appropriations, and I think this convention should do something to offset that tendency. We can't provide prosperity without the use of money, and Federal appropriations comprise a very large element in the money that is placed in circulation.

I admit that I may not have been able to hear everything that the secretary of the committee said from the platform, and perhaps what I have in mind is embodied in the committee's report. If that is true I am happy to know that, but I would like to say in reply to what Vice-president Woll said that I did not intend to limit it to Federal appropriations, but that we be committed to the securing of Federal appropriations as at least one of the avenues through which money must be secured.

Last winter our association undertook to find out the efficiency of Federal appropriations or expenditures, that is, we undertook to find out how much purchasing power it would develop in the course of a year. You know that when money is spent on public work the working man usually spends his money in the week he gets it, and in the week after, and the retailer spends a portion of it to replenish his stock, and perhaps saves a portion of it. Then the wholesaler and the manufacturer spend it, and so on. That route is pursued a number of times during the course of a year. Likewise a part of the money that is spent on the purchase of materials, such as steel, building materials and others, is circulated in the same manner.

This bureau of economic experts found that every dollar spent by the United States Government generated \$5.00 worth of purchasing power on the

average in the United States. The present depression, according to very reliable authorities, amounts to about \$25,000,000,000 below normal. Therefore, if these two propositions are true the expenditure of \$5,000,000,000 by the Federal Government in addition to what they are now spending would create \$25,000,000,000 worth of additional business in the course of a year and would largely lift the depression.

If the administration has its way, every dollar they save for the wealthy taxpayers will increase the depression by an amount of \$5.00, and if they should save a billion dollars they would increase the depression by \$5,000,000,000. We can't work without money, and if private employers cannot or will not operate industry, I believe it devolves upon this movement to try some other method by which industry can be stimulated. This money should be raised by taxes and through a bond issue. We should not be living on borrowed money. It should be a tax, and a short term bond of \$5,000,000,000 could be issued, and could be secured for about 2 per cent. for one year, pending the collection of taxes. You can't raise taxes in a minute, but you can raise \$5,000,000,000 on a loan in thirty days, and I believe it ought to be done.

We have many projects that could be started by the Government. We talk about long-distance planning. They are talking about that to relieve the next depression. We want to relieve the present one, and if they have been so short-sighted as not to provide projects, let them complete the projects that they have organized and work it out up to the present time, in the absence of providing a man with a job, I believe he ought to be provided with subsistence until a job can be furnished for him. I am opposed to the dole as a general proposition, but I favor that a man shall have a job or that those who are responsible for denying him the job shall pay the expense of his subsistence until he gets one.

What are all these unemployed doing? Are we going to sit here and wring our hands in perplexity as to what we are going to do? We have to do something about it. The unemployed have spent what little money they saved. They have borrowed

all they can. Some of them have moved in with their relatives, and those who are in the business of lending money have a mortgage on their future earning power for the next ten years. Are we going to content ourselves with merely lamenting that they are out of a job and allow our commissions to relieve unemployment to let them spend all their money and give them a basket of groceries? That seems to be the program of some of the big financial leaders.

I propose by this amendment that we shall bring pressure on Congress to do this. How are we going to do it? Manifestly we can't strike ourselves into prosperity because the employers would be glad to close down some of their plants. So we have to use some other kind of club. We have a very excellent club and a very excellent wielder of that club sitting at the reporter's desk up here.

For instance, the paper "Labor" has a circulation of about 500,000, and I believe as a political weapon it has never been exceeded. It would lie within the power of the delegates in this convention, if they saw fit to do so, to have every member of the American Federation of Labor subscribe through their organizations to that paper, and I believe that with a club of that kind, delivered to three or four million people and prevailing upon Congress weekly to carry out our program, it would be well nigh irresistible. If we don't do it, if we haven't got the courage to do it, then it will be our fault.

Let us not sit here and merely bewail the fact that we have unemployment, let us do something to relieve it. We can pass resolutions, but if that is not followed by action it will amount to nothing. We can't make progress by passing resolutions, but we can by translating those resolutions into action.

There is much to be said on this and I hope if the committee does not definitely commit this organization to combatting the tendency of the Federal administration to cut down Federal appropriations, an appropriate amendment of some kind will be added to the report that will place us definitely on record.

Vice-president Woll: The delegate in question, in his concluding remarks, stated if the committee's report does not do so, and so then he hopes that some other amendment will be added. It indicates the uncertainty of his mind as to what is contained in the committee's report. His amendment deals with the ninth proposal of the Executive Council, and, as stated before, limits rather than enlarges on that.

However, in explaining the reason for his amendment he refers to the fourth proposal of the Executive Council dealing with public work,

municipal, county, state and national, and in that you will note that the Executive Council and the committee urges that every effort be made by the Executive Council, and to the fullest extent not only to appropriate money to continue works already contemplated, but to endeavor to cultivate and encourage promotion of other public works, not alone Federal, but state as well as county and city. So that the delegate's proposition does not relate to public works to which he has addressed himself, but only to the last section, and if the amendment were adopted it would weaken the Council's report as well as that of the committee. I hope the amendment will not carry.

The amendment offered by Delegate Alifas was defeated.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### **Unemployment Prevention by Co-ordinating Economic Development**

Under caption "Unemployment Prevention by Co-ordinating Economic Development" and in the sub-captions following, pages 81 to 87, the Executive Council has already indicated that the problems of industry and labor are not confined to immediate emergencies, but that responsibility rests upon organized industry and organized labor to adopt such measures and enter into such relationship as will preclude like depressed conditions arising in the future—and in the event of threatened industrial depression to have ready means available to avert such dangers.

In connection with the foregoing, your committee has considered Resolutions numbered 29, 44, 64 and 90.

Resolution No. 29 calls for the creating of a Labor and Industrial Board with equal representation on the part of labor and industry and with power to regulate all industry to determine how it shall be operated—or to take over essential industries for one year or until such time as the present crisis may have passed.

Resolution No. 44 calls for a plan of stabilization of industry, of economic planning, of a thorough and accurate survey of economic needs and the calling of a national conference to attain these and other ends.

Resolution No. 64 calls for a long-range planning committee of public works.

Resolution No. 90 calls for the establishing of government employment agencies—the stabilization of private industry and long-range planning of public works.

All resolutions dealing with this subject neither add to nor detract from the report and proposals submitted by the Executive Council. They are in practical agreement with the report of the Executive Council on this phase of the problem.

That there is urgent need for national and co-ordinated planning cannot be successfully disputed. That our present system of uncharted industrial activities must ultimately give way to a charted method of procedure and relationship is as evident as the experience realized that individual expression in industry can only be successfully manifested through associated or concerted action. This being true, it behooves organized labor to be alert and deeply concerned in every activity and movement having co-ordinated national planning for its purpose. While we should strive to inaugurate such co-ordinated planning by the call for a national conference as indicated in the Council's report, we should not be unmindful of other calls having been or being made and conference being arranged for that purpose. Indeed we must press forward the claim of organized labor for full and equal representation and participation in any and all conferences and calls made for the development of methods or means embracing national planning, related to such plans as has been outlined by the Executive Council.

Particularizing upon that section of the Executive Council's report dealing with public accounting, we express agreement and approval with the end desired. However, we urge care and caution that this proposal may not lead to undue state regulation of private industry. We believe labor is best advised to proceed slowly and with full knowledge of ultimate consequences in a field that is so highly alluring but extremely complex and perplexing.

Your committee is no less bold in its urgency against the creation of any governmental agency that may have for its purpose or include in its objectives the shaping of labor policies. In considering the proposal for a Federal Labor Board we are not unmindful that considerable of the data sought to be had

through such a board is already being gathered through different departments—especially through the Department of Labor.

It is apparent that the Executive Council is fully alert to these potential dangers—and while declaring ourselves in approval of the helpful service sought by these two proposals, nevertheless it is urged that the Executive Council reconsider some of the phases involved, in the light of the foregoing comments.

While all of the foregoing sections are of great interest and concern to industry and labor, and to society as a whole, we fully agree with the Executive Council that the organization of workers in trade unions is of pre-eminent importance. Without organization in trade unions the wage earners are not alone denied a full and rightful participation in all matters affecting their employment relationship, and are precluded from determining the terms and conditions of their employment, but they are likewise denied an effective voice and influence in the shaping and enforcement of, national economic and industrial policies and practices.

The organization of wage earners into trade unions is therefore of first and foremost consideration in any and all plans for national stabilization or economic balancing of industry.

In addition, we express full approval of the enlarging of our existing public employment agencies and their development of efficiency so as to command the respect of employers and employees alike. We also approve the proposal for vocational counsel made essential because of the unprecedented technical changes taking place in all forms of human activity and production.

That there must be a balance of work-time and wages against increase of productivity is no longer open to question. We concur in the comments on policies and practices involved, as outlined by the Executive Council, under the paragraphs entitled "Productivity", "Real Wages" and "Leisure".

Finally we record full approval of the Executive Council's urgency for job security. Because of human invest-

ments made by workers in industry—because of innumerable and inescapable social obligations involved and growing out of our industrial activities and relationships, the workers have a right to job security as well as to work opportunities, without resort to, or depending upon any temporary or permanent form of relief, whether private, or public, or both.

Considered in the light of the preceding comments and foregoing recommendations, we record our approval of this section of the Executive Council's Report, in lieu of resolutions herein referred to and as related to the subjects involved.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the committee's report.

Delegate Allen, Post Office Clerks: I would like to ask if the Executive Council's recommendation covers the two "Resolves" in Resolution No. 29, found on page 176 of the first day's proceedings, which reads as follows:

"Resolved, By this Fifty-first Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor that we call upon the President of the United States to immediately call Congress into session to give relief to suffering humanity and solve our deplorable condition."

Does the Executive Council's recommendation include that specifically?

Vice-president Woll: That was covered in the action taken on the previous report of the committee. That "Resolve" dealing with relief was acted upon in the previous report, on the ninth section of the committee's report dealing with relief.

Delegate Allen: They do call on Congress to give that relief?

Vice-president Woll: Leave it up to the Executive Council whether Congress shall call a special session or not.

Delegate Allen: That is what I thought. And the second "Resolve":

"Resolved, That we demand the creation of a Labor and Industrial Board, with equal representation of labor and industry, with power to regulate all industry and determine how they shall be operated or to take over all essential industries for a period of one year, or

until the present national crisis has been solved, to establish minimum wage rates, which in all cases, shall not be lower than the highest weekly wage rates now in effect in said industries, establish a maximum six-hour work-day and a five-day work-week."

Vice-president Woll: That "Resolve" is contained in this report, and in lieu of that "Resolve" the committee recommends the adoption of the Executive Council's recommendation.

Delegate Allen: That does not answer my question. I asked if the Executive Council covered that. I included that.

Vice-president Woll: I may advise that the committee, in its report, urges the recommendation of the Executive Council on this national planning in lieu of the proposal you have made for the creation of a Labor and Industrial Board to take over industry.

Delegate Allen: Very well, as I understand it, then, the Executive Council would not consider these two "Resolves." I would like to offer these two "Resolves" as an amendment to the committee's report.

Vice-president Woll: The committee, inferentially, votes against your resolution, so in order to get it before the convention you would have to vote down the committee's report.

President Green: May I explain the situation just in a word to the delegate? The committee considered the resolution to which you have called our attention in connection with the Executive Council's report dealing with the same subject, and the committee recommends the adoption of the Executive Council's recommendation, rather than the recommendation you have called the attention of the delegates to in the resolution just read.

Now the parliamentary status would be that the committee's report is before the convention and it must of necessity be voted down before your matter can come before the convention.

Delegate Allen: Very well, Mr. President, I would like to oppose the adoption of the committee's recommendation.

President Green: You have the floor.

Delegate Allen: I would like to say that if I was correct in my understanding of the committee's report, it is that the various "Resolves" have been referred back to the Executive Council, and if I get the right understanding of the Executive Council, the Executive Council made a resolve to continue to resolve until it just resolves, and nothing definite is offered for an immediate solution of the question involved. I am sure that every delegate in this hall will agree with me that we are not now under normal conditions, by any means. Therefore, we should not hope to meet this condition with normal methods, and I am heartily in favor of this Executive Council or this organization going on record as favoring the immediate calling by the President of the United States of the Congress into session that they may take some definite action.

Those people in the States who are hungry are not willing to wait until the next campaign for presidential election is on, and beyond a doubt that is what the politicians are doing. They are making a very feeble effort, if any effort at all, to expend any money for public improvements. They are stalling it off until the campaign for President is on. In the meantime our brothers, with their wives and children, are suffering the pangs of hunger and want. Are we going to become a party to that political move whereby, at the expense of the suffering of our dear ones back in the States, this political machine may be successful in coming back into power again?

I say that the Executive Council of this organization should be compelled to act quickly and not act in the ordinary sense of the word, but to act as though they realize the fact that this is an emergency case demanding immediate and exceptional action at their hands. Circumstances demand immediate action, and I could not gather from the report of the committee anything out of the ordinary at all that is to be done.

A resolution is of no effect if not put into action, and I confess I was not intelligent enough to see whereby the resolve of this Executive Council would bring any immediate relief to

those who are in distress. That is what the purpose of this meeting should be. Therefore, I am opposed to the committee's report being adopted, and I still believe that these two "Resolves" could very justly be offered as an amendment to the motion before the house, and I do offer them.

Vice-president Woll: I think the delegate labors greatly under a misapprehension when he says that the position of the Executive Council has no definite program to submit to this convention. What has already been acted upon deals with the immediate situation, the condition of unemployment. This part of the report to which the delegate addresses himself and which he asks this convention to non-concur in deals with the long range national planning program submitted by the Executive Council.

In connection with that, several resolutions have been introduced having that same purpose in mind, to which the Executive Council has addressed itself—as indicated in the committee's report, some calling for long range public planning, others calling for general industrial planning, the Executive Council having made clear that it is calling upon industry, as well as the Chief Executive of this nation, for a conference for national planning, not for the immediate emergency so much as for future conditions, the immediate situation having been provided for in the action taken.

The resolution of which the delegate speaks also speaks of national planning, but this is what he would have this convention do: He would have the government create a committee, a board of industry and labor, and the government to take possession of all industry and operate it for one year, or for a longer period. In other words, he would take every industry today and place it in the hands of the national government and have this industrial and labor board determine the wages, hours and working conditions of all in connection with private industry.

Certainly this convention is not going on record in a proposal of that kind, and that is what is embraced in Reso-

lution No. 29, to which the delegate has addressed himself. Your committee recommends that in lieu of that the Council be vested with authority to devise whatever means possible and to participate in any call made or any agitation or advancement made for national planning, and see that labor has its full and rightful and equitable participation and voice in whatever may be done.

The report of the committee was adopted.

#### Unemployment Insurance

The Executive Council, under the caption "Unemployment Insurance," beginning on page 148 of its report, presents a comprehensive statement outlining the development of unemployment insurance in Europe and presenting in some detail facts and figures in relation to the character and operation of unemployment insurance laws in Great Britain and Germany. At the outset the Council indicates a clear understanding of the gravity of the unemployment problem by stating that "Unemployment is the great fear that constantly shadows the life of the wage earner. Unemployment means loss of income. Working people must earn money in order to live and buy the things they need. They depend upon their wage earning power and wage earning opportunities to procure for themselves a decent living. They spurn charity and abhor dependency."

In one strong sentence, pregnant with meaning and with unerring logic, the Executive Council presents the test which should be applied to every proposal dealing with the subject of unemployment, as follows: **"The possibilities of the prevention of unemployment have increasing significance and must be carefully safeguarded against policies that crystalize unemployment and habits of accepting it as inevitable."** To this your committee would add that under all circumstances the freedom of the workers must be the first consideration. Keeping these thoughts uppermost in their minds, we urge trade unionists everywhere to read and study the report of the Executive Council on the subject of unemployment insurance with the utmost care and attention.

The attention of the convention is especially directed to that part of the report of the Council which is descriptive of the methods used in the administration of the unemployment insurance laws in Great Britain and Germany. With reference to Great Britain the following excerpts from the report are of particular significance:

"When a worker is employed, his unemployment book is transferred to his employer who holds it and enters contribution stamps weekly.\*\*\*\*"

"When a worker loses his job, he gets his unemployment book from his employer and lodges it with the employment office.\*\*\*\*"

"The office at once begins to investigate the worker's record to determine his eligibility.\*\*\*\*"

To this it may be added that **"in every case his last employer is asked to give the reason why employment is terminated."** The **"claimant is given an opportunity of commenting upon the employer's statement if the reply indicates that benefit should not be allowed."** In this paragraph the quotations are from an article written by the British Minister of Labor a little more than a year ago.

As to Germany we direct particular attention to the following, as quoted from the report of the Executive Council:

"The insured worker who loses his job is expected to report to the employment office in person. **He presents a written statement from his last employer and applies for work.**"

"Unemployment must be involuntary \*\*\*\* Persons refusing to accept jobs may lose benefits."

"When he has received benefits for nine weeks he cannot decline employment in occupations other than his own. If his work is highly seasonal he has to accept position outside his trade in less than nine weeks, or lose benefits."

In each instance it will be noted, there is a requirement that there must be some expression from the employer regarding each individual worker making application for unemployment benefit. The worker, while employed, is reminded constantly that his employer holds what, in effect, amounts to at least a temporary veto power over his right to

benefits when unemployed. This seems inseparable from all compulsory unemployment insurance schemes. We refrain from commenting upon the possible psychological effect of this power of the employer upon the individual worker even in Great Britain and Germany, where, as the Executive Council points out, "the percentage of wage earners organized in trade unions is much higher than in the United States and there is no aggressive organization of employers seeking to destroy or nullify union organization." We submit, however, that in the United States where a majority of the larger industrial corporations enforce employment regulations denying the right of the workers to organize, such provisions of the unemployment insurance laws of Great Britain and Germany as have been described above, would surely have the inevitable effect of increasing the power of the employer to prevent the formation of trade unions by the workers. The acceptance of compulsory unemployment insurance therefore, from the point of view of the American workers, having in mind actual industrial conditions as they prevail in the United States, would in a large measure amount to a virtual surrender on the part of the workers in the battles they are now waging in many industries for recognition of their right to organize. In return for a slice of bread—a mess of pottage, as it were—the workers are being asked by the promoters of compulsory unemployment insurance in the United States to yield up their birthright, to practically surrender in their struggle for liberty, by enactment of legislation deliberately calculated to give the employers increased power of control over the workers.

In this connection we direct attention to the following excerpts from the report of the Committee on Resolutions on the subject of unemployment insurance as adopted in the Boston convention one year ago:

"The issue presented is one of vital importance. It involves the question of whether the American Federation of Labor shall continue to hew to the line in demanding a greater freedom for the working people of America, or whether liberty shall be sacrificed in a degree

sufficient to enable the workers to obtain a small measure of unemployment relief under government supervision and control.

"The American Federation of Labor has stood adamant against every proposal for the registration of aliens because such registration would seriously interfere with freedom within our borders by placing a part of our people under undue supervision and control by governing officials of various grades, opinions and susceptibilities.

"Every system of unemployment insurance advanced here contemplates supervision and control by both federal and state governments and will require registration, not only of the aliens among the workers, but of all workers.

"Can a process which we have denounced as being extremely bad when its application to alien workers in our midst is proposed, be made good when applied to all workers, by adding to it a payment of some sort when they are unemployed?

"Our problem of unemployment does not arise from lack of room, from lack of space, from overcrowding, or from lack of natural resources, as is the case in some other nations.

"Are we prepared now to admit defeat in our efforts to so increase the consuming power of the people that it will meet their great productive capacity?

"Shall we say to our people that they have produced too much and therefore must accept too little?

"Are we to enter upon the policy of accepting momentary relief without regard to the future consequences?

"Shall we discard the system under which we move freely from one end of our great country to the other, crossing state lines, stopping where we please, leaving when we choose, living where we will, without ever undergoing the scrutiny of a government official or reporting to government officers?

"Have we lost courage to the point where we regard freedom no longer as the greatest essential of life and the most necessary element in human progress?

"Shall we be content to carry industrial passports because they have a government label?

"In order to prevent the people of Europe from overwhelming us by flocking to our shores, we have found it necessary to enact increasingly rigid immigration regulations. In the face of this fact, and the proof that it offers of unfavorable conditions in European countries shall we now say to our people that Europe, through unemployment insurance and similar legislative schemes has found a way of making life for the working people better over there than it is here, notwithstanding the

fact that it is the working people of Europe that desire to come to America?

"Are we to join in the fallacious argument now being offered in some quarters that the laws proposed for unemployment insurance are on a par with workmen's compensation acts?"

"Will the character of unemployment insurance be changed in the slightest by glossing it over with the name 'Unemployment compensation'?"

"Shall we tell our membership that workmen's compensation laws which are based upon the age-long principle of liability for direct damage, which require no registration of individual workers, no government cards, no reports on individual workers by employers until those workers are actually injured, or claim they are injured, are no different than the European government schemes under which the worker becomes a ward of the state and subject to discipline by employers under state authority?"

"Shall we place restrictions upon the mobility of our people by rendering it increasingly difficult for them to leave employments and localities which they find unsatisfactory? Should we not rather urge them to seek a greater freedom than they now have in this respect?"

"Is it not true that unemployment schemes of the sort advocated in the resolutions before this convention will tend to prevent the workers from joining in movements to increase wages and improve working conditions because of fears that they might thus sacrifice their eligibility to unemployment insurance?"

"These are some of the questions which the workers of America have a right to expect shall be fully and honestly answered before they follow Europe in this matter. There are other questions of equal importance involved in this subject."

It is significant that during the past year the advocates of compulsory unemployment insurance by legal enactment in the United States have avoided any effort to reply to the questions propounded by the Boston convention last year. Is the subject of human liberty of so little consequence from their point of view that they regard it as a non-essential in the life of the American worker? We are inclined to believe rather that they have simply failed to understand the fundamental issue involved and that in time they will realize its importance.

At the conclusion of its report on Unemployment Insurance the Executive Council, "in contrast to the helplessness

and failure of collective industrial management to offer a remedy, renews the proposals which it has repeatedly offered as practical, constructive remedies for the unemployment situation," as follows:

First, we propose that a national conference of employers and Labor be called by the President of the United States to deal directly and constructively with the unemployment problem and to devise ways and means by which, and through which all working people may be accorded an opportunity to share in all work available.

Second, in order to accomplish this purpose we propose the immediate inauguration of the five-day work-week and the shorter work-day in all public and private industry.

Third, the maintenance of the wage structure and wage standards.

Fourth, work assurance—a guarantee to all those workers who are employed that they are secure in their positions and that through the application of the shorter work-day and the shorter work-week all would be accorded an opportunity to share equitably in all work available.

Fifth, the prohibition of child labor and the employment of adults in order that the slack of unemployment may be taken up.

Sixth, the stabilization of industry, with particular reference to those industries which are classified as seasonal in character. This would contemplate the application of a plan whereby improvements could be carried on during periods of seasonal recession when because of the seasonal character of the industry the demand for goods has substantially declined.

Seventh, the application of a more scientific plan of industrial production so that a stable balance may be maintained in order that production may be carried on systematically over longer periods of time.

These remedies, the Council points out, have been submitted to the owners and managers of industry, and that thus far they have made no response and have offered no reply. Why this silence on the part of the owners and managers of American industry in the face of prevailing conditions?

The Executive Council emphasizes the practicability of the unemployment remedies presented by calling attention to the fact that more than ninety per cent. of all goods manufactured in the United States is consumed in the home

market. This home market, the Council rightly declares, has never been developed to its full extent. Its potentialities are tremendous. Indeed the United States possesses the means whereby it can not only solve its own unemployment problem, but it can also contribute materially to the solution of that problem throughout the world.

Your Committee expresses its emphatic approval of the declaration of the Executive Council "that compulsory unemployment insurance legislation such as is now in effect in Great Britain and Germany would be unsuited to our economic and political requirements here and unsatisfactory to American working men and women." Proposed legislation for so-called "unemployment reserves" is equally fallacious and belongs in the same category with proposals for unemployment insurance legislation.

We agree also with the statement that on all matters of social legislation the Canadian membership affiliated with the American Federation of Labor are free to act in accord with their own judgment, but we can not refrain from cautioning them in this instance.

Your Committee recommends approval of the report of the Executive Council on the subject of "Unemployment Insurance."

In connection with this general subject your committee desires also to report at this time on the following resolutions:

#### **Unemployment Insurance**

Resolution No. 32—By Delegate Florence Curtis Hanson of the American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, Economic depression causing untold suffering to American workers, still continues; and

WHEREAS, Millions of workers are walking the streets in the vain search for the opportunity to work, and millions of others who may not be altogether jobless are out of work or on short time; and

WHEREAS, Economists now generally recognize that no matter what measures for the stabilization of employment may be taken, there will be for years to come hundreds of thousands, or even millions, of workers unemployed; and

WHEREAS, The maintenance of these workers, many of them displaced by new machinery designed to benefit society, is rightfully a charge upon industry and society; and

WHEREAS, The conditions creating unemployment can be dealt with effectively, only if society as a whole through governmental action concerns itself with the problem; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the A. F. of L. go on record as favoring a system of unemployment insurance, insuraged and controlled by the states, and subsidized by the Federal Government.

#### **Unemployment Insurance**

Resolution No. 43—By Delegates William P. Clarke and Harvey H. Harshman of the American Flint Glass Workers' Union of North America.

WHEREAS, There are, according to reliable reports, at least seven million unemployed in the United States, and a great number working part time—all of whom are depressed in spirit; and

WHEREAS, Up to the present there has been no constructive plan adopted to meet the situation with the result that our laboring people are in turmoil and facing hunger and want; and

WHEREAS, We believe that this situation, if allowed to continue, will not only be dangerous to society but a menace to our government, and a threat to our institutions; and

WHEREAS, We believe that the Unemployment Insurance Bill, introduced in the last session of the U. S. Senate by Senator Robert Wagner, is the best plan submitted for the prevention of future panics; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention go on record as favoring this plan and that the Executive Council use its influence to have this measure enacted into law.

#### **Unemployment Insurance**

Resolution No. 72—By Delegate James A. Duncan, Central Labor Council, Seattle, Washington.

WHEREAS, The dreaded plague of unemployment which visits our nation at rapidly recurring intervals, driving its victims to distraction and often to self-destruction, is a condition for which labor is in no way responsible; and

WHEREAS, In the last analysis, the governing head of our national family must assume responsibility for the well-being of that family; now therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the Fifty-first Convention of the American Federation of Labor, that we record ourselves as favor-

ing a system of federal unemployment insurance, and direct the Executive Council to work out a program calculated to conserve the best interests of labor, and to distribute the cost in accordance with the dictates of justice.

Your committee recommends non-concurrence in Resolutions Nos. 32, 43 and 72.

Secretary Olander moved the adoption of the report of the Committee. The motion was seconded by Chairman Woll.

Delegate Duncan, Seattle: As sponsor of Resolution 72, I rise to oppose the committee's report. I would say, Mr. Chairman, that if I were looking for an expert to write me a ghost story I would come to the author of that report just made. It seems to me that the whole report is an indictment against a great many of the organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. I believe the great Metal Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor has gone on record favoring unemployment insurance. I understand some of our printing trades are strongly favoring unemployment insurance. I understand our big street car men's organization favors unemployment insurance, and numbers of our forty-eight states, through their state organizations, have gone on record favoring unemployment insurance. I am of the opinion that they are not all crazy and that they have given this matter a great deal of careful thought.

We refer to Great Britain, Germany and other countries. We are not in Germany, we are not in Great Britain, and we are not in Russia, and because we are not in those countries we do not have to do things as people in those countries do, because of particular conditions that confront them. We listened the other day to the most masterly address I have heard in a long, long time, yes, maybe in all my life, regarding the rights of labor and the duties of government and society in an emergency such as we are confronted with now. I have the utmost respect for anybody who doesn't see eye to eye with me, but I certainly want them to have a little respect for my views on this question and for the views of many others who

see eye to eye with me in this convention.

Our President in that masterly address of his on the opening day of the convention said that we were entitled to the right of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness that had been laid down in the Declaration of Independence. Then he said we had reached the day when there should be a new right guaranteed and recognized by all, the right of men to work. The right of men to work, because that is the only way they can, under the laws of our land, live honestly, and through no fault of seven millions of our citizenry in this land they are denied the right to provide for life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness for themselves and their families.

I say to you that any agency that says to them, "Thou shall not steal, thou shalt only provide for thy family according to the laws laid down by me," that agency, unless it is ready to commit wholesale murder by denying me and my family and by denying millions of others throughout the United States the right to live, must provide assistance for our people. If we say to the United States or to any other governing body that, "You must assure us the right to work," then it is only logical that we in turn must say to that government, "If you deny us the right to work and you haven't the power to make it possible for us to work, you must at least provide some means of feeding our families while we are waiting for the opportunity to work."

The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor has laid out a plan for the solution of this unemployment problem. But how long is it going to take to solve it? Are we to understand that as soon as this convention adjourns, by some hook or crook, these things will be done? Is that ever done? Not on your tintype! We resolve in a convention and then we go out, take off our coats and work day in and day out, year in and year out, then come back and say we have done these things and we are proud of our accomplishment. But these things are not done over night, and in the meantime seven mil-

lion—and it would be fair to say there is a family of five depending upon each of these seven million, and we would be conservative in saying there are at least two dependents to each of these seven million, which means that there are twenty-one millions of people facing starvation. We are skeptical of a man who serves labor well in many lines coming into our convention and making an address in the interests of a political party, advising us to take no action on this dole. Since when did the Republican Party represent labor?

I find myself admiring the author of that address very, very frequently for the service he has rendered labor, but when he walks into a labor convention seeking to dictate labor's policy, I say to him, as I would to any other politician who comes into this convention and attempts to tell us what is good for us, that we who are working out in the field know much better than our multi-millionaires what is good for labor.

You did not hear the British fraternal delegates referring to unemployment insurance as a dole, did you? No. They told you that unemployment insurance has done more to maintain the standards of the workers in Great Britain than any other agency in this crisis. Instead of degrading men it has given a man a chance to stand up and say, "No, I will not go in and work for less than my fellows get. I at least will not starve to death." Oh, they may paint a very fine picture in this report, but I hope we will not have to go back to our constituency and say, "Read that, it is good soothing syrup!"

I wish those five hundred men I saw the day before I drove up to this convention, down in the City of Seattle, standing on the corner of Railroad Avenue and Washington Street, lined up at the doors of the Volunteers of America, waiting to get into the soup kitchen. Degraded! Go down to the foot of Washington Street and Railroad Avenue and see all the possessions of those men stacked up on a window sill of the city employment agency, all that they possess in the world. Two dollars would probably buy any of those bundles and not a delegate here would give that much for one of them.

Who are these men? Hoboes, numbskulls, ne'er-do-wells? They are the men who fell the trees in our forests, they are the men who roll them into the mills, they are the men on whose strength these few hundred millionaires we boast so much about gained their wealth. Those are the men who made those fellows rich. Now you say we shall not work out some system by which those men who have given all their lives to the upbuilding of our country will have enough to eat without going down and begging or stealing. What alternative is there if not unemployment insurance?

I believe there are many delegates in this convention who feel just as keenly about this question as I do, and I don't want to take up more of the time of the convention than I am entitled to in dealing with this question, but I sincerely hope we will be able to go back to our constituents and say, "Yes, the American Federation of Labor in the 1931 convention in Vancouver went on record for unemployment insurance." Not because it wants unemployment in preference to anything else, but it wants work for our people. But if you don't give them work we don't want them to go to some cheap lodging house where some of them will turn on the gas and end it all. That is the greatest indictment that can possibly be hurled against our national Government and our industries in the United States. To point out the weakness of other systems of unemployment insurance does not affect the matter at all. I would not stand here and say that we haven't brains enough in our Executive Council, if you please, to work out a system of unemployment insurance that will thoroughly safeguard the working people of the United States without requiring them to degrade themselves by seeking charity.

Industry very soon may well close its doors, and then about the end of a thirty day period open its doors. Why shall it open its doors? Why, because of a patriotic impulse it feels that it must open its doors to help the unemployment situation, that it must open its doors to give relief to those that are hungry. Relief on what basis? They would open up the industry to give relief to those

who care to come to work for eight hours a day and give a good account of themselves for \$1.50 a day. I don't want men driven that way. I want men to get the sustenance from somewhere so that they can stand up like real men and say, "No, I am getting enough to get by on, I don't have to undermine my fellows, I will stick to my unemployment insurance until I can go to work with my fellows and maintain my self respect."

Some of our organizations are undertaking to solve the unemployment problem. The bakers' organization in the City of Seattle guarantees to its members \$15.00 a week for two days' work. Is the Seattle bakers' organization responsible for this unemployment situation? No, it is not. Then, why should it have to go down into its pockets and provide relief for a condition they are not responsible for? We can use that money to other advantage, while those who are responsible for unemployment meet the cost of unemployment and keep our people from starving to death.

Chairman Woll: I don't intend to take up much time unless the discussion may warrant, but I do want to answer just a few of the remarks made by the previous speaker. He says we want unemployment insurance and he refers to the addresses made by the British delegates. Unfortunately, I was not afforded the pleasure of hearing the addresses, but I am somewhat familiar with the attitude of British labor on this subject. The fraternal delegates here will correct me if I am wrong, and the records I have in my possession will evidence unquestionably and undeniably the statement I am going to make, and that is that the British trade union movement does not favor unemployment insurance. It favors an out of work benefit system paid for without contributions or in other words out of the exchequer. When you speak of insurance, use the term in an accurate sense, the system in which the employer, the employe and the government contribute. That system was inaugurated in 1911 and up to 1920 it was unemployment insurance. From 1920 on until today it has not been an unemployment insurance.

Let me read you this one section on that point from the statement submitted to the Royal Commission on Unemployment Insurance by the Trade Union Congress and General Council:

"We hope to show that it has not been found possible to operate unemployment benefits on an insurance basis, and we think it is entirely wrong to attempt to secure a violent reaction in that direction at a time when the unemployment problem is greater than ever before."

Is not that the official expression of the trades union movement, that they do not want unemployment insurance, but an out of work benefit system without contribution? Let me go further:

"We note Sir William Beveridge's statement that prior to the introduction of state unemployment benefits, trade union benefits were usually sufficient, with 'other resources' of working people concerned to make it unnecessary for them either to apply to a poor law authority or for any other form of relief. Other resources in the case of the workers means their furniture and effects which they had to pawn or sell before they could get relief, or else live on relatives as poor as themselves.

"This is largely due to what Sir William calls 'the dole officially miscalled insurance'. We agree that it is not insurance and we advocate early that the pretense be abandoned."

Here you have the official declaration of the British Trade Union Congress that they do not want unemployment insurance, but unemployment relief paid entirely by the state without any payment on the part of the employer or the employe. They have come to realize that contributions from labor and from employers do not work out successfully and do not accomplish the design of the original promotion of it.

I am not going to go into an amplification of what is contained in the Executive Council's report, nor am I going to answer the implications as to the personality of the Council made by the previous speakers. Even if this convention went on record, with all its dangers, with all its pitfalls, with all of the complaints which the British

movement has made against such a system, even were we unanimously to agree we wanted a compulsory Government insurance for unemployment in this country, first of all our national Government could not accomplish it without a constitutional amendment, because there is no such power vested in the Federal Government.

Secondly, those who have been advocating unemployment insurance have made the appeal to you that the national Government might furnish it through subsidies to the state governments. The Supreme Court has ruled that there is no way of presenting that question to the Supreme Court, and while the national Government might be called upon to subsidize state governments without raising a constitutional question, the question would be raised in the different states. I dare say there is a serious question as to a single state constitution that would permit of doing that. They are able to provide relief through poor laws, but I have yet to see a decision which would allow relief in the form of insurance under the police power of the state.

The delegate speaks of the depressing conditions prevailing everywhere, of the suffering that is going on. Will this relieve the situation? He says, "Let us do something so that we can get something immediately." Even if we decide to accept it, it would be a most difficult undertaking, because there would be constitutional questions arise as to limitations in every state as well as in the national Government itself.

He speaks of a man not having to take a \$1.50 a day job. Read the report and see how the trade union movement of Great Britain has constantly weakened and how the administration of the Act has been taken from it or it has voluntarily given up the administration of the Act. Read the report of their wages, hours and working conditions, and look to the strength of their organization, its constant retrogression, each successive year more unorganized workers.

Yes, we have suffered loss of membership and a decrease in wages, but compare that with the percentage of losses

in Great Britain and then turn to the improved conditions of our country and the picture is not favorable to our British trade unions.

It is true we have a body here and there that has declared in favor of unemployment insurance. That does not say they have given the thoughtful study and consideration required before taking our nation into an adventure of this kind. I think we should be commended for pointing out the dangerous features of a system of this kind.

I hold that industry is responsible for work opportunity, and if we do what the delegate suggests with this unemployment insurance plan we are removing the responsibility of industry and placing it upon the Government. They have encountered difficulties in Great Britain in this matter of compulsory unemployment insurance. Are we to jump into the same difficulties? So long as we keep the responsibility upon industry, which British labor is now attempting to shift from industry to government, so long as we make progress in our wages, in the reduction of hours and providing opportunities to work, we shall make greater progress in overcoming the difficulties we have encountered within the last few years.

The Labor Party is split, and they have Ramsay MacDonald on one hand and Henderson on the other. What is the plea of Henderson for the election of his party to government? Cancel all war debts, meaning, of course, the debts owing America. Why? To make up the deficiency in England and enable them to balance their accounts by shifting this burden on our shoulders. Realize the magnitude of this question, realize what it means to go into the plan haphazardly and without thought as to the grievous situation we may find ourselves in. We have gone through periods of depression before, but perhaps not as severe as this. If we were to preach and go out into the highways and byways, instead of finding fault with the American Federation of Labor, if we could go out and preach the power of organized labor, organize our trade union, instead of making the appeal for compulsory unemployment insurance, we

would be masters of our own destiny. We lay no stress upon the powers we possess, we ignore the great gifts and opportunities that God, our Creator, has given us, we neglect our own ability to do and to accomplish that which is intended we should by ourselves and for ourselves, and always ask some one else to do things for us.

I hope that out of this discussion will come a realization of the power of labor and the power of organization, the power of our American Federation of Labor, the power of unity and of action, and thus accomplish something real, and not wait for our Federal Government, constitutionally or otherwise, to bring relief to our people and to make for a better and a fuller life.

Delegate Hoffman, Meat Cutters: I want to say, Mr. Chairman and delegates, that sympathy is a very fine thing when you have your stomach full and plenty of it. Everything that is produced in this world is produced by labor, but we find ourselves with the wealth of the United States in the hands of a few. I don't believe myself that it is unjust to ask that portion of the capitalist class to donate back some of that money to labor, which has produced it.

I listened to our good Chairman last Monday night in an address he made in this hall, in which he referred to a conference with the President of the United States and some of the large employers, where the promise was made that there would be no wage cuts. What was the result? They had no sooner got out of the conference than the first thing they did was to cut wages. The bankers started it, then the steel industry, and from the steel industry it has gone down the line to every other industry.

The committee's report deals with the question of liberty. Let me say to you that so far as labor in the United States is concerned, there is no liberty there. There is no organization in the United States that will protect labor. I am one of the delegates sitting in this convention today who has a lifetime injunction served upon me. Let labor go out and attempt to defend its rights, and what do you find? You will find that

you are immediately served with an injunction issued by some judge, and that is his opinion.

Let me cite to you just one or two instances. Quite a few years ago we had the famous Danbury Hatters' case, where the hatters were compelled to pay a fine that the judge levied against that organization by reason of the fact that he claimed they were restricting the trade of the Danbury Hatters. That was one case where labor was brought under an anti-injunction law.

On the other hand, we have this on page 15 of the Federal Trade Commission's report: "Five big packers in this country in 1918 controlled 123 commodities of life. Those five big packers would call a meeting and establish the buying price of livestock, and any packer who paid more than what they agreed to was fined from 40 to 75 cents a hundred. After the stock was dressed they would have another meeting to establish the selling price on that stock, and if any of the packers violated that, they would be fined again. In addition to that, there was a direct violation of the Interstate Commerce Law. They would hold another meeting and allot so much to each packer in a certain district and if they shipped more into that district, then they were fined 40 to 75 cents a hundred.

Now we have the capitalist class on one side and labor on the other. What was the result? By reason of the fact that the Danbury Hatters were putting up a fight against this company a judge issued damages against that organization. What did the Government of the United States do against the five big packers? They didn't have nerve enough to do anything. The packers agreed to the Consent Decree that would allow them to sell to the retail meat business, and that was all that was accomplished.

I can't see any law in the United States whereby we have any liberty as far as labor is concerned. Whenever the capitalist class becomes involved in a fight with labor the first thing they try to do is to enact legislation that will curb labor, and if they are not successful in that, then they take direct action.

I am beginning to be one of those myself who believe it is time to take direct action. If human life can exist as long without food as it takes us to get legislation in the United States, we might get somewhere, but human life can't do it. It seems to me something ought to be done and ought to be done real quickly.

I have no fault to find with the committee's report or the Executive Council or anybody else. As Brother Duncan said, you will find people in the bread line in Seattle. I know of several instances where they have gone into the homes and taken the women out of bed, starving to death for something to eat. That is a whole lot worse than standing in the bread line waiting for a crust of bread.

There may be danger in unemployment insurance, call it what you will. You can call a horse a cow, but that does not necessarily make a horse a cow. So I say relief ought to be given to this unemployed situation in the United States and it ought to be given at once. I am for anything that is going to help the unemployed.

Delegate Trotter, Typographical Union: Inasmuch as Chairman Woll's speech is a very serious indictment of conditions in Great Britain, and we have upon the platform delegates from that country who would naturally be expected to know by close contact considerably more upon the subject of which Mr. Woll spoke than Mr. Woll himself, no matter from what document he quoted, would it be a breach of etiquette upon the part of the Chairman to invite either one or the other of these delegates to make the corrections which Mr. Woll suggested might be made to anything which he might say? I believe there ought to be considerable correction.

President Green: Brother Trotter, I am sure the fraternal delegates do not want to inject themselves into our internal affairs. I think they presented, in a very full way, their views upon the question in the addresses they delivered. I would not want to embarrass them or to depart from the traditional policy we

have always followed by calling upon them to go into our internal differences.

Delegate Furuseth, Seamen: Mr. Chairman, I must declare myself in sympathy with the difficulties that have been raised with reference to unemployment insurance by the report of the committee. I do not believe, because I have not been able to find any reason for believing, that there is any real remedy to be found in that system, but I do declare myself in sympathy with the statement made by the delegate from Seattle who spoke against the report. He said that we in the United States have a right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, and we have a right to call upon the American people to so reconstruct their government, if that be necessary, as will make it possible to obtain and enjoy those particular rights laid down in the Declaration of Independence.

They say in that document that those principles are fundamental and that governments are instituted among men for the purpose of putting them into force—I don't know that I am using the right word there, but you will understand what I mean—operation probably would be better. The delegate said, if we cannot have work then we must have sustenance. He quoted from the statement of the President of this Federation in his address that we have a right to work. Well, yes, we have a right to it, under the Declaration of Independence, but against whom does it run? Where is the employer who is obligated by our laws, or where is the municipality or the state obligated under these laws to see that we have an opportunity to work? I can't find it anywhere. I haven't been able to find it yet, at any rate.

We are facing a tremendous condition here now. It is not new to me. There are men in this convention who will remember that unofficially and off the platform I said that all we have been doing inevitably would bring us to the present condition. Personally, I am satisfied that we cannot believe now that we have gone to the bottom. There is no remedy possible as yet because we have not gone to the bottom.

Over-capitalization, the issuing of securities with no possible basis upon which to give them value—from 1924 to 1929, more than forty billions of dollars. During that period there was a riot of speculation, and we are going to relieve these things by unemployment insurance. I believe the report is right when it says that in doing so we are losing what ever little liberty we have left. I am always inclined to think, I certainly do feel that the proposals, innocently but in fact, are transmitted in some way from those who are planning the destruction of existing governments and establishing an industrial government in its place. What can labor do against it?

The delegate over there called attention to the fact that there is no freedom, that whenever we want to exercise the God-given right—and if there be a God He must have given it, because nations that denied it—have passed away in misery. If there is a right it must be a right to the man to own himself, to combine in associations and mutually bear each other's burdens, a right to help each other. The gentleman called attention to the very thing that has taken that right from us.

The report of the committee speaks in most eloquent language of organization—go out and organize and let us mutually help and assist each other, and we can handle all these questions by ourselves and to ourselves. True—but can you? Whenever you get together to stop production the employer does not go to your Executive Board in your organization—no, he goes to a lawyer. The lawyer goes to an equity judge and the equity judge sends out an injunction. And the men who were willing to bear each other's burdens, to get together for the purpose of subduing the employer and put it in their constitution, can do nothing else than just obey. They are told that they must cease their combination or go to jail. Now, how can they cease their combination? By going to work on the stone,—I am talking now of the decision in the stone cutters' case. The law says you are innocent until proven guilty. Equity says you are guilty until you prove your innocence. There was no means for these

men to prove their innocence or purge themselves except by starting on the stone.

In the hatters' case, and that is reinforced in the Truax case, you must not reduce the value of the employer's business, you must not reduce his income, the court says, from \$60,000 a year to \$12,000 a year, because if you go on with that you destroy his property right, and the carrying on of business is a property right. So where are you, then, with your organization.

We can't strike, we can't boycott, so where is our weapon? Beg! Get on your knees and beg. Well, the average man says, as they generally say to me, "What's the use, Andrew? If I am going to beg I might as well beg from the inside and become a member of a company union."

The comrade over there is right when he says if we can't have work then we must have bread and sustenance until we get work. If we don't get either I don't know what is going to happen. I don't want to make any guesses.

On the other hand, the Chairman of the committee says we can do all this for ourselves. Can we? Isn't it notorious that when we use the God-given right to combine together and bear each other's burdens we are up against the question of ceasing or going to prison? Now who is responsible for all this? It is the first time that I have said it here on the platform. There is a struggle going on now since the close of the war in every country in the world. The World War destroyed the old governing classes. The new governing class if known historically as the Third Estate, popularly known as Big Business. They don't want legislative government at all, they want government by decree. They don't want the Saxon system of jurisprudence and deciding by jury, because then men will have a share in the administration of justice. They don't want those things because they will be shackles on them. They believe themselves strong enough, clean enough, patriotic enough, good enough, to be entrusted with the government of all the rest of the world. If that be true, then

all our present struggles for the last hundreds of years have been a mistake. I don't believe that is true. I don't believe they are right, and therefore I am calling attention to it.

The employer or the industry responsible for employment for men says, "What do you expect of me?" Business means making money. That is what men are in business for—a brutal, practical proposition. Of course there are among them hundreds who have all the sympathy that you and I have, who look with sorrow and almost despair on the present condition and would like to find a remedy, but they can't because they, too, are in the minority.

One more thought on this report and I am through. There has been advocated a conference of employers, representatives of the Government and of labor to plan long-time planning for labor. Who is to do this? Where is the power going to come from? Is it in existence today? No. Would you accept it if the ruling was against you, and you haven't got one chance in a thousand that it won't be against you? The situation is bitter, disheartening, terrible, and if there is one cure for it, it has got to come by the restoring to humanity and to the people of America their rights declared under the Declaration of Independence, strengthened and restored again by the Thirteenth Amendment, making free human beings free—free to meet, free to associate, free to help each other, free to sustain each other. Then labor may do all the things that the chairman of this committee has said.

Delegate Tobin, Teamsters: I am anxious to know whether Brother Furuseth favors or opposes the report of the committee. I think he said he was in favor of it. I would like to be sure. Brother Furuseth, will you answer a question? Do you favor the report of the committee as against unemployment insurance?

Delegate Furuseth: As against unemployment insurance, yes, and if it means they are opposed to Government insurance or to unemployment insurance. I agree to that, but I am in a quandary, as I tried to say to you, and that quandary consists in this: That if we can't get what we must have now, bread, the committee does not tell us how to get the bread nor does the Executive Council.

Delegate Howard, Typographical Union, arose to speak on the question and the attention of the Chair was called to the fact that the hour of adjournment had arrived.

Vice-president Woll: I move that we suspend the regular order and proceed until the subject under discussion has been disposed of.

Delegate Duncan, Seattle Central Labor Council: I move that we adjourn until the regular hour for re-convening this afternoon.

President Green: It is not necessary to move to adjourn. The rules provide for that.

Vice-president Woll: I withdraw my motion.

At 12:30 o'clock p.m. the convention recessed to 2:30 o'clock.

## Seventh Day — Wednesday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order at 2:30 p.m. by President Green.

### Absentees:

Gillmore, Dullzell, Abernathy, Horn, Bowen, Harrison, Schulte, Coulter, Zaritsky, Warfield, Schlesinger, Onyett, Kennedy (A. J.), Bjorklund, Fljodzal, Scully, Lewis, Murray, Fagan, Boylan, Britton, Burke (J. P.), Sullivan (H. W.), Sultor, O'Brien, Kaiser, Manion, Gorman (F. J.), Starr, Smith, Evans, Hatch, Fay, Provost, Gross, Rosqvist, Young, Sullivan (J.), Garrison, Fossee, Joel, Campbell (G. C.), Driscoll, Coleman, Barger, Augustino, Sumner (S.), Rice, Foster, Quinn (J. C.), Moore, Sisson, Bower, Smethurst, Welsh, Martinez, Reed, Wood, Thomas, Bohm, Stephens, McElligott, Randolph, Webster, Hampton, Galvin, Mitchell (T.).

Delegate Donnelly, Ohio State Federation of Labor: I have some telegrams that were sent to me, and I desire to have them read to the convention and made part of the record. The telegrams are as follows:

Columbus, Ohio, Oct. 14, 1931.

Thomas J. Donnelly, Vancouver Hotel Convention Hall, Vancouver, B. C.:

To the Delegates of the American Federation of Labor: As Governor of Ohio I wish to extend to your organization a most cordial invitation to come to Columbus in Nineteen Thirty-two.

GEORGE WHITE,  
Governor.

Columbus, Ohio, Oct. 14, 1931.

Thomas J. Donnelly, Vancouver Hotel Convention Hall, Vancouver, B. C.:

To the delegates of the American Federation of Labor: We pledge the support of the City of Columbus with all of its varied activities in the support of Columbus as your convention city for next year.

JAMES R. THOMAS,  
Mayor.

Columbus, Ohio, Oct. 14, 1931.

Thomas J. Donnelly, Vancouver Hotel Convention Hall, Vancouver, B. C.:

To the delegates of the American Federation of Labor: The Columbus Federation of Labor and our Chamber of Commerce cordially invite your organization to make Columbus your conven-

tion city for Nineteen Thirty-two. We pledge free hall centrally located and all necessary convention expenses.

DALE STUMP,  
President of Columbus Federation of Labor.

CHARLES E. NIXON,  
President Columbus Chamber of Commerce.

Columbus, Ohio, Oct. 14, 1931.

Thomas J. Donnelly, Vancouver Hotel Convention Hall, Vancouver, B. C.:

For your information at conference this morning local Labor group and Chamber of Commerce through Hotel Association agree to raise minimum of seven thousand dollars.

JOSEPH E. CROSS,  
Manager Convention Department  
Chamber of Commerce.

I move you, Mr. President, that these telegrams be made part of the record.

President Green: The messages just read by Delegate Donnelly will be included in the report of the proceedings of today's sessions.

Delegate Mahon: I move that we accept the invitation.

Discussion was resumed on the report of the Committee on Resolutions on the unemployment situation.

Delegate Howard, Typographical Union: Mr. President, this convention is giving consideration to the question of unemployment insurance. You have before you the report of the Committee on Resolutions, taking a position against unemployment insurance. This question is so fundamental it strikes at free labor and free democratic government, in my opinion. In making that statement I have in mind the necessity of erecting a system for the collection of funds with which to pay unemployment insurance and the erecting of a system through which those funds must be disbursed. I have not yet found one trade unionist that is willing to make a practical application of the principle of unemployment insurance by outlining his plan of administration under conditions as they

exist in the United States. I believe an analysis of the proposal shows its weakness, and it is through a practical outline for administration that we find the greatest fault in this proposal. Every one who has given serious thought to the problem of unemployment insurance has expressed some degree of fear at least that it would result in taking from the American worker some of the freedom he has exercised in the past.

However, I am one of those who would hesitate and would give serious thought and consideration before I proposed to this convention that the American labor movement should adopt as part of its program anything that might take from the worker even a small part of the freedom which he might exercise if he would. I have also said that this question is so fundamental that it strikes at democratic government, and I do not believe that is too strong a statement. If you will work out in your mind a practical system for administration of unemployment insurance, with the political system that exists in the United States, I believe you will realize that in such a system there is at least the possibility of erecting the most powerful political machine that has ever been known in any country.

The delegates in this convention, I am sure, can subscribe to many of the statements made by the delegate from Seattle when he expressed deepest sympathy for those who are suffering from unemployment. I am sure that were it possible to develop and to apply an effective remedy for unemployment, there is not a delegate in this convention who would raise his voice in opposition. We considered the question of immediate relief this morning and the convention adopted by an overwhelming vote the report of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and the declarations of your Committee on Resolutions upon that report.

Perhaps the English language is weak, but I believe if you will read that report you will find that about as strong a demand as can be made for immediate relief has been presented therein. It is true, as was stated in connection with the discussion upon that question, that we have called upon all agencies for

immediate relief and it should require no argument to secure unanimous support for the sentiment expressed.

The delegate, in discussing this question, plainly stated his opposition to the report of the Committee on Resolutions and to the position taken by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor. That indicates quite clearly when we consider his statements in connection with the resolutions presented to this convention, just what is in his mind, and he tells us in Resolution 72, by Delegate Duncan of Seattle, that he would have this convention place the American labor movement upon record "as favoring a system of Federal unemployment insurance, and direct the Executive Council to work out a program calculated to conserve the best interests of labor and to distribute the cost in accordance with the dictates of justice."

I understand very well why the delegate from Seattle did not propose a definite plan, and I believe I understand why those delegates who sit in this convention and favor unemployment insurance do not propose a definite plan, because, as I stated, it is only when you attempt to work out a plan that will be acceptable to trade unionists that you find the greatest difficulty and you find insuperable obstacles in the application of this principle under conditions as they exist in the United States.

First, we must decide if we are to collect the funds from which unemployment insurance is to be paid from industry alone. And in answer to that question I will say to you that if you can erect a system, or if you can give me reason to believe that you can erect a system whereby you can take those funds from individuals and corporations who are making exorbitant profits, then I might agree with you.

But you know what our experience has been. We have public debts for the nation, we have debts for the state. And who pays these debts? Have we ever been able to establish and maintain a tax upon incomes in the higher brackets for the purpose of providing funds that were not collected in the interests of one class, if you please? Can you imagine, if the captains of in-

dustry in the United States have been successful in shifting the tax burden to the shoulders of the workers, that they are going to permit themselves to be taxed on their profits for the purpose of paying insurance to the man who is without work? I cannot believe that. It seems to me that it might result in a substitution of a ten, twelve or fifteen dollar a week out-of-work benefit, if you please, for the demand for a job, which is the right and the heritage of every American working man.

Suppose we say that we are going to collect these funds through governmental agencies from the workers and from industry and by the power of taxation which rests in the state. Can you imagine for a minute that the disbursement of those funds is to be turned over to the trade unions of the United States? I say to you, no. As a result of our experience, are you willing that such an enormous sum of money as would be necessary to meet even the minimum needs should be accumulated and disbursed through political agencies? I must say to you frankly that I am not, and that statement is based upon a rather careful observation of the political agencies of our country for two score years.

It is only when we attempt to develop the details of a plan that we find the greatest weakness, and therein we find the greatest danger.

The condition is so different as regards the recognition of trade unions in the United States that it is entirely dissimilar from conditions, as I understand them, that exist in those countries where they have unemployment insurance. The workers of the United States are still fighting for the right to organize in some industries. The trade union does not exercise the influence, it has no legal standing and it could not be permitted to disburse the funds as it does in some of the countries where they have unemployment insurance. And can you imagine, knowing the attitude of some of our industrial captains, knowing their sentiments, knowing the power they exercise, can you imagine the trade unionist, after perhaps he has contributed

to this fund for months and years, going to the agency for his unemployment insurance and be met with the offer of a job in some non-union factory?

We are not dealing with this question for the purpose of securing immediate relief. If you will stop for one moment, I do not believe there is a delegate in this convention who seriously thinks that if we should commit ourselves to the principle of unemployment insurance, it would give us even a part of the relief we must have for the coming months. We are discussing policies for the future. We have already said it is an obligation upon the nation, it is an obligation upon state governments, it is an obligation upon municipal governments to take care of those who are in need as a result of unemployment, but until it is possible, even in my own mind, or some one presents to me a plan of unemployment insurance, I am compelled to support the report of the committee in opposition to the resolution submitted on the subject.

Delegate Hanson, American Federation of Teachers: Mr. President and Delegates to the convention—Resolution No. 32 was presented by the Teachers, and therefore I want to say just a few words on the subject of unemployment insurance. It is very interesting to hear about what is done in European countries, especially in Great Britain, but it is not compelling. I want to call your attention to what is reported on page 245 of the proceedings from the fraternal delegate's address. He said:

"Not for one moment would we say that that scheme should operate in America or in any other country in the world. We say that each country itself must determine as to the ways and means in which it is prepared to help the unemployed. All that we ask in Britain is that we be allowed to conduct our own business in our own way, and if we believe unemployment insurance is the best method of dealing with unemployment in Britain, then we ought to be allowed to continue without the criticisms of those from outside of our country whose criticisms in the main are based upon absolute ignorance as to the needs of our people and the administration of the Unemployment Act."

Now, I for one would hesitate to think that we can not outline a program

as well as our forbears have done. You know when the great American Federation of Labor was formed we did not copy after European methods, but we met conditions in our own country and formed our movement on those conditions. I believe we can do the same thing with unemployment insurance. We do not have to copy from European countries. I agree with everything that has been said about the difficulties of our task. Mr. Howard is right when he says it is a difficult task that is before us, but I believe that should stimulate us to greater endeavor. I feel it is a task we can accomplish if we will. Because it is such a tremendously difficult task is no reason for avoiding it, but a reason for attacking it. The worker is not responsible for this condition, it is industry that is responsible, and industry should be forced to meet this responsibility, and if it does not give us jobs then it should give us something else. (Applause.)

We believe in insurance. I am a firm believer in all kinds of insurance. I carry health and accident insurance, I carry insurance against fire to protect my property and I carry life insurance for the protection of my family, and so do you. Then why should we not believe in insurance for our jobs? I for one do. I believe, and you people know that I believe, because you have heard me talk nothing else when I have spoken to this group, in freedom, in self-respect and in the growth of unionism. I believe unemployment insurance fosters every one of these things. I believe with the economists who say that unemployment insurance will increase the freedom of the worker and his self-respect, and that unemployment insurance will be of great strength to trade unionists. I hold with these people and the Teachers' Union holds with them also.

Delegate Hunter, Cle Elum, Washington: I desire to speak on the resolution submitted by Delegate Duncan of Seattle. He spoke of the conditions that exist in Seattle. I am sorry to say there are members of my own organization that have been forced to go on the bread line in the City of Seattle. I hold membership in what I believe is

one of the strongest organizations in America, the United Mine Workers of America. Now I want to deal with the conditions within that organization in the last few years, point out conditions at the present time and the number of unemployed we have in the ranks of the mine workers in the United States of America.

We can all remember the period of the war, the period of prosperity. At the time they were sinking coal mines in almost every state in the United States. After the war was over, then the depression in the coal industry began. Between 1919 and 1929 there were eliminated from the bituminous coal fields of the United States 2,973 commercial mines and from the anthracite field in Pennsylvania, 110 commercial mines. From 1923, when there were 704,000 soft coal miners in the country, the number went down until in 1929 we had 502,000, more than 200,000 coal miners thrown out of employment during that period.

In 1926 we had 155,000 miners in the anthracite field. In 1929 we had 151,000, 14,000 miners eliminated from the hard coal field. That means that a total of 215,000 miners were eliminated. Figuring on a basis of five to the family we have almost 1,000,000 that would come under the unemployment insurance in the coal mining industry of America.

I worked in the coal mines all my life and I know what it means to the coal miner to have so many men unemployed in that industry. It means that the coal operators take advantage of that situation to break down the conditions of the men who are working in the mines. They know they can get plenty of men and they impose conditions upon the miners that are almost unbearable.

I will go back a little into the history of the organization. I do this in line with the statement of Delegate Hoffman. He spoke of the injunctions being issued against the leaders of organized labor or any one who is trying to bring about organized labor conditions. They do better than that among our people—they use machine guns on them. You remember what happened in Ludlow, Colorado, in 1914, when men, women and

children were shot down with machine guns and, not satisfied with that, they burned women and children to death in the tents. The women of that state appealed to President Wilson for Federal protection, and it was necessary for the Federal Government to send in soldiers to get peace and harmony restored to that community.

Even today we have some of the most deplorable conditions that exist in the United States. In Kentucky and in the State of West Virginia these conditions exist. In West Virginia we have the coal miners' wives going to the tippie waiting for the miners to send up a car of coal before they can go to the company store and get something for their children to eat.

The conditions I speak of have come about because of the number of people employed in our industry. Now, I think the time has come for this convention to go on record in favor of Federal insurance for the workers of the country. I feel that I am justified in saying that I am speaking for at least 90 per cent. of the membership of my organization. I know how they feel at home, and I know what it is to be in the position some of our people are in at the present time.

I will show you some of the methods that are used in the production of coal. In the community I represent at the present time, within 100 miles of the City of Seattle, the miners are paid \$1.10 per ton for mining coal by hand. By the time that ton of coal reaches the City of Seattle, 100 miles away, the people have to pay at least \$10.00 per ton to receive that ton of coal the miners produced for \$1.10. A great many of our people have been thrown out of employment because of the modern machinery that has gone into the mines. The coal that is mined by machinery could be put on the market in the City of Seattle from the same community I speak of for less than \$5.00 per ton, and yet they are charging \$10.00 per ton.

I am in favor of unemployment insurance. In my opinion the method that is used should be, instead of the increased profits of the modern machinery

going to employers, use it to provide unemployment insurance. The Government should tax the industry, take away the excess profits of it and turn it over to the unemployed in that industry. It really belongs to our people. It is produced by our people and we ought to have it. I hope that this convention will give this question consideration and vote unanimously to help out the unemployed by furnishing unemployment insurance.

Délegate Allen, Post Office Clerks: I am heartily in favor of the resolution presented by Brother Duncan of Seattle. I wish to endorse his speech as a whole. I also endorse what this other brother said. The gentleman who made such an able speech on this subject, warns us of the seriousness and the importance of this question, and I endorse that much of his talk. He was very much alarmed at the thought of allowing the United States Government to administer such a huge sum of money as would be required to meet the conditions of unemployment insurance. I admit that it would be a tremendous fund to handle, but, gentlemen, if one-half of that sum was wasted it wouldn't be nearly as much as capital has stolen from us and piled up while the workers starved.

What would you rather do, let the Government waste part of this capital in an effort to feed the hungry, or would you rather let conditions remain as they are and let the big utilities rake in this wealth and continue to pile it up in their coffers while we beg for bread? Are we cowards? Are we afraid to dare and do? If we are, God pity us! Are conditions such that we would rather stand still than to make an honest effort to correct conditions that now exist among our people? I say it is better to make an honest effort and fail than it is to stand in fear and trembling and go down in despair.

One of our Executive Council spoke about hasty action. My God! Is two years considered hasty? Our Council has had two years and more to bring in something of a tangible nature we could stand by. Gentlemen, it doesn't take two years for a man to starve, and it had better not take us two years to meet this situation with something that has at least some relief in it.

Mr. Woll spoke about what is over in Europe. That is a debatable question. We do not have the Executive Council to investigate European questions on the dole, but we do look to them as leaders, as men capable of coming in here and telling us what to do in this situation. It doesn't mean a thing to a man who is half starved and whose children are half starved to be told that people in a foreign land are in a bad condition. We have got to work out our own problem in the United States. It doesn't do any good to read in the press and hear in public that capital has had time to do something and has not done it. Labor has had the same time and what have we done?

Mr. Woll said if we would go out and organize the movement we would have better conditions than we have now. I most heartily agree with him, but in answer to that I will say that if we cannot depend upon our leaders for important ideas it is for you and me to bring forth an idea. In answer to the question of effective organization, I dare say I myself have organized more locals in the past twelve months personally than he has organized in the last five years. Get out on the firing line and do something for these men that are down and out!

You will find there is a big drive among them for immediate relief, and if it doesn't come from capital they will not excuse organized labor for one minute. The United States Government belongs to you and me, not to Wall Street, notwithstanding the fact that Wall Street has its hands on the helm. You and I cannot apologize for ourselves simply by drawing our tattered garments around us and saying that capital had a chance and has done nothing.

It may be that out-of-work insurance is not a perfect remedy, yet it is something. Do you mean to tell me that conditions are such that we had better let good enough alone until capital comes along and says, "We will try this"? I say most assuredly no. You talk about the freedom and independence we have. My friends, how much independence have we? I don't know of

but one question that we are willing to have Government regulation on. But it is a crime, judging from the sentiments expressed by some, for the United States Government to regulate something else. I have been in the employ of the United States for nineteen years, and while the conditions are not perfect, I would to God every man and woman in the United States would be as well off as are those in the United States Government service. There is no hunger there.

Mr. Chairman, when we band together in organized labor, don't we sacrifice a certain amount of freedom? When a trade union adopts a standard of wages, isn't the individual member denied the privilege of going out and working for less? Most assuredly he is. When the local union establishes the hours of work, doesn't the individual member surrender his right to work different hours? When we band together, we do it for a common cause and it is necessary for us to sacrifice our individual whims, I might say, in order to benefit the whole.

That is why I say if some people had to sacrifice some ideals of freedom in Europe to secure the principle of unemployment insurance, it doesn't mean that unemployment insurance is a failure. If we do not offer some relief to the unemployed, and that quickly, a serious question will arise. It has been held throughout the country that this question of unemployment would be the paramount question before this convention. If that question is not solved, this meeting will be almost in vain. I hope that some action will be taken whereby we will get some relief for unemployment.

Delegate Tobin, Teamsters: I did not intend saying anything on this subject, but in thinking the situation over, I don't know how I could honestly represent my international union and refuse to express my opinion on a condition which prevails in the country across the waters such as never prevailed at any time in the history of the United States. I refer to conditions of unemployment and starvation. I am not willing to admit that we have not

brains sufficient in the United States to be able to devise a plan to establish some kind of guarantee against starvation which emanates from unemployment. If you feel that your labor movement is not prepared for unemployment insurance for the present time because of the perplexing conditions surrounding most of our international unions, then for God's sake, make a declaration, call it what you will, to save our country and our leaders in our country from the destruction of the institutions that you have for generations helped to build up.

I have heard so much about the dole. You know I am inclined to think that the term is used mainly for the purpose of prejudicing the minds of the unthinking and trying to establish a substitute word, dole, for the word "charity," which the worker resents.

I very seldom disagree with the Chairman of the Committee on Resolutions. His mind is usually clear on most matters, but I do disagree with him when he claims that unemployment insurance did not really start out as unemployment insurance in Great Britain. We can all read statements favorable to our own arguments, sometimes favorable to the minority, the same as you can extract statements from a whole speech from the President of the Federation, a statement that is not explained for you, but is covered here and there.

Unemployment insurance in Great Britain was started by participation and agreement of three parties, the employer, the government and the worker. As time went on the condition of the workers became so bad and the need of replenishing unemployment funds became so great that the government from time to time was forced to subsidize the unemployment relief fund, but the principle was that three parties would participate proportionately. Even those that are trying to keep down hysteria in our country and those who are trying to favor the administration in Washington admit that even now there are 7,000,000 workers out of employment in the United States. I hold that there are more. It is only my opinion, but I

am entitled to it, because even the Government has no accurate statistical method of finding the exact numbers out of employment. I know something about this statistical department, as I do about the statistical department of the American Federation of Labor. It is doing the very best it can under the circumstances, but there is no accurate knowledge of the total number of unemployed in the United States. Well, if those that are not very anxious to make such a statement admit that there are 7,000,000 people out of work now, isn't it safe to say that in January, February and March of next year, with all outside work practically shut down east of the Rocky Mountains, that we are going to have at least 10,000,000 people out of work? I think that is fairly conservative. I know of organizations of labor that have two, three and four hundred thousand members, and three-fourths of their membership were out of work the early part of last year.

And when you depend on passing the hat around by the Salvation Army, splendid organization that it is, by local community funds, you are placing the worker in the lowest kind of poverty, degradation and pauperism.

This thing is not going to pass over in a day. I wish it would. This thing is not going to pass over in a year. It has taken ten or eleven years to bring about the condition which emanated from the war. The intensive, creative genius of brains creating machinery first laid the foundation for this era of depression and industrial stagnation. It may be two years, three years, or five years before we get back to anything like normal conditions, and normal conditions in the United States will be recognized when, perhaps, three or four million people are out of work in normal times.

Recently I read this statement in the Boston Herald—and there are a great many who do not take the time to read these things:

"With the aid of mechanical devices, a couple of men can now unload as much pig iron as 123 laborers could formerly handle. In open hearth fur-

nace work, a single individual with modern machinery does the work which once engaged forty-two. Under the supervision of one individual a semi-automatic machine is as effective as twenty-five attendants used to be. In locomotive repairing, it is stated, four men with oxy-acetylene torches can accomplish as much in three hours as eight men have accomplished heretofore in three weeks. Seven men can cast as much pig iron nowadays as sixty labored at until recently. The change in brick making is particularly striking, with one machine making 40,000 an hour as against the 450 which one man used to make in a day."

These things are going to stay with us. We are going to have unemployment. If you don't want to insist now on unemployment insurance, why don't you go down to Washington when the next Congress opens, a Congress pretty evenly divided, both sides playing politics for votes, why don't you ask them to establish a fund, call it any name you will, call it unemployment financial relief, but at any rate it will help to feed the starving millions in our country during the coming winter. Where are you going to get this money? That is the first thing they will ask you. They are all talking about economics down there. They are going to say, "You are going to tax and tax and the worker will have to pay." I don't agree with them. If the worker has to pay for something to eat, indirectly, I am for it, but they can find the money if they want to, and our people expect us to do something for them, to at least make a declaration, to give them some courage. We can't give them promises, we have to give them something more substantial.

About sixty days ago there was something of a serious condition threatening to obtain in certain European countries. In less than three hours the President of the United States called together a few of his advisers, laid down a policy without even the approval of Congress, taking the law in his own hands—and I don't think he made any mistake—and by one stroke of the pen he gave to the countries of Europe \$240,000,000 in debts that were due us for the coming year.

A week ago Sunday night, I believe it was, some of our great financial structures were threatened either by rumors or well founded facts, and on that Sunday night in the White House there were called together half a dozen men from the City of New York, and in less than one hour's discussion they placed \$500,000,000 to stabilize the banking institutions of New York.

Those are statements of facts, and I find no fault with the President. I believe, perhaps, it was an absolute necessity, but I make the statement for this reason, that if you tell me that a half a million or a billion dollars can't be found to feed 30,000,000 starving people, averaging three to a family, I am telling you that our people don't believe that it cannot be found, and I agree with them—it can be found.

In all the years of my contact with the Federation—and this is my twenty-fifth year—I have always disagreed with the impossible ravings and railings of the so-called socialist advocates in our convention. I disagreed with them because their policies were impractical, their attempts to socialize the world. I still disagree with any doctrine of that kind, but I say to you now, Mr. President, that you are confronted with a serious condition, whether we want to admit it or not. Your very organization that the President holds membership in—we live down there in Indiana and you can travel from village to village and from town to town and see starving men, children and mothers suffering from the loss of every kind of necessity, sickness predominating everywhere. No one can exaggerate the picture, and I am not playing to your prejudice.

The same thing is true in our own organization. We have suffered in the great cities, and if it had not been for the dues paid by our members and distributed among our men who were out of work, there would have been 30,000 of them or more starving to death last winter. This condition should not be. There is something wrong. I could go into all the other organizations but there is no need of that.

You tell me that something cannot be done. I say to you it can be done and it must be done before we go any further.

I think Brother Woll or somebody referred to taxation. There is one family in the City of Detroit—and in passing I might say there are about five hundred families whose incomes are well over a million dollars a year and on up to two million and five million dollars a year. There is one family in the City of Detroit, three members of that particular family, who own the entire stock of the Ford Motor Company of Detroit. The income from that one particular institution last year, an off year, the net income after all expenses were paid, and that means salaries and setting aside for obsolescent machinery and all that kind of thing after cheating all that the law allowed them to cheat, they still had \$122,000,000. That same family owns the Lincoln Motor Car Company, and it had a net income of \$5,000,000. The Ford Motor Company of Canada, 56 per cent. of the stock owned by them, had a net income of \$4,000,000. The Ford Motor Company of London, England, a net income of \$2,000,000. Their incomes derived from other investments and from the reinvestment of previous incomes amounted to about \$12,000,000. These three individuals had a total income of very close to \$135,000,000. I am not condemning the family nor the individuals. I condemn the system that permits them to accumulate such fortunes. Perhaps if I was in this gentleman's place I would do just the same. Some of us have had the opportunity of seeing him and we know that he is not craving for the pot of flesh or licentious living, but if two-thirds of his net income was taken away to feed the poor, he would still accumulate and have more than he could ever desire to spend.

Senator Couzens, not very long ago, gave a check for a million dollars to Mayor Murphy of Detroit to help feed the starving people of that city. Brother Martel will perhaps know more about it. I read the statement in one of the papers. A few days afterwards Senator Couzens made the statement in

Washington—and because of his progressivism and his inclination to be right, I would not want to misquote him—but in substance these were his words. He said, "Unless those who have the goods of the world, especially in our country, those who have the moneys at their disposal, decide to give to the workers the necessaries of life, the workers will find a way to take them."

No one can charge Daniel Willard of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad, with being a radical, but if some of our labor people were to make the same statement that Dan Willard made the chances are he would be charged with inciting men to crime. A few months ago he was asked, "What would you do, Mr. Willard, if you were out of work and you had no money and your family were suffering? Would you steal?" He said, and with emphasis on the statement, "I certainly would steal."

It is a strange thing, too, if you will notice it, when you see Andrew Furuseth and Matthew Woll agreeing on a committee's report. There is something wrong. I am happy that I have lived to see a convention of the American Federation of Labor where Jim Duncan, who claims to be an ultra-conservative, makes the kind of a speech he did, and Billy Green makes one of the most radical speeches I ever heard in this convention. I tell you, we are changing—changing for the better, I hope.

And let me call your attention to the fact that there is not a labor hating institution in America, from General Motors down to the smallest corporation, there is not a large banking firm that does not stand opposed to any such scheme as unemployment insurance. I want to tell you, gentlemen, that it is dangerous when the bankers tell us we can be fully relied upon, because we are exceptionally conservative and can do nothing to hurt the Government of our country. Of course we wouldn't do that anyway.

If we can't find it possible to endorse unemployment insurance just now, I think what we are all interested in as

labor men is that we want to do something for our membership that is suffering. The men in this convention know their membership is suffering, and it is almost impossible to go away without being discouraged, if we refuse to make a declaration in favor of helping those millions through governmental appropriation or otherwise before we leave this convention. It is awful to find appeals coming into your office day in and day out, every day, and you stand absolutely unable to help them, and still our Government and the millionaire class go rolling on into luxury and wealth almost undreamed of a few years ago.

Let the Executive Council call its membership in session. They understand it just as fully as we do. They are suffering, too, because their international officers know the conditions. Let them call themselves into executive session to help our people and send back word to Washington for the meeting of Congress on December 2 that we believe something should be done in the way of governmental unemployment financial relief immediately upon the sitting of Congress.

I am not criticizing the Government for its action on the moratorium, but not only have they given \$240,000,000 away in interest rates, but every man in the business world feels that the entire several billions of the debt will be abolished. If these conditions are possible don't tell me that this winter we are going to have 30,000,000 human beings within the confines of the United States suffering and this Federation standing idly by, representatives of 2,000,000 working people and their families, refusing to ask our Government to make provision through its machinery to see to it that the families of Americans living within the confines of our states shall be fed, housed and clothed this winter.

If we adjourn without doing that, this labor movement is not what I believe it to be, still fighting, still militant, still considering the rights of the masses of the people in whom we place our trust.

Delegate Frey, Metal Trades Department: Mr. Chairman, I think it is most encouraging, as well as advisable, that a speech such as the one we have just listened to should be made. I believe I have seen in the temper of this convention the beginning of a new determination on the part of the trade union movement of this country to demand, and to refuse to go along unless it receives the recognition it is entitled to and unless more practical steps are taken to protect the wage earners from the mismanagement and the blunderings of the captains of finance and industry who have brought us into the present situation.

I arise for just one purpose. I am in accord with the committee's report, because the committee is dealing in its report with the single question of unemployment insurance. The report, as I understand it, does not deal with relief in the present emergency, and the present emergency has received more attention in the discussion than the question of insurance.

I am wholly with my good friend in demanding that relief be given and in going further, perhaps, than the people of our country have ever gone before in taking away from those who looted the nation's wealth, so that those who are in idleness and suffering this winter will have food, clothing and shelter. But the question of insurance is now the one before the convention.

The chairman of the committee has brought out very clearly that unemployment insurance, helpful as the British trade union movement believed it would be, could not operate to save the unemployed when a major condition of unemployment existed. I have sat here listening to the discussion and I have endeavored to picture what kind of unemployment relief insurance would save the unemployed in our country at the present moment. We are told that there are approximately 7,000,000 unemployed at the present time in the United States, and that every one of these 7,000,000 unemployed apparently represent two others, so that 21,000,000 people are without income because of unemployment.

Now I don't know what standard of relief any one would set as a proper minimum of income to enable these 21,000,000 people, not to live, but to exist, but it seems to me if we set that at the rate of \$5.00 a week it will mean that every one who is unemployed would receive \$15.00 a week. And what does that bring us to? If the 7,000,000 unemployed in our country now were to be given an unemployment insurance of \$15.00 a week, that would mean \$105,000,000 per week. If you multiply 105,000,000 by fifty-two for the fifty-two weeks of the year, you would then find that to meet the present emergency and to give that minimum of relief it would require \$5,460,000,000 a year.

Now that is something more than the \$240,000,000 that was referred to a little while ago. We can't think in billions and I doubt whether we can think accurately, or rather comprehensively in millions, unless we have something to compare with. In 1928, the total volume of wages paid in the manufacturing industries was \$11,000,000,000, so to meet the present situation through insurance would require the payment of one half of all of the wages in the manufacturing industry, or to cover the whole ground, Mr. Chairman, the total volume of wages paid in the United States in 1928, wages paid the bell boys, the waiters and those in personal service, the sailors and the miners, was approximately \$32,000,000,000. So to meet this emergency through unemployment insurance would have required 16 per cent. of all of the wages earned by all of the wage earners in the United States.

They are not earning that now. There are not so many employed. So while the question of unemployment insurance has its value, while perhaps in normal times it could accomplish the purpose for which insurance exists, it seems to me that so far as this emergency goes, the simple arithmetic to which I have just called your attention makes it evident that unemployment insurance of this kind would be wholly incompetent to deal with the national emergency. What we need is money that would be taken from those who have to relieve those who have not and who are not to blame because they are without it.

Delegate Mahon, Street Railway Employees: Mr. Chairman, I am somewhat at a loss, in picking up this subject, having been to a meeting this morning and therefore not able to attend the convention session. I have my bearings somewhat upon the situation, and taking the advice of Brother Frey will try to stick to the subject before the House, which, as I understand it, is non-concurrence in the resolution presented by Delegate Duncan. In doing this, Mr. Chairman, I have to disagree with some men for whom I have the greatest respect, and then I have to agree with my old antagonist, Dan Tobin.

I have read the Executive Council's report and note what they say upon this subject, and I have noted this resolution. I want to call the attention of the Executive Council, in what they say upon this matter, to the close of their report, where they say:

"We have everywhere throughout industry very successful attempts at planning by industrial undertakings, by industries, by unions, by communities, by states and by geographic sections. But this is not adequate—there must be comprehensive planning by all the groups that affect each other. No one industry can prevent business depression—nor even all industries, unless they work together."

That to my mind, Mr. Chairman, makes clear the situation that is before us throughout the United States and Canada today, and in order to meet that situation there has got to be a united effort, which, to my mind, can only come through a Government source relieving this condition.

I can't conceive of the various industries and the organizations working it out. In the organization that I represent we have worked with our employers for years trying to better the conditions of our membership. We have worked hard to get an old age pension. In our occupation when we reach sixty-five years the average man is done with the work. We have struggled with our employers and argued in every conceivable way. We have been able to make some advancement. Two years ago my report to our convention showed ten companies

were giving attention to our old men. This year the report shows seventy-five, but within the last few weeks several of the companies have discontinued the old age pension because of the industrial conditions prevailing.

It is not possible to establish this condition, in my mind, in any other way than through the adoption of a Government insurance that will take care of every industry and every man, woman and child in the country. There isn't any other course to do so.

I have been in conferences with the employers for the last thirty-five or forty years. I have attended various gatherings that we have had outside of the Federation, the Civic Federation and all the others. I know something of the attitude of the employers and of the other side on this question, and I know it is not possible in any other manner to bring it about than through Government influence and Government direction.

Talking on the dole in England, I have been one who has defended the trade union position in Great Britain. I was in England shortly after the establishment of the insurance which we call the dole in this country, and I had the opportunity of visiting the offices of the various international unions and the office of Mr. Appleton's organization, and I had fully explained to me the position that was taken. I have no criticism, I have admiration for what the trade unions of Great Britain have done along that line. And I want to say that in reply also to those delegates who have been talking about the feeling that is in America. The feeling in America with those who know the situation is not in criticism of the trade unions or their work in Great Britain. I care not what other countries may do. I am looking at the situation before our own country, the situation that affects our own people, and I can see no other means or manner or intelligent way of meeting it than by following the resolution as introduced by Delegate Duncan, and then let your Executive Council make a thorough investigation along that line.

A great deal has been said about the cost. Well, of course it falls on labor

in the end. We will bear the cost as we bear the cost of everything.

I was surprised at my friend Frey standing up here and enumerating the five billions of dollars. We didn't think anything of nineteen billions when we sent it over to the European countries and loaned it to them in order that they might cut one another's throats in the late war. In my opinion, he tells in one breath that labor created in 1923 over sixty billions of dollars — and I am quoting from Mr. Frey's own figures — and that the wages were eleven billion dollars and something, then he goes on and shows that in 1925 we created eighty-two billions of dollars, yet we got less wages than we did for creating the sixty billions of dollars. He shows us that in 1929 we created sixty-nine billions of dollars and only got about the same wages we did in 1923. So there would be nine billions of dollars there due to us if we were to get the payments today that Brother Frey talks about, and they would have the best of us to the extent of about four billion dollars. It is hard for me, as it is probably hard for him, to think in terms of billions — I never had that much yet. But it is ridiculous to point out these costs.

I remember reading that able address of Franklin D. Roosevelt before the Salt Lake City meeting of Governors a couple of years ago, and he pointed out that in his opinion it was a question of the Government establishing out-of-work protection for the workers. He said we could not lift ourselves up by our boot straps, and I want to say to Delegate Woll and Delegate Frey, with all due respect that I have for them and their judgment, that I disagree with their ideas—we cannot lift ourselves up by our boot straps.

Delegate Olander, Seamen: Mr. President and delegates—It is a comparatively easy matter to dispose of a question of this sort by an appeal to sympathy for the hungry men and the hungry women, and if there were nothing involved but that of giving to them food I would be the last to raise any question of cost. I would unhesitatingly say, "Feed them." But when in giving the offer of food there is a demand that a price

be paid, then I do count the cost. I want to know what the price is.

Of course the popular appeal on a question of this sort is to confine the argument entirely to the question of the necessity for food and clothing and shelter and say that these things, being absent from a large part of our population, must be supplied. I agree with that. Then to say, however, that they must be supplied in a particular way calls for an examination of the method of it and I feel that I am not attempting to define the duty of any other man or woman here. But speaking for myself I feel obliged to carefully examine the offer being made, with a view of reporting to those who have charged me to represent them and to inform them as to what is going on, what it is that I see in the suggestion being made to them.

One of the delegates used the word "cowardly" in his discussion this morning. If there be any question of courage in a matter of this kind, then it is on the side of those who are not permitting themselves to be carried away by their emotions, but who, notwithstanding the sympathies tearing at their hearts, stop to examine, stop, look and listen in order that they may report what it is they have found.

For myself—and I speak for no other member of the Committee on this—I have not been concerned about the dole feature of this proposal. I have already said that when it comes to feeding hungry men or women I am for getting the money where it can be got and giving it to them in order that they may get the things they need.

Now may I call your attention to this, that on the part of the Committee on Resolutions the report which they have submitted to you dealing with the subject of unemployment insurance is no new thought. This is not a case of a committee blindly following the executive of the Federation and reporting favorably upon some recommendation made by the Council because they do not want to be put in the position, or put the Federation officials in the position of having been turned down by a convention. One year ago, before

the Executive Council acted upon this question, your Committee on Resolutions, with very near the same if not the same membership as it is today, warned this convention upon this question and upon this matter and submitted a series of questions which have been before you now for a year, raising the issue of liberty involved. I have noted that in all the attacks made upon the report of that committee by proponents of unemployment insurance, not one has undertaken to answer those questions, and we have repeated them in the report this year and have asked another question of those who are proposing this particular method of dealing with the hunger problem in this country. The question is this: Do you believe the issue of human liberty to be of such little consequence as not to be worthy of examination and discussion on this question? I say to you now, whether you are on this floor or elsewhere, that that question will be hurled at you until you do answer it. There is too much at stake now to speak mildly upon a subject of this kind.

The report of the committee deals very frankly with the subject matter, that of unemployment insurance, reports against against it and states why. Not a single opponent of the report of that committee has discussed a single word in it. They simply harp upon the question of sympathy, putting the committee in the position of having no regard for their fellow men and entirely ignoring the important questions raised by the committee. The committee is not infallible. It may be wrong—I don't think so—but if it is wrong on this question, that ought to be made clear if anybody here is capable of making it clear.

With the single exception of Delegate Howard, no one has undertaken to discuss from the floor, except the chairman of the committee, the particular matter involved and the details of it. None have undertaken to explain what unemployment insurance is, how it must, in the very nature of things, be administered and what the effect is likely to be. That is what the report of the committee does, and I submit that it is

your duty, as representatives of the men and women of your organizations, to examine that sort of thing, to find out whether it is right or wrong, and not merely pass it over with the cry, "There are hungry men, there are hungry women, they must be fed." Good God, that is the excuse for the oldest profession the world knows. Have we so far lost our virtue that we think of nothing else except bread, regardless of consequences; that we think of nothing but employment, regardless of consequences? There is nothing new about the government giving such things to people. For nearly one hundred years in our own country a large part of our population was under just that sort of system, carried to its ultimate, where the employer under the law was compelled to guarantee food, clothing and shelter and employment. We called it slavery and a million lives were sacrificed to put a stop to it when it was discovered what its full significance was.

The report says that unemployment insurance—that is to say, compulsory unemployment insurance by legal enactment—and the report is careful to distinguish from voluntary methods of unemployment insurance—it holds that it interferes seriously with the liberty of the workers and by substantially increasing the control of the employer, not only over the masses of the workers, but over each individual worker. Does it? Some references appear in the report to sections of laws in other countries, indicating that such control is developed, and then states that it seems to be inherent in the whole system. I have no criticism to offer of anything that is taking place in other lands. We have the right, however, to examine the experiences and the methods and the developments in other lands and determine for ourselves how they are likely to work out in our own country, and in that spirit and with no fault, no unkindly thought in any sense toward the trade union representatives of any other land, I have sought to acquaint myself with the British law, the German law, and the law in other lands. I have not depended upon my own reasoning entirely. I have sought it from

authoritative sources, many important statements which have come into my hands during the past year. Let me say that during that year I have sought diligently for some sign from somewhere that would indicate there was a flaw in my reasoning on this particular phase of the question.

In an article published in the American Labor Legislation Review for September, 1930, Margaret Bondfield, Minister of Labor of Great Britain, presents a description of the British Unemployment Insurance Act, and reading from that article in a section relating to the administration of that Act, I find this:

"The contributions from employers and employed are paid by means of unemployment insurance stamps purchased by the employer from the Post Office and affixed by him, week by week, to unemployment books issued to his work people."

And on the next page:

"When a man loses his employment, he attends the Exchange to register for fresh employment and to claim benefit. In every case his last employer is asked to give the reason why employment terminated, and the claimant is given an opportunity of commenting upon the employer's statement if the reply indicates that benefit should not be allowed."

That sort of a provision may work in a country like Great Britain, where the number of organized workers is much larger, proportionately, than in the United States. That sort of proposal used in America, with the great industrial corporations that we have here and into which trade unionism has as yet made no headway, would be fatal to our organization efforts in the future.

However, that is in Great Britain. Perhaps that could be avoided here. I have examined every unemployment insurance proposal that I could get here in America during the past year, and every one that has come to my hands has that fatal weakness, which I believe to be fundamental in the whole scheme. The employer must be given some control. There must be registra-

tion of the employe; that is to say, of every workman; he must carry some kind of book or certificate of identification. That must be placed with the employer and the employer must be called in either directly or indirectly, either personally or through some entries made on that card or book, and the worker must have in his mind continuously the question of what the employer is likely to do when the point of unemployment is reached; and what must be the effect upon the workers ultimately under such conditions as we have in the United States with that sort of system operating?

Is there no other way but that? Has the hunger reached the extreme where anything is better than to continue on as we are doing? Well, I have had experiences and I presume most of you here have had similar experiences, where we felt that in some activities in which we have been engaged, that sort of a point has been reached. I have talked to my associates on the picket line in years gone by when a fight was lost, and we have turned to one another and said, "We are beaten, there isn't any hope any longer in this struggle. The thing we have got to do now, bitter as it is, is to stick our union books in our pockets where they won't be seen, crawl back on board our ships as best we can, deny our unionism in order to get in among the men again and try to build up the union."

We have done that, and we have done it because we were hungry and because there was nothing else to do. Of course we didn't do it under form of legal compulsion, as is proposed in this unemployment insurance proposal. At least there was not that pressure, but there was the pressure of hunger, the pressure of defeat, there was surrender, and back we went.

Have we come to that position in our labor movement in the United States and Canada that we are about to say that now to the entire movement, and yielding up one of the most precious liberties we have, or at least a part of it, say that that must be surrendered, forsooth, because our people are hungry and they must eat? I don't think we

have got that far. It seems inconceivable to me that a convention of the American Federation of Labor should take that position. I am getting on some in years myself, but in the presence of many men here I still feel young. I have looked up to them through the years. They have stood there strong, capable and able figures, preaching the gospel of human freedom and recognizing how many of our liberties have been taken from us, warning us always to fight for them, urging us on in that struggle for greater and greater liberty. To me they seem wonderful figures. Am I to discover now that after all these idols of mine had feet of clay, that all that was needed to change the course they were heading and which seemed to me to be wonderful was just a little pressure, not upon them personally, but upon the people around them, the pressure of hunger and of want, and then liberty become of less significance? I can't believe that. Rather I feel that they have failed to examine into this question, they have failed to study it, they have not yet seen the full significance of it, and when they do they will take the same position that this committee has taken, that whatever we do in an effort to secure relief for our people, this route will not be followed—and of course it is our duty to do something.

I agree with much that Delegate Tobin has said. I feel that our movement should speak out and not merely in a few words uttered in a convention, which may or may not mean anything, but through actions that follow at the national capital and elsewhere. I want to remind the delegates that in the first section of the committee's report dealing with the report of the Executive Council the widest authority and instructions were given to the Council to proceed to get all available help in every way possible for purposes of relief and employment through public agencies, Federal, state and local, and through private agencies as well. We have a right to assume that that authority will be exercised and that those instructions will be carried out, and to say that we are ignoring the problem merely means that he who utters that

sort of thing has failed to listen to the reports submitted.

Now I want to repeat, and I speak out of some years of thought on this particular question, out of an earnest search for some sort of scheme of unemployment insurance by legal enactment that would not carry with it this fatal weakness that I have spoken of, I am unable to conjure up any scheme of that sort in my own mind without that weakness, nor have I seen any bill in the United States drafted by anybody that does not contain that weakness. In my search I found one measure that did not have it written in in so many words, and for the moment I thought at first glance that here in my hands was a way out, and lo and behold, there was a section setting up a commission with complete rule-making powers.

Personally, I am for whatever action might be necessary to bring about the sort of relief we all believe essential to the people of our land, but I am not going to be remiss in my duty in failing to say to you and to them what it is that I have seen in this particular proposal and what the committee has found. I repeat that this is not a matter of the committee, for diplomatic reasons, bringing in a report calculated to keep the officers of the Federation in the right position in the public eye. One year ago, before the Executive Council had acted, this same committee warned, for exactly the reasons I am stating now, against compulsory unemployment insurance. Then they asked this question that I and the committee believe to be highly important, and all through the years up to now in this convention, no one opposed to the committee's position has undertaken to answer. I submit we are not yet in the position in the United States to call upon our people to surrender to any such proposal as that contained in the compulsory unemployment insurance scheme.

President Green: I wonder if the Chair might impose upon your patience for a moment to discuss this matter just briefly. The subject matter comes before the convention because the Boston convention of the American Federation

of Labor directed the Executive Council to make an exhaustive investigation and study of unemployment insurance and to report the results of that investigation to this convention.

The Executive Council endeavored to carry out those instructions. It was impossible to investigate the subject without making a study of the experiences of our fellow workers across the sea, who had really pioneered in this social justice experimentation. We examined carefully, so far as it was within our power to do, the experience of our fellow workers in Great Britain, in Germany, and in other sections. It is for that reason you find in the report the result of these investigations made in a sympathetic and impartial way.

The Committee on Resolutions, to which this report was referred, evidently gave very thoughtful consideration to all the facts and all the information, all the circumstances surrounding the subject, and has brought to this convention its report. In a previous section of the report of the Committee on Resolutions you will find recommendations regarding the policy that we believed should be pursued in securing relief for the unemployed. That part of the committee's report has been adopted by the convention. Now it is very easy for us to confuse the two propositions, one of securing relief for the unemployed and those dependent upon them, and the other proposing that the American Federation of Labor approve some definite, concrete plan of unemployment insurance.

Now I am moved very deeply by the distressing situation which prevails throughout the nation, so much so that I can scarcely speak upon it in a conservative way. I am willing to go anywhere or any place, using the power that I possess, representing the American Federation of Labor, to secure adequate relief for the unemployed and those dependent upon them. I am willing to go to the Congress of the United States and demand, if you please, in the name of the millions of workers of the American Federation of Labor, that the wealth of the United States be appropriated in this great emergency to relieve distress and

feed the hungry. There is no one who is touched more deeply by this situation, and so far as it lies within my power I propose to go, in the name of the Executive Council and with the Executive Council, to the Congress of the United States as soon as it convenes and there tell them, in the name of labor, that an emergency exists in the United States comparable with the emergency that existed during the war, and that we are knocking at the doors of Congress now, in the name of those millions, and that we shall appeal and demand that Congress, without further delay, appropriate a sufficient amount of money, let it be millions or billions, in order to feed the hungry and care for them.

But, my friends, there is a difference between that procedure and the commission of this movement to a permanent, definite plan which involves very fundamental principles, principles upon which our great union rests. In dealing with these matters there are two forces which pull heavily upon us. The one force pulls at our heads and the other at our hearts, and we find ourselves alternating between the exercise of our judgment and our feeling. You men who have gone through this experience of conflicting emotions know whether it is most safe to follow feeling or to follow judgment, and now is the time when, in my opinion, the best judgment of this great organization, represented here by this delegation, should and must be exercised.

Some one said we did not pattern our movement after that of any other nation across the sea. I think perhaps that was a mere statement that had not been studied or thought out. The facts are that we have patterned our movement after the movement of the mother country. In Great Britain they experimented with trade unions long years ago. First it was the guilds struggling for recognition. Then came the trade union movement, organized upon an economic basis. The movement there is older than ours. It was formed years ago. It has pointed the way. It has taught us how to develop our economic strength, and we have endeavored in the new world, in these new nations of this

new continent, to apply the lessons we have learned from the experience of our fellow workers in the mother country.

But, of course, like many others, we become young men in a hurry. We want to do here in fifty years what our fellow workers across the sea have completed in more than a century, or perhaps two centuries. We fail to take into account the difference in conditions—as I stated in previous remarks, the difference in governmental structure, the difference in nationality, the difference in race, the difference in the relationship of one's government to the other on the structural form we have set up here.

Remember that unemployment insurance in Great Britain followed the establishment of the trade union movement, and bear in mind that the trade union movement in that great country exercised a tremendous influence, not only in the economic but in the social and political life of that great nation. The structure had been set up, figuratively speaking, the machinery for the administration of this social justice scheme had been set up by the trade unions. Trade unionism had been accepted in Great Britain as a fact, and the Trade Union Act gave it a legal standing, protecting it against the oppressive judicial procedure that we have been subjected to here. They were in position to protect their interests. There was scarcely a manufacturing plant and no mines, so far as I understand, that were not unionized long before the Unemployment Insurance Act had been passed.

Now here we are, the guardians of our movement. The Ark of the Covenant is here. You come into this hall as the defenders and the protectors of trade unionism in the United States and in the Dominion of Canada. There is imposed upon us the obligation to protect it, to defend it, and surely when we consider a fundamental principle such as is now being considered by this convention, involving the very life and existence of our movement, our duty is plain, and that is, first of all, to protect the movement that we love and represent.

And that is the thing I am afraid of. That is the thing that bothers me. I am of the opinion that ultimately we shall arrive at the place where some form of permanent relief protection must be demanded by our movement. I believe we are travelling rapidly toward that point, but I fear that the time has not yet arrived. We can't have unemployment insurance without agreeing to a set-up that will, to a large degree, govern and control our activities. You can't have it all one way. If you are to agree to submit yourselves to this proposal and the operation of this plan, then you must be willing to give up some of the things you now possess. And what can we give up and yet maintain our movement? You can't have an unemployment insurance plan without employment exchanges. You can't have an unemployment insurance plan without registration. You must report, you must subject yourself in every way to the control of the law. And then, my friends, when the representatives of these unemployment exchanges are able to find you employment, when you are entitled to receive insurance benefits you must accept the employment they find you or give up your claim to unemployment insurance.

I believe that in some cities where our organization is struggling for existence the operation of that plan would destroy the union there, because if they find a union man a job in a non-union plant he must choose as to whether or not he will accept the job in the non-union plant or give up his unemployment insurance. That to me seems an unfair position to place a union man in in the United States of America.

My good friend, Jim Duncan, is working hard in Seattle to organize the automobile mechanics, and he is doing splendid work. What might happen among these men in the event of unemployment insurance, with employment exchanges finding work for men wherever they could in Seattle? If some of his union men were thrown out of work, placed on the unemployment insurance benefit plan, registered and reporting, and some of them calling for their pay were told, "We have a job for you over

here in this garage that Jim Duncan has been trying to organize," and they would say, "We don't want to go there because it is non-union," the unemployment exchange could say, "You go or lose your insurance." How then could he succeed in the organization of the automobile mechanics?

Now I think that our men in Great Britain, as Brother Mahon has said, have done the right thing. Great Britain is a small island, the towns are closely located in reference to each other. There is one language, one people, one nationality, one tongue, and trade unionism is the dominant force in the political life of that great nation; the shops and factories largely organized. Why wouldn't it work there? Of course it works, and it works successfully, and I commend the British workers for the splendid work they have done.

If a man there calls for his insurance benefits and the exchange tells him it has found a job for him, the probabilities are that it was found for him in a union establishment where he can work. That is because the country is more thoroughly organized than we are here. But they can require him to take the work, because my good friend, Brother Wolstencroft, in the splendid address he delivered the other day, brought that point out forcibly. I think it is worth while quoting just now. Dealing with the question of compulsory acceptance of employment, the compulsory submission of men to accept the work found for them by those who administer the unemployment benefits, Brother Wolstencroft said:

"Do the delegates here assume for one moment that my organization would allow 153,000 pounds of our funds to be paid out if there was work for our members to obtain? And our members are only entitled to receive unemployment benefits when they are prepared to look for and obtain employment, and that applies to every person who deposits his card with the Unemployment Exchange. There is no payment for the first six working days. Those who want the benefits must attend at the Unemployment Exchange and sign the book three days a week. The officials of the Unemployment Exchange can offer employment to any person who is signing the unemployment book and it

need not be in the particular trade or occupation in which the person is engaged. For instance, if a member of my organization is signing for state unemployment benefits and there are no vacancies in the building industry, the Employment Exchange officials can say to the member of my organization, 'Here is suitable employment, in our opinion, during these times, which you should take.'

I take it for granted that means if a carpenter is out of work and the unemployment exchange finds him employment in some other line or trade and they think it is suitable, he must take it or give up his unemployment insurance.

**Quoting further:**

"And if the member of my organization says, 'No, I am not prepared to take that employment,' then immediately his benefit is stopped and not another penny is paid until he has attended before a Court of Referees, composed of one workman, one employer, and an independent chairman appointed by the government."

Keepers of the destiny of this American Federation of Labor, running the risks of this continued fight made upon us, existing only because of the courage of our movement, do we want to place our members in that position where they may be compelled to decide as to whether or not they will accept employment in a notorious non-union plant in America or give up their unemployment insurance benefits? I fear for this alone, because our workmen's compensation laws in America mean nothing without our union. Our social justice laws mean nothing without the force of our economic power and strength. The laws on the statute books are not made vital and operative without our union standing up, requiring, compelling the enforcement of those laws, and if we weaken this, if we destroy it, if we exchange our union for this plan, then we are to blame if our union is almost destroyed.

How can you build under such circumstances? Let us build our union first, let us extend it, let us strengthen it, and then think about coming forward along more progressive social justice lines. I am one of those who still feels that after all the salvation of

the masses of the people in America depends very largely upon the development of our economic strength. I believe our salvation lies there. We can stop wage cuts if we are organized. We can establish the five-day week if our union is strong. We can do many more things if we can organize the unorganized. That is our aim and our ambition.

How can we do that if we strike a blow at ourselves and weaken ourselves, endanger our very security and our life and our standing? I read a few days ago a report of what had developed in Great Britain following the almost amazing thing that happened in the Parliament of that great country. You will recall that in balancing the budget it was decided that the wages of government employes would be reduced, the wages of the civil service employes, the school teachers, the men of the army and navy—all were to be reduced 10 per cent. Well, we read about the civil service employes marching in protest against this reduction in wages and a spirit of opposition was shown, but, behold you, the startling announcement was made that the sailors on His Majesty's fleet had not marched, but had actually struck against a reduction in wages, and that the fleet was sent to the home waters because the navy had struck. There was a manifestation of the economic strength of these men, and while we do not wish to place upon that our approval, nevertheless, it was a significant development and the next announcement was that the grievances of the sailors were being considered and adjusted.

Let us not weaken our economic strength, our economic power, but let us develop it, let us make ourselves strong before we engage in experimentation and inject into our movement, through the adoption of an unsafe policy not suited here, that which will pull at our vitals and destroy our trade union structure.

Delegate Hutcheson, Carpenters, moved the previous question. The motion was seconded and carried.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

Secretary Olander continued the report of the Committee on Resolutions, as follows:

#### High Wage Philosophy

In this section of the Executive Council's report, page 87, attention is directed to the soundness of the high wage philosophy heretofore enunciated and practiced by the trade unions of our land, to the commendable service rendered by the President of the United States against wage reductions and to the disastrous economic and social results following a disregard of the principles involved.

The relationship of social and economic improvement, with high wages and enlarged consuming capacity for the people, as set forth in the Council's report, is worthy of serious consideration by all right thinking people and should impress those in charge of industrial directorship and management, especially at this time when it is the patriotic duty and human requirement of all to forego selfish financial gain and look solely and wholly to the common weal. We recommend approval of this section of the Executive Council's report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### Bankers and Wages

Under the caption "Bankers and Wages", on page 88 of its report, the Executive Council makes a timely reference to the attitude of certain leading bankers in favor of wage reductions. It is not out of place to remind the people now that prior to the present business depression it was mainly the bankers who encouraged the people to put their funds into the "towering pyramids" of investment trusts, and similar activities, organized by and affiliated with banking institutions, which were and still are involved in the financial crash that brought on the depression. The charge has been publicly made in conservative financial circles that "ambition, cupidity and greed have dictated policies" of financial leadership. From the same source comes the additional charge that "if it be objected that not all financial leaders are guilty of such misconduct—

and certainly there are some who are not—the indictment nevertheless stands. As far as the record discloses, not one had the courage to fight in the open against the tendencies he knew were wrong and to demand a right-about-face." The banking fraternity, it would appear, has yet to earn its right to the public confidence as advisors to the nation in financial matters.

The influence of bankers upon wage policies of industrial corporations is a matter of grave concern to the wage earners of America. It has been largely repressive. In the not distant past the individual employer or corporation desiring additional funds, issued bonds through the banker or borrowed from the bank, depositing such security as the banker deemed necessary. The banker was then primarily interested in the quality and value of the security. He did not attempt to dictate the borrower's industrial and labor policy.

Then the bankers lending heavily to industrial corporations began the practice of demanding that a representative of the bank should sit upon the board of directors of the borrowing corporation until the loan had been repaid. The purpose was to give the bank a direct voice in the business policy of the corporation and in its labor policy. As a result today in a very large number of industrial and commercial corporations, the final word on labor policy is frequently not the program which the stockholders or executives of the corporation have decided is best for all concerned, but instead it is the business and the labor policy which the bankers deem advisable, and their interest apparently begins and ends with what they conceive to be the immediate safety of the loan they have made.

We have seen the individual employer replaced by the corporation, the corporation in turn influenced through interlocking directorates with other corporations, and now we often have the banks sitting in with a definite voice in the management policy, including a definite and final voice in the labor policy.

The bankers now influence the labor policy affecting hundreds of thousands of workmen. During the years 1927,

1928 and 1929, they permitted or made possible the frenzied speculation in the stock market which proved so disastrous. This speculation could never have developed had it not been for the loans which the bankers advanced, to the speculators and the stock brokers.

The advent of the bankers in dominating labor policy in the manner it has developed, has become a sinister force which must be taken into consideration in every effort we make to improve our terms of employment and conditions of labor through trade union activity and the practice of collective bargaining.

We agree fully with the reasoning of the Executive Council "that bankers could perform their functions more wisely if they had regular and intimate contacts with production technicians and representatives of workers," and that they might then learn, as the Council rightly declares, "that wage rates and labor costs are not the same thing, and that high wage rates usually result in low labor costs for unit production." It is time, surely, for the bankers in general to do more than to advise business leaders to curtail operations, reduce wages and withhold cash, and to urge labor "to work hard, spend little and save much." There is, in the opinion of your committee, much truth in the charge that bankers as a class are not primarily interested in the creative promotion of stable business progress but rather in the mere collection of debt."

The American banker should, as stated by the Executive Council, aid "in getting money out of the banks into circulation and to supply business undertakings with the necessary credits," that they should "be concerned to increase the amount of money put to buying uses," and should recognize the fact that "no group spends its income more freely than wage earners." Your committee is not unmindful of the difficult problems with which the bankers are frequently confronted, nor are we inclined to be impatient with their manifestly human failings. Their apparent disposition to hold aloof from labor and to deny labor representation while attempting to dictate labor policies, however, must undergo a change before they can

be accepted as competent advisors in labor matters. Your committee recommends approval of the report of the Executive Council on this subject.

Delegate Frey, Molders: I am in support of the recommendation, but it seems to me that this convention should spend a moment in further consideration of the part which the American bankers played in bringing us to the industrial situation we are in now. The banker has, more and more, become a dominant industrial, economic and political influence in the United States. Congress is governed very largely at times by what the bankers desire. Since the beginning of this administration it has been customary for bankers to meet in private conferences in New York City and send their most influential members to Congress and the Executive Mansion for the purpose of having their plans carried into effect.

The bankers, instead of being of first service to industry and commerce, have been developing methods of acquiring wealth, which has led them to act as though industry and commerce existed exclusively for the purpose of letting the banker make profits. It seems to me, in the discussion of this question, it might be well at this time to have a few statistics inserted in the discussion so that when we refer to it for further information, we will have in the record some evidence about what the bankers of the United States did.

It is necessary that we should have some understanding of the bankers' policy, because the American banker is an international banker, and among other things, during the last seven or eight years the American banker has been making millions by exporting the export trade of the United States to other countries. The American bankers are the ones who are financing the building of these branch plants in other countries where the goods are manufactured for other countries which would otherwise be made largely in the United States. The statistics make it plain that American bankers, more than any one else, are responsible for syphoning off the wealth made by industry and

commerce and exporting it to other countries in the form of loans, some fifteen billions of which have been made.

I want to add this, that the American bankers not only advise that wages should be reduced, but they are refusing to renew the notes of corporations who are unwilling to fall in line with their wage reduction policy. To that may I add that many of our large corporations have upon their board of directors the direct representative of the bankers that made the large loan. It is common knowledge in the City of Washington that when a very large publishing house, issuing a number of magazines of a trade and commercial character, enthusiastically endorsed the policy of the American Federation of Labor in resisting wage reductions, a banker who was first and most prominent among these to advocate a reduction in wages, sent for the representative of this great publishing house and said to them: "Gentlemen, you make your money from the advertisements you carry in your publications. If you continue to maintain the position you have taken on no reduction in wages, you will probably discover that your advertising will no longer be a source of profit."

Now, Mr. Chairman, the bankers accumulated wealth more rapidly than any other group in the United States, and I have statistics for the period from 1922 to 1929 that are the statistics submitted by the Federal Reserve, and the Federal Reserve banks represent 70 per cent. of the banks in the United States. Their capital in 1922 was \$1,940,000,000; in 1929, it had increased to \$2,757,000,000. Their surplus in 1922 was \$1,625,000,000, and in 1929, it had increased to \$2,864,000,000. Their undivided profits at the end of 1922 were \$797,000,000; at the end of 1929, they were \$1,086,000,000. The net addition to their profits in 1922 was \$299,000,000; the net addition to their profits in 1929 was \$556,000,000.

The dividends on bank stocks in 1922 were \$246,000,000; in 1929 they were \$408,000,000. Their total deposits in 1922 were \$27,288,000,000; in 1929, their total deposits had increased to \$38,014,000,000, or over \$11,000,000,000, and that

\$11,000,000,000 represented the total value of wages paid in the manufacturing industries in that same year.

I might add to that, because the question involves wages, that in 1923 the manufacturing industries produced goods to the value of \$60,529,000,000. In 1927 this had increased to \$62,718,000,000, and in 1929 it had increased to \$69,417,000,000, an increase of \$9,000,000,000 over a period of six years.

During that time in the manufacturing industries the wage rate in 1923 had been \$11,007,000,000, and in 1929, the year in which we produced \$9,000,000,000 more of manufactured goods, it was still \$11,421,000,000.

Now, what the bankers were doing is indicated by some further statistics. The dividends paid by corporations in 1922 were \$930,648,000; in 1929 they had increased to \$3,478,000,000, an increase of 356 per cent. in the value of dividends paid during the six-year period.

The bondholders in the banks made \$2,469,000,000 in 1922, and this had increased to \$7,588,000,000 in 1929, showing that the increase of the interest was practically the same as the increase in the dividends.

These things are in the record and while they do not mean much to you now, you can read them later on and digest them. While the volume of the national wealth increased enormously, the total volume of wages in 1928 was \$649,000,000 less than the year before, so that the wage earners of this country were \$649,000,000 less able to buy the products of their own industries than they had been the previous year, and these statistics relative to bankers' incomes, indicate one of the reasons why we are suffering now. We are suffering because the bankers of the country have proven themselves wholly unfit to be in possession of the banking interests.

In 1927 there were 82,665 less manufacturing establishments than in 1919, that is, an eight-year period. During the same period there were 689,416 less workmen in these manufacturing establishments. There were 184,690 less men

employed on our railway transportation, yet at the end of 1927, not only were we producing much more rapidly than any one ever dreamed would be humanly possible, but our railways were hauling more ton miles and more passenger miles than ever before. I think that these statistics, if they are carefully studied, will help us to better understand why we have unemployment.

The bankers in particular are the ones responsible for siphoning off the wealth as rapidly as it was increased and using it for their own purposes of profit, instead of allowing the surplus produced by industry and commerce to circulate through the masses of the people.

Delegate Furuseth: I rise to ask a question of the last speaker or of the secretary or chairman of the committee.

President Green: Does Delegate Frey desire to answer a question?

Delegate Frey: If possible, Mr. Chairman.

Delegate Furuseth: After we have studied these figures and after we have appealed to the bankers and the corporations and have received no response to our appeal, what is the remedy then?

Delegate Frey: When the country suffered from a pestilence some people offered up prayers to be relieved from the disease; others attempted to discover the cause, and when they did they drained the morasses and the swamps, and if the banks are a morass we will find a way to drain them and the swamps.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

President Green: The Chair will interrupt the report of the Committee on Resolutions to receive a report from the Committee on Local and Federated Bodies.

The Chair will call upon Delegate Weber, the Chairman, and Delegate Swartz, the Secretary of that committee.

#### REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON LOCAL AND FEDERATED BODIES

Secretary Swartz reported as follows:

To the Officers and Delegates of the American Federation of Labor, in Fifty-first Annual Convention Assembled at Vancouver, British Columbia, October, 1931.

Your Committee on Local and Federated Bodies would respectfully make the following report and recommendations:

The American Federation of Labor is composed of many widely diverse units, bound together by the powerful ties of fraternity and mutual benefit through association. The work of the Federation is likewise diverse, touching many points of national life, and entering into the very homes of millions of individual laborers by improving their conditions as to hours of labor, sanitary and safety measures and, above all, wage scales which are the very life blood of our people. From this humble but powerful place in the heart of the home, the work of the Federation displays itself in ever-widening circles, finding high expression in legislative enactments of State and Nation, benefitting not only millions of workers, but also enhancing the welfare of the whole country.

The foundation stone of all labor organization is the local body; without it there would be no structure. These individual stones join in the foundation wall upon which the edifice of Labor is reared. Without detracting from the importance of the higher elements of the American Federation of Labor, they would all quickly be paralyzed if the various locals should fail to function.

Very much of the completed work of organized labor is done by locals grouped into central labor unions. These bodies are in close contact with local conditions, and by this intimate touch are in a strategic position to combat the efforts of local Chambers of Commerce or local Employers' Associations who may be so short-sighted as to try to secure prosperity by cutting wages, increasing the hours of labor, or by any of the reactionary devices resorted to in times of

depression under the guise of "deflating labor."

While intelligent employers now recognize and freely admit that the welfare of industry as a whole is inseparably bound up with the maintenance of a high wage standard and steady employment, and the consequent improvement of the standard of living in ever-ascending degree, it is highly unfortunate that there still exist numbers of employers, notably great corporations employing non-union labor, who not only disregard the welfare of their own employes, but who also deliberately tear down their fellow employers by cutting wages and so reducing the buying power of their employes. Thus while possibly making a saving in the wage cost of their own product, they callously disregard their social duty even to their own class, and destroy the standard of living upon which the industrial life of our nation has been based. In a very direct and cruel way they subtract from the life blood of their own workers; in equal truth they strike at the very heart of our nation's life.

To combat this reactionary tendency on the part of heartless and unpatriotic employers, the Central Labor Union occupies a point of vantage both in economic and political power. Legislators, state and national, are swayed by many motives, but very few of them are indifferent to the wishes of well organized and militant local labor bodies.

Out of aggressive locals grouped in Central Labor Unions grows the power of State Federations of Labor, National and International Unions, and the great American Federation of Labor itself. None of these could long survive if the locals were to become decadent.

As to the duty of a local to join the Central Labor Union, we would point out that rather than an obligation grudgingly to be paid, it should be esteemed the high privilege of each local to affiliate with others in the central body. By the same token each central body should solicit the affiliation of all locals within its jurisdiction and by kindly persuasion would accomplish success.

On this point we would quote from the proceedings of the Toronto Conven-

tion in 1929, report of this Committee on pages 380-381:

"Your Committee desires warmly to commend the consistent attitude of President William Green in urging locals of all affiliated organizations to affiliate with their central labor bodies. Such persistent action on his part, and compliance with his requests, have resulted in the rejuvenation of many moribund central bodies. If more locals were to follow his splendid advice the beneficial effect upon the Labor movement as a whole would be more pronounced.

"In this connection your Committee would respectfully draw the renewed attention of the delegates in attendance at this convention, and through them solicit the action of the National and International Unions which they represent to the following section of our organic law:

"Art. XI, Section 2, page 19 of Constitution.

"It shall be the duty of all National and International Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor to instruct their Local Unions to join chartered Central Labor Bodies, Departments and State Federations in their vicinity where such exist. Similar instructions shall be given by the American Federation of Labor to all Trade and Federal Labor Unions under its jurisdiction."

"The foregoing is not compulsory. The glory of the American Federation of Labor is its voluntary character, so well named by our late lamented Samuel Gompers as 'The principle of voluntarism.' No craft union is required to join the American Federation of Labor, nor, having joined, is compelled to stay. Yet the privilege of this voluntary association is so highly prized that its withdrawal is the very highest penalty imposed by the American Federation of Labor for infraction of its laws. Our most severe discipline is merely to say to an offending organization, 'Your charter is revoked.'

"So this same principle of voluntarism runs in the matter of locals affiliating with the Local Central Body. The autonomy of each local is respected—it may join its Central Labor Body or it may stay out. But we would

stress the fact that if affiliation is good at the top it is equally good at the bottom. Co-operation in the city adds strength to the International Labor structure.

"Hence we would recommend that the American Federation of Labor in 49th Annual Convention assembled commend its officers for drawing the attention of all National and International Unions, and of Trade and Federal Labor Unions to the above quoted law, and to the great advantage that would accrue to labor by hearty compliance therewith."

Without quoting from the Proceedings of this Vancouver Convention, sixth day, October 13, 1931, we would stress the splendid address of President William Green in connection with the Report of Committee on Law, and his extended quotation from the address of our revered Samuel Gompers to his last convention at El Paso, Texas. In this historic utterance he portrayed the glorious success of the American Federation of Labor, based upon voluntary association.

We would therefore recommend the re-affirmation of the pronouncement of the Toronto Convention of the American Federation of Labor, urging all National and International Unions to take such action as in their judgment may best be calculated to bring their locals into their respective Central Labor Unions.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Secretary Swartz: This concludes the report of the committee, which is signed:

JOSEPH N. WEBER, Chairman.  
J. O. HOLMGREN,  
JOS. M. MARSHALL,  
FRANCIS J. GORMAN,  
FRED J. DEMPSEY,  
R. R. McINROY,  
ADAM ZUSI,  
JAMES B. CONNERS,  
OLIE ALLEN,  
R. E. WOODMANSEE,  
J. H. COOKMAN,

EDW. BIERETZ,  
A. ADEMSKI,  
C. C. COULTER,  
FRANK DERNBERGER,  
L. E. SWARTZ, Secretary.

Committee on Local and Federated Bodies.

The report of the committee as a whole was adopted by unanimous vote.

Vice-president Woll: The Committee on Resolutions has before it nineteen subjects of the Executive Council's Report and thirty-two resolutions. There are several other committees that have not yet reported. I feel that unless we proceed more rapidly than we are doing, we will not complete our work tomorrow, and to expedite the work, I move you that the rules be set aside and that we meet in session at 8 o'clock tonight.

Delegate Tobin, Teamsters: Many of the delegates have engagements for this evening, and I do not think this is just the time to make this motion. I know that several international officers have engagements and others have left the hall. If you had started this in the morning they would have had an opportunity to be here. I don't believe it would be just not to give those delegates an opportunity to discuss the important questions that may come up, and I am opposed to the motion.

Delegate Mahon, Street Railway Employees: I want to add my protest to that of Delegate Tobin. We have a meeting to attend.

Delegate Martel, Typographical Union: I offer as a motion that we meet in session tomorrow night.

President Green: I think that motion could be offered tomorrow morning as well as now.

At 5:40 o'clock p.m. the convention recessed to 9:30 o'clock a.m. Thursday, October 15th.

## Eighth Day — Thursday Morning Session

Vancouver, B.C.,  
October 15, 1931.

The convention was called to order by President Green at 9:30 o'clock.

### Absentees

Gillmore, Dullzell, Abernathy, Horn, Bowen, Harrison, Schulte, Coulter, Zaritsky, Warfield, Rosemund, Schlesinger, O'Keefe (J.), Onyett, Kennedy (A. J.), Fljodzal, Scully, Lewis, Murray, Fagan, Boylan, Britton, Burke (J. P.), Sullivan (H. W.), Collins (W. M.), Mitchell (M. W.), Cullen, Kaiser, Manion, McMahon, Gorman (F. J.), Starr, Smith, Evans, Hatch, Fay, Provost, Gross, Rosqvist, Young, Sullivan (J.), Slater, Garrison, Joel, Campbell (G. C.), Driscoll, Coleman, Barger, Augustino, Sumner (S.), Rice, Sheehan, Foster, Quinn (J. C.), Moore, Sison, Bower, Smethurst, Welsh, Martinez, Reed, Wood, Thomas, Bohm, Stephens, Dahlbeck, McElligott, Randolph, Webster, Hampton, Galvin, Mitchell (T.).

### Report of Committee on Resolutions

Delegate Olander, Secretary of the committee, continued the report as follows:

#### REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

**Employment and Unemployment Statistics**  
(Executive Council's Report, Page 89)

##### Employment Statistics

(Executive Council's Report, Page 112)

In the section of the Executive Council's Report under the sub-caption "Employment Statistics" attention is called to the enactment into law of the Wagner Bill, providing that

"The Bureau of Labor Statistics shall also collect, collate, report, and publish, at least once each month, full and complete statistics of the volume of and changes in employment, as indicated by the number of persons employed, the total wages paid, and the total hours of employment, in the service of the Federal Government, the States and political subdivisions thereof, and in the following industries and their principal branches: (1) Manufacturing; (2) mining, quarrying and crude petroleum production; (3) building construction; (4) agriculture and lumbering; (5) transportation, communication and other public utilities; (6) the retail and wholesale trades; and such other industries as the Secretary of Labor may deem it in the public interest to include."

In the part of the Executive Council's Report under the caption "Employment and Unemployment Statistics," relating to the law referred to above, we note, with gratification, the commendable attitude and decision of the President of the United States in having asked the American

Federation of Labor for its co-operation and in his appointment to membership on an advisory committee dealing with this subject, of such able and competent labor representatives as A. O. Wharton, Sixth Vice-president of the American Federation of Labor, and John P. Frey, Secretary-treasurer of the Metal Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor.

We express appreciation to the President and to Senator Wagner for this service, and to our labor representatives on this committee for the helpful response made. We await with interest the report of the advisory committee, which, the Council states, will be made on November 15, 1931. We recommend approval of the parts of the Executive Council's report referred to herein.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### Employment Service

(Executive Council's Report, Page 111)

### United States Employment Service

(Executive Council's Report Page 127)

We join with the Executive Council in expressing regret for the failure through veto, to have enacted into law the bill introduced by Senator Wagner to create such a national employment system as was contemplated by his proposal, and as noted in the forepart of the Council's report.

In the latter part of the Executive Council's Report we are advised that while this particular measure failed of enactment into law, nevertheless measures were provided for the extension and improvement of the present national employment service. In view of this later development it is our recommendation that a full appraisal be made by the Executive Council of the Federal employment service as now re-organized and administered, and of its potentialities for improvement, in considering any further proposal that may hereafter be presented to Congress having for its purpose the reorganizing of this national service.

In this connection we note, with satisfaction, that in response to the necessity of organizing a federal employment agency division in every state to more effectually carry out the expressed will and purpose of Congress on this subject, in an expeditious and constructive way, that the Secretary of Labor, under the direction of the President of the United States, called upon a former member of the Executive Council of the American Federation of

Labor, John R. Alpine, who was for many years President of the United Association of Plumbers and Steam Fitters, to undertake the highly important work of organizing and establishing a nationwide employment service.

We appreciate the action of both the President and Secretary of Labor in having thus accorded recognition to organized labor. A great duty and responsibility has been placed on the shoulders of Mr. Alpine. It is incumbent upon organized labor to render to him and to the Department of Labor every possible encouragement and support to the end that this service in behalf of Labor may be crowned with unquestioned success. That Mr. Alpine should have voluntarily assumed such responsibilities and again enter the field of labor service, strikingly demonstrates his keen interest in and loyalty to the cause of organized labor, to which he so long contributed his splendid abilities and gave so much of his life's work.

We unqualifiedly endorse the appeal of the Executive Council to National and International Unions, State Federations of Labor and City Central Bodies to co-operate in every possible way with the United States Employment Service and with the state employment agencies created under the direction of the Department of Labor. Your committee recommends approval of these sections of the Council's report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### International Economic Situation

In this section of the report, page 89, the Executive Council relates in chronological order the political events, financial experiences and economic difficulties encountered in foreign countries within recent years. It likewise refers to opinions and proposals considered by other than labor groups.

Your committee regards this section of the report as highly illuminating. We regard it also as indicative of the Council's realization that as American wage earners and citizens, our first concern is to our people and respective nations, and that while we should at all times render all possible encouragement, aid and support to other peoples in distress, we should not become involved in international entanglements which would restrict our rights as free nations or place unjust and unwarrantable burdens upon the shoulders of our people in so doing.

It is the opinion of your committee that, after all, foreign nations in distress must first evidence a desire on their part and respond to practical measures within their own land in adjusting their related and interrelated national and international

problems, that have made for suspicion and discord and which have placed undue financial burdens upon the people and industrial activities of the several foreign nations, before calling upon our people to forego just claims and to modify attitudes and measures intended and designed for the preservation and protection of our own domestic and national interests.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### Military Training in High Schools

The Executive Council presents a most interesting and encouraging accounting on the subject of "Military Training in High Schools," on page 126 of its report. The investigation made, and as recorded, evidences clearly that those who would further military training in high schools have made little progress, and that labor's attitude on this subject is rapidly becoming the accepted policy and practice. The opposition of the American Federation of Labor to the introduction of military training in the public schools was expressed by the Montreal convention in 1920. We therefore recommend continuance of policies heretofore pursued on this subject.

In connection with the foregoing your committee considered Resolution No. 70, as follows:

#### Opposing Military Training in Public Schools

Resolution No. 70—By Delegates Florence Curtis Hanson, American Federation of Teachers, and Leo E. George, National Federation of Post Office Clerks.

WHEREAS, The proposal to establish military training under the Reserve Officers' Training Corps in the public schools, has been actively promoted in recent years, though strongly opposed by educators generally, since they are not in favor of placing in the schools in times of peace a burden which can be carried only by altering accepted ideals and procedures of education; and

WHEREAS, The compulsory character of military procedures is contrary to an educational environment, where flexibility of mind and initiative on the part of children are prime factors in progressive education; and

WHEREAS, Although military preparedness is proclaimed as the objective of military training in the high schools, that objective has little chance of being attained in the short time available to school children, who should have more free time for healthful recreation and not less; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor record its disapproval of military training in the public schools; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor give its fullest support to the local central bodies and state federations of labor in their efforts to oppose the introduction of military training into the schools.

Your committee recommends that Resolution No. 70 be amended by striking out the first paragraph of the preamble and that the resolution as thus amended be adopted as a reaffirmation of the action taken at the Montreal convention of the American Federation of Labor in 1920.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### Problems of Railway Workers

On the subject of "Problems of Railway Workers," the Executive Council, on page 131, very properly calls attention to the increasing competitive factors which have entered the transportation industry in the past decade. It calls attention to the constantly growing motor vehicle competition, the pipe line development, and the extension of both water and air transportation. It likewise directs attention to long and short hauls and changes in methods and means of urban and interurban transportation.

It is quite natural that all interested or employed in any and all of these branches of the transportation industry are deeply concerned in the competitive factors and the problems arising therefrom. This is particularly true of those engaged in the railway service, because the changes in that industry more directly and adversely affect the employment of these workers.

We are in full agreement with the declaration of the Executive Council that every industry and division thereof which renders an essential and useful service to society, should earn a fair return upon the real and actual investments made. It is self-evident that a bankrupt or insolvent industry cannot serve labor to its advantage, nor benefit those having invested their surplus wealth. Indeed, labor under our present practices is made to suffer first instead of being called upon to sacrifice last.

We commend the railway workers for the wisdom and sound judgment displayed in studying the problems as affecting the workers of all divisions in the railway service, through concerted action and by co-operative methods. We likewise commend the Executive Council for the service contributed to the support of the associated railway unions. We call upon the Executive Council, not alone to aid and assist the railway workers and their unions, but also those organized and employed in all other branches of the transportation industry. Should perchance future conflict or misunderstandings arise as to policies, methods or procedures to be followed by any of them, then the Council will undoubtedly endeavor to bring such unions into conference for consultation and agreement, thus protecting and advancing the best interests of all and thereby avoiding harmful and

destructive consequences which would otherwise arise because of lack of understanding and co-operation. The co-ordination of the forces of organized labor in a field that is so highly charged with competitive elements and factors is essential. With these considerations in mind we recommend concurrence in the Executive Council's Report on this subject.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### Immigration

Under the sub-title "Immigration" the Executive Council on page 109, reports the failure of the last session of Congress to enact legislation to reduce immigration into the United States. Resolutions were introduced in both Houses to suspend general immigration for two years, as applicable to all countries. The need for such action, under present conditions of unemployment, is so obvious as to need no argument. We heartily concur in the declaration that there is no more important question than the protection of the wage earners of the United States and Canada from excess immigration. As to future activities in relation to this subject the Executive Council reports that "It is our purpose to continue a most vigorous campaign to bring about as great restriction of immigration as possible." We urge the strict enforcement of the deportation laws as applicable to persons illegally in the country.

In connection with the general subject of immigration your committee ventures to express the hope that the day is not far distant when the immigration and exclusion laws of the United States and Canada will be so adjusted as to thoroughly safeguard the workers of both countries from aliens of other lands, and that then, as affecting the native citizens of each, it may be possible to remove all barriers between these two great neighboring nations in which the standards of life and labor are almost identical.

With these observations your committee recommends that the report of the Executive Council on the subject of Immigration be adopted.

The committee has had under consideration two resolutions dealing with immigration and related subjects upon which reports will now be submitted.

#### Protesting General Order 86, Department of Labor, Governing Border Crossing of Mexican Immigrants.

Resolution No. 31—By Delegate Wm. J. Moran of the Bricklayers', Masons' and Plasterers' International Union of America.

WHEREAS, Under our immigration system many aliens are now permitted

to cross over the border for the specific purpose of employment in the United States though in many of these localities there are thousands of idle residents and citizens seeking employment; and

WHEREAS, During the now present depression such intercourse and passage of workers is of great detriment to our citizens, especially at points on the Mexican border; and

WHEREAS, Mexico has what is known as a 90 per cent. law for the employment of all of its Nationals within the confines of Mexico wherever industry is engaged in any endeavor; and

WHEREAS, At the port of entry of El Paso, Texas, there enter daily some 1,800 alien Mexican residents of Juarez, Chihuahua, Mexico, under what is termed General Order No. 86, same being issued by the Department of Labor, under our government, and which order is promulgated by the Department, and was originally promulgated, solely upon the theory that there was a shortage of labor in these border localities; and

WHEREAS, Such shortage of labor, if it ever existed, does not now exist, making it plain that General Order 86 is of great detriment to the many workers and citizens and idle of our own land; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention instruct that the American Federation of Labor, through its Executive Council, protest to the American Government—and to the Department of Labor especially—that either this pernicious General Order 86 be revoked completely or that in the event such is not possible under our laws governing immigration that then the port of entry of El Paso, Texas, be not opened until 10 a.m. of each morning through orders from the Treasury Department under customs which controls opening and closing of ports of entry.

The committee recommends that Resolution No. 31 be amended to read as follows and that the resolution as thus amended be adopted:

WHEREAS, Under our immigration system many aliens are now permitted to cross over the border for the specific purpose of employment in the United States though in many localities there are thousands of idle residents and citizens seeking employment; and

WHEREAS, During the now present depression such intercourse and passage of workers is of great detriment to our citizens, especially at points on the Mexican border; and

WHEREAS, Mexico has what is known as a 90 per cent. law for the employment of all of its nationals within the confines of Mexico wherever industry is engaged in any endeavor; and

WHEREAS, At the port of entry of El Paso, Texas, there enter daily as so-called commuters for purposes of employment, some 1,800 alien Mexican residents of Juarez, Chihuahua, Mexico; and

WHEREAS, This practice is a detriment to the workers of El Paso, Texas, and adjacent territory; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled that the Executive Council be and is hereby instructed to urge the appropriate Department or Departments of the Government of the United States to inaugurate regulations designed to prevent the entry of aliens at El Paso, Texas, before ten o'clock on the morning of each day.

Your committee further recommends that the following declarations of the New Orleans and Boston conventions of the American Federation of Labor be reaffirmed, namely: "We must insist that no rule, order, proclamation, practice or procedure be permitted by any department of Government that will evade, avoid or make more difficult the enforcement of the Immigration laws and that every precaution be taken and all possible support be rendered in the enforcement of these laws," and, "That the American Federation of Labor in annual convention assembled demands that immediate steps be taken to stop border crossing privileges for the purpose of employment and that the practice be discontinued whereby residents of adjoining countries now cross the international border at the beginning of each work-day for the purpose of employment and again cross the border into their own country at the end of the work-day."

#### Proposing that Quota Provisions of Immigration Law Be Applied to Mexico.

Resolution No. 51—By Delegate Edward McLaughlin of the California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The Mexican Government is now enforcing its ninety per cent. "preference to citizens" law, and has cancelled the passports of almost all American citizens who were working in Mexico, while at the same time Mexicans are permitted to enter the United States and secure employment here in competition with citizen labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, that we favor an

amendment to the Immigration Laws so as to place immigration from Mexico under the quota as applied to immigration from European countries.

The committee recommends adoption of Resolution No. 51 as a reaffirmation of the policy of the American Federation of Labor in favor of legislation by Congress to place Mexico under the provisions of the quota law.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### **Border Patrol**

Under the caption "Border Patrol" the Executive Council, on page 111 in that division of its report dealing with legislative matters, reports the defeat of the bill designed to unite the various border patrols in such manner as to concentrate largely upon the enforcement of only one law. It is gratifying to note, as stated by the Council, that many members of both Houses of Congress have awakened to the fact that the proposal was dangerous from many points of view, and that therefore it is not likely to become law. We recommend approval of this section of the Executive Council's report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### **Philippine Independence**

It is gratifying to note, as stated by the Executive Council in its report on "Philippine Independence" on page 113, that the sentiment for the granting of independence to the people of the Islands is growing fast in both Houses of Congress. The efforts of the American Federation of Labor in favor of such legislation should be continued persistently. Your committee recommends approval of this section of the Council's report. Your committee also desires to report at this time on the following resolutions.

Your committee recommends that Resolution No. 41 be amended to read as follows, and that the resolution as thus amended be adopted:

WHEREAS, The number of Orientals employed in the merchant marine is increasing, to the detriment of the nation

as such, its seamen and its workers ashore; and

WHEREAS, The King Bill proposes to prevent illegal entry into the United States of immigrants through the merchant marine, and to prevent violations of the exclusion law; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we declare ourselves in accord with the present exclusion law and that, in addition, we demand that it be made applicable to Filipinos.

#### **Exclusion of Filipino Laborers**

Resolution No. 47—By Delegate Edward McLaughlin of the California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The Filipino Exclusion Bill has not made much progress in Congress; and

WHEREAS, It required thirty years of agitation to persuade Congress to pass a Chinese Exclusion Bill, it took about twenty years to induce Congress to exclude Japanese by law; and

WHEREAS, It appears as if many years must roll by before the Eastern and Middle Western population of America can be educated to the fact that Filipino exclusion is necessary; and

WHEREAS, The conventions of the American Federation of Labor have repeatedly, by unanimous vote, declared for Filipino exclusion and for Philippine independence; and

WHEREAS, It seems that the campaign for independence has made more rapid progress than the agitation for Filipino exclusion, because the American sugar beet industry and other influential agricultural interests have, for reasons of their own, joined with the A. F. of L. in demanding Philippine independence; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled in Vancouver, B. C., that we reaffirm our declaration for Philippine independence, with the stipulation that any Congressional measure granting independence now, or hereafter, must contain a clause for the immediate exclusion of Filipino laborers.

#### **Favoring Independence for the Philippine Islands.**

Resolution No. 79 — By Delegates James A. Taylor of the Washington State Federation of Labor, and C. M. Rynerson of the Oregon State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, At the time of the acquisition of the Philippine Islands by our government, pledges were made by gov-

ernmental authorities that the control of the Philippine Islands was to be temporary; and

WHEREAS, The Filipinos cannot be assimilated with our people without creating a mongrel race; and

WHEREAS, The United States Supreme Court has held them to be Asiatics and ineligible to citizenship; and

WHEREAS, The overwhelming sentiment of the Filipinos is for their independence, and we believe in the self-determination of peoples; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the Fifty-first Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor that we insist that the pledges made to the Filipinos and the American people be now redeemed by granting complete independence to the Filipinos; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the coming session of Congress be urged to take action as stated herein.

Resolution No. 47 proposes that the passage of legislation for the independence of the Philippine Islands be made conditional upon the inclusion of a clause for the exclusion of Filipino laborers.

The American Federation of Labor has repeatedly urged the enactment of legislation to exclude Filipinos. Resolution No. 41 as adopted by this convention urges that the present exclusion law be made applicable to Filipinos. Resolution No. 79 urges the granting of independence. Your committee favors independence and exclusion, but believes it unwise for this convention to adopt any proposal requiring that any bill introduced must join the two in such manner as to make one conditional upon the other. In view of the fact that Resolution No. 41 reaffirms the demand of the American Federation of Labor for legislation to exclude Filipinos, your Committee recommends that Resolution No. 47 be non-concurred in and that Resolutions No. 41 and No. 79 be adopted.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### "Yellow Dog Contract"

The progress made during the past year in the enactment of legislation declaring the vicious "yellow dog" contracts to be null and void is most en-

couraging. The Executive Council reports, on page 119, that five states, namely Wisconsin, Arizona, Colorado, Ohio and Oregon, have enacted such legislation, which, in effect outlaws the provisions of labor contracts, whether written or oral, expressed or implied, under which workers, as a condition of employment are compelled to surrender their right to organize.

Your committee recommends that the congratulations of this convention be tendered to the officers of the state federations of labor in the states referred to above, and to all other officers and members of the labor movement in these states, upon the success which has attended their efforts to secure this much desired legislation.

Your committee further recommends approval of this section of the Council's report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

President Green: The Chair will interrupt the proceedings for just a moment and suspend the regular order of business for just a little while in order to present to this convention a very dear friend, one whom all the delegates knew quite well in the days gone by because he attended conventions of the American Federation of Labor, a coal miner, a man who served the international organization of the United Mine Workers of America for many years, one who has risen to the proud distinction of serving as chief executive of one of the greatest cities in the United States. We are all proud of his accomplishments and the honors that have been conferred upon him, and I know I voice your sentiments when I say we hope that success will continue to crown his efforts and that he may be triumphantly re-elected as Mayor of Seattle.

I present to you the Mayor of Seattle, the Hon. Robert Harlin.

#### HON. ROBERT HARLIN (Mayor of Seattle, Washington)

President Green—I feel like saying fellow delegates. I feel, standing here this morning, that I am standing on familiar

ground. As your Chairman has stated, I have attended many sessions of this convention. This morning my mind travels back to many cities, many conventions, the Buffalo, Baltimore, San Francisco, Philadelphia, Seattle and other conventions, and I am glad to be here to meet many of my old friends and acquaintances. I see many familiar faces, but in my mind's eye I can picture other faces that I am sorry I am missing from this convention.

With this background I need hardly say that I am happy indeed to come here as the executive of and the representative of a truly great American city to extend the greetings of that city to this great convention of the American Federation of Labor.

It might be well to say that I am not a labor mayor of Seattle in the sense that I was elected as such. I became mayor due to a rather peculiar circumstance. We have had a rather unique experience in Seattle. I doubt if it has a precedent in the history of local government anywhere. We recalled a mayor, and the recall was held on Monday, the 13th day of July. At noon of the next day the election officials certified the election, the mayor went out of office, and at 1:00 o'clock on that next day I became mayor of Seattle, and I have not seen my predecessor from that day to this. It was rather unique, but it is a sort of testimonial to the stability, if you please, of the American form of government, because I don't recall that there was even a fist fight in connection with this complete change of a city government. And it was a complete change, because the issues were so defined that I was required the first week I was in office to dismiss every administrative head of the City of Seattle and to inaugurate a new government. I think if that had happened in any other city or in any other country, at least in any of our sister republics to the south, that such a complete change of government would have been attended by the killing off of at least 10 per cent. of the population, but we managed to do it without even a fist fight, and it is a testimonial, as I say, to our system of government and the right of the people to govern themselves.

I realize that mayors come and mayors go. I know all about the vagaries of politics and I am conscious of this fact this morning, that primarily and essentially I am a laboring man and a trade unionist, that although mayors and governors and political heads come and go, the labor movement, like Tennyson's brook, goes on forever.

I am glad to be here. I have attended enough of your conventions to know that the greatest virtue a speech can have is brevity. I can only say that our city is a friendly city to union labor. Personally, I never knew there

were so many problems in the world until I became mayor of Seattle. But my chief problem is the great problem that confronts this organization and the world—the problem of unemployment in our cities.

I imagine that we are better off than most cities of like size in the country, but we have an acute problem. I know we can't solve it locally, we can only palliate and alleviate the condition. We are going to endeavor to see, first, if it is humanly possible, that no good citizen of our city, no woman or child goes hungry this winter. We are going to see, secondly, that no effort is successful to destroy the basic wage structure of our city.

The hardest thing I have to do is to meet many of my good citizens, just as good as you or I, who feel that if they could only get to meet Bobbie Harlin, the mayor, he could solve their problems and find something for them to do. How meaningless words often are in the face of a condition where the bread winner is out of employment and his dependents looking to him for aid and sustenance. Every other problem of my city, of this city, of every city of this and every nation pales into insignificance compared to the problem of the good, honest citizen who has no employment and no means of sustenance for himself and family.

I don't wish to go into any discussion of the unemployment question. I believe in the philosophy of the American Federation of Labor. I think it is the only sound philosophy that has been propounded, when it declares that the laboring people, whose genius has produced such great wealth—and today there is more wealth in America, in money, in the banks, in commodities in the markets, than ever existed in any nation since the dawn of history, produced by the genius of American labor, plus the machines—the problem is essentially that of more equitable distribution of the wealth of this nation, so that the worker can buy back that which he produces. You know that just the same as I do.

Sometimes I think in terms of a poker game I heard of. I won't say this poker game has any relation to this or any past convention. Neither will I admit that I know anything about the ancient game of poker, but as this game progressed throughout the night the winners became sleepy, one by one, and they stole off to their beds in happy slumber. And in the wee small hours of the morning only a few were left, and one of them looked up and said, "I think we're a bunch of suckers. The winners have gone to bed and we are here picking the bones trying to get even off each other." That is somewhat true of the industrial situation. The big winners have gone off to bed and

we are trying to get even off each other, but they are going to be required to turn some of their winnings back into the game if they hope the game will continue.

There are some things in connection with my own trouble that might make a man just a little bit morbid. I don't want to become morbid. I think we ought to meet the situation with optimism and courage. I don't want to be like the fellow in Portland, Oregon, who became so pessimistic, so discouraged and disgruntled with life that he decided to end it all. This pessimist went out on one of those bridges which span the Willamette River and he was just about ready to jump off into the muddy or clear water, whichever it is, and an optimist came along and said, "Just a minute, what are you trying to do?" The pessimist said, "What is the use—life isn't worth the while." The optimist said, "Let's talk it over and I will see if I can't convince you that this is a good old world after all." The optimist tried to convince the pessimist, but the pessimist defended his viewpoint vigorously, and the result was they both got up and jumped off the bridge into the river.

We are not going to let the pessimist get the best of us. I have a lot of faith in my country, in my city, and I believe we can solve our problem, George Bernard Shaw in his tour through Russia to the contrary notwithstanding. We must do it through an enlightened conscience, and the instrumentality which will do the most to enlighten the people as to a solution that can be effected or provided through our system of government, President Green, is yourself and the American Federation of Labor.

I am proud this morning to stand here and renew my allegiance to the principles of this great organization and to extend the greetings of our good American city, where a union man can be proud to so declare himself—the City of Seattle. I am glad to be with you. God speed you and good luck.

President Green: I just want to thank Mayor Harlin for his visit and for his address. We are glad you came and we are glad that you found it possible to say a word to the officers and delegates in the convention.

Thank you.

Secretary Olander continued the report of the Committee on Resolutions as follows:

#### Old Age Security

The enactment of old age pension laws in seventeen states, as reported by the Executive Council, on page 121, is

most encouraging proof of the substantial progress which is being made by the American Federation of Labor and its various state branches in the promotion of old age security legislation. The Council further reports that it has prepared a model old age security bill, relating to what has been commonly called old age pensions, for introduction in the legislature of the various states. The efforts to obtain the enactment of old age security laws in all states should be pressed vigorously. Your committee recommends approval of the report of the Executive Council on this subject.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### Modification Volstead Act

The subject of modification of the prohibition laws of the United States is presented in the report of the Executive Council, page 123, under the caption "Modification Volstead Act," in Resolution No. 9, favoring repeal of the Volstead Act, and in Resolution No. 18, proposing ultimate repeal of the 18th Amendment. The report of the Executive Council on this subject and the resolutions referred to are as follows:

"We are endeavoring to carry into effect instructions given by several conventions of the American Federation of Labor regarding the modification of the Volstead Act so as to provide for the manufacture, sale and distribution of beer, containing 2.75 per cent of alcohol by weight. This action on the part of the American Federation of Labor was inspired by a firm belief that such modification of the Volstead Act as proposed would promote the cause of true temperance.

"It is generally understood that a bill will be introduced at the next session of Congress providing for such modification of the Volstead Act as has been repeatedly proposed by the American Federation of Labor. It is the intent and purpose of the American Federation of Labor to give such proposed legislation its full and complete support. The indications are that public opinion is undergoing a marked change and that either at the forthcoming session or at some future session of Congress the Volstead Act will be amended by legislative action providing for the manufacture, sale and distribution of beer containing 2.75 per cent alcohol by weight.

The committee also desires to report on Resolutions No. 9 and 18 at this time:

#### **Favoring Repeal of the Volstead Act**

Resolution No. 9—By Central Labor Council, Tacoma, Washington.

RESOLVED, By the Central Labor Council of Tacoma, Washington, in regular session assembled, this thirtieth day of September, 1931, that this Council go on record as being in favor of the repeal of the Volstead Act; and be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution be forwarded to the next convention of the American Federation of Labor for its endorsement.

#### **Proposing Repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment**

Resolution No. 18—By Delegates Edward Flore, Robert B. Hesketh, Emanuel Koveleski, Conrad Schott, Agnes M. Quinn of the Hotel and Restaurant Employes' and Beverage Dispensers' International Alliance.

RESOLVED, That we shall work first and foremost for the entire repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, to the end of casting out this solitary sumptuary statute, the intrusion of which into constitutional realms has so severely hurt our country. The question of whether prohibition or regulation is the more effective relation of government to the liquor traffic is utterly subordinate to the distortion of our Federal Constitution by compelling it to carry the burden of a task which is an affair for the police powers of each of our forty-eight separate and sovereign states, and never should be the business of the Federal Government.

The ultimate goal of the American Federation of Labor lies beyond the mere modification of any enforcement statute in any jurisdiction, state or federal. The cancer of the present and the threat of the future remain with us until this invasion of our Federal Constitution is repealed and removed. We will not stop in our efforts until the operation is complete.

In passing we favor any and all modifications of enforcement acts corollary to the Eighteenth Amendment which will temper the fanatical excesses and absurdities of these acts. Sensible and creditable modifications of this kind will soon become facts. But they will be aided by us solely as measures of temporary and partial relief, antecedent to the ultimate and entire repeal of the

Eighteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

That, in place of the federal prohibition, we favor the installation by the states of a method of controlled and restricted distribution which will prevent the exploitation of the liquor traffic for unconscionable profits, and not only do away with prevailing speak-easies and secret drinking, but prevent the reappearance of any unregulated system and the political iniquities which accompany it.

In the light of and in keeping with the declarations of previous conventions of the American Federation of Labor on the subject of the prohibition laws, your committee recommends approval of the section of the report of the Executive Council entitled "Modification Volstead Act." Because of the great progress made in furthering the end desired by such modification your committee deems it unwise for the American Federation of Labor, at this time, to consider any other policy, procedure or proposal which may prove harmful to the progress thus far made. We therefore recommend non-concurrence in Resolutions No. 9 and No. 18.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Flore, Hotel and Restaurant Employes: I do not desire to discuss this matter at this late time, but I move as an amendment to the committee's report that Resolution No. 18, introduced by the Hotel and Restaurant Employes' and Beverage Dispensers' International Alliance, be substituted for the committee's report.

The motion was seconded.

Vice-president Woll: I raise a question of order. The committee's report is to non-concur in the resolution. The only way it can be brought before the convention is to vote down the committee's report.

President Green: It is the opinion of the Chair that the point of order is well taken. The committee has already acted upon the resolution referred to it and submits a report in which it non-concurs in the resolution and offers in lieu thereof the recommendation that the report of the Executive Council be adopted. Now in order to achieve your purpose, Brother Flore, it would first be necessary to vote down the report of the committee.

Delegate Flore: It is not my desire to do that. I am not in opposition to the adoption of the Executive Council's report, or rather the recommendation of the Executive Council, but I am in opposition to non-concurrence in Resolution No. 18, and if it is not possible to have that substituted

then I move you a division of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded, and on being put to vote was defeated.

The report of the committee was adopted.

#### Industrial Conscription

Under the title "Industrial Conscription", on page 123, the Executive Council reports the pleasing information that representatives of the War Department appeared before the War Policies Commission in opposition to the proposal for industrial conscription in times of war. The opposition of the American Federation of Labor to industrial conscription in any form should be continued unceasingly. Your committee recommends approval of this section of the report of the Executive Council.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### Patent Law Adjustment

(Executive Council's Report, Page 128)

With the attention of the Officers and Executive Council directed to so many immediate and grave problems, it is hardly to be expected that a full and complete investigation might have been made during the past year on a subject so highly technical in character and so greatly involved in both national and international trade, industrial and commercial policies and practices as is the patent law. We direct attention to but one of many other equally important phases of this subject. Today the United States is the only industrial country where patents may be secured by either nationals or foreigners without any requirement that such patented devices be operated within the United States. The United States actually grants such exclusive rights and permits such patented devices to be used to produce commodities in foreign countries, and thereafter to be sold in the United States without requiring the use of such patented devices or production of such patented articles in our own country.

The United States is the only industrial nation which permits this peculiar and highly questionable practice. On the other hand Canada, Great Britain and other political divisions of the British Empire, France, Germany, Belgium and other countries require, as a condition preceding patent rights, that holders of such monopolistic grants shall manufacture or produce the patented articles in their respective countries within fixed periods of time. Failure to so produce or manufacture deprives the holder of such patents of the exclusive

grants involved, each country following a somewhat different method of enforcing these requirements.

This is but one example of the many important phases involved which would be included in the continued investigation recommended by the Executive Council on this subject.

Your committee recommends approval of this section of the Council's report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### Hoover Dam

The Executive Council, on page 126, of its report, presents some facts which will serve to correct the apparently widespread misunderstanding regarding the scope of the Hoover Dam project as affecting the employment of labor. The Council points out that official reports indicate that the highest number of persons to be employed at peak time is not likely to exceed 1,500. About two years will be required for the completion of the tunnels, after which work on the cofferdams will begin. That part of the work the Council states is to be completed May 1, 1934. Excavating for the dam will then begin, requiring about seven months, when the pouring of concrete for the dam will start, the completion of which is scheduled for August 1, 1937. The number of persons employed will, of course, vary from time to time as the work progresses, but as has been previously stated, the greatest number at any time will be in the neighborhood of only 1,500, instead of several thousand as many seem to believe. The Council reports that thousands of workers are now in Las Vegas, Nevada, or in camps nearby, hoping for an opportunity to secure employment. It seems to your committee that the Department of the Interior, under whose jurisdiction the work is being carried on, could have prevented this unfortunate rush of unemployed workers to Hoover Dam, caused by the circulation of false rumors to the effect there would be work at the dam site for many thousands. We urge that the widest possible publicity be given to the advice of the Executive Council that workers seeking employment should be warned against going to Hoover Dam without first writing to the representative of the United States Employment Service at Las Vegas, Nevada. Your committee recommends approval of the section of the Executive Council's report relative to this subject.

The Committee also desires to report at this time on three resolutions dealing with labor conditions on the Hoover Dam project:

**Protesting Labor Policy in the Construction of Hoover Dam.**

Resolution No. 49—By Delegate Edward McLaughlin, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, During the month of March, 1931, the Bureau of Reclamation, United States Department of Interior, awarded the contract for the construction of Hoover Dam to The Six Companies, Inc., of San Francisco; and

WHEREAS, During the past six months, The Six Companies, Inc., have been actively engaged in the work of building Hoover Dam and its appurtenances, employing hundreds of men of the crafts necessary to that work; and

WHEREAS, The Six Companies, Inc., have to date taken full advantage of the country's unemployment situation, by hiring men to work on work of the most hazardous nature and at wages from 25 to 40% below the established scales of the respective crafts; and

WHEREAS, The Six Companies, Inc., have since they received the contract for building Hoover Dam, consistently refused to meet or discuss wages with any representatives of Labor; and

WHEREAS, The ability of The Six Companies, Inc., to complete the work of building this project is to a certain extent contingent upon the Congress of the United States voting additional funds; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in Convention assembled, that we authorize the Executive Council to petition Congress to refrain from voting further funds to carry on the construction work of this project, until such time as The Six Companies, Inc., are willing to establish wage scales on the project that will conform to the prevailing wage scales that have been established by the respective crafts.

**Protesting Labor Conditions on Boulder Dam Project.**

Resolution No. 62—By Delegate H. C. Juneman, Central Labor Union, Clark County, Las Vegas, Nevada.

WHEREAS, We believe it is time that labor conditions existing at Boulder Dam should be known to the country at large as well as governmental officials who have this project in charge; and

WHEREAS, We know that conditions complained of by the employes of the Six Companies who have the contract of this project, are true conditions, and that the Six Companies have made denials and endeavored to create alibis and excuses, by telling the press and

public that it was only dissatisfaction brought on by a few I. W. W.'s that caused the temporary tie-up, and they were trying to create public sentiment against the workers with the wrong impression; and

WHEREAS, It is our desire that the public should know and Governmental Department heads should be informed that the Six Companies have established a wage scale of their own far below the uniform wage scale throughout the entire Western country, paying plumbers \$6.00, carpenters \$5.60, painters \$5, and other crafts in proportion, thereby creating a natural condition of unrest among the workers; and

WHEREAS, We believe that a great injustice is being done to the working classes and the standard of living is being unreasonably lowered by permitting such a condition to exist over which our Government has supervision, more especially in this time of depression and unemployment; and

WHEREAS, We believe this contract was awarded the Six Companies on the prevailing wage scale of this community and they are taking advantage of present conditions of the great number of broke and hungry men to establish a wage scale, which is entirely unreasonable. It is almost impossible for men to work in the outrageous heat that they encounter at Boulder Dam, especially at a mere pittance, barely enough to feed and clothe them without any consideration of a living standard;

THEREFORE, We feel that if the condition continues at Boulder Dam, it is going to react on other communities, which will likely affect the American organized labor movement as a whole; and,

WHEREAS, We have referred this to the State Labor Commissioner of Nevada, who replies that they have no jurisdiction over this Government project; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Las Vegas Central Labor Council and affiliated organizations voice our protest against these conditions, and we appeal to the sense of justice and fair play among men to help labor hold its place and maintain standards which we believe are essential to good citizenship and contentment; and, be it further

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor assembled, that we authorize the Executive Council to petition Congress to refrain from voting further funds to carry on construction work on this project until such time as the Six Companies are willing to establish wage scales that will conform to the prevailing wage scales that have been established by the respective crafts.

**Proposing Basis of Agreement to Establish Proper Working Standards in the Building of Hoover Dam.**

Resolution No. 82—By Delegate C. M. Rynerson, Oregon State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The employment policies of Six Companies, Inc., in the building of Hoover Dam, formerly known as Boulder Dam, are such as to merit the condemnation of the public in that they indicate an intention to take advantage of the unemployment situation to exploit the workers to increase the profits of the contractors; and

WHEREAS, It is the duty of the Federal Government to do all in its power to contribute to the maintenance of good employment conditions; and

WHEREAS, Insistence of the Federal Government that employment policies at the Hoover Dam operation be in conformity with the practices that will help rather than aggravate conditions cannot be ignored by the contractors; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we call on the Federal Department of Labor to make a thorough investigation of the situation at Hoover Dam, and that the contractors be ordered to cease their policy of low wages and other practices that are inimical to the public good; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the officials of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to use their best efforts to secure an agreement as to wages, hours and working conditions on the Hoover Dam and appurtenant works as follows:

"When disputes arise concerning wages, hours or conditions of labor, in the construction of Hoover Dam and appurtenant works, adjustment of such dispute shall be subjected to an adjustment board of three persons, hereinafter called "the board" to be appointed by the United States Department of Interior, one to represent the contractor, or the directing power in charge of construction, one to represent the public and nominated by the President of the United States, and one to represent labor and nominated by the President of The American Federation of Labor.

"When matters concerning wages or hours or conditions applying to this project are before the board, it shall invite a person representing and designated by the contractor or power in charge of construction, and also a person representing or selected by the majority of workers in the particular craft or crafts directly interested in the disputed matters, both of said representatives to sit with voting power as associate members of said board in connection with such matter.

"At the base of operation, the contractor or power in charge of construction, and the representatives of international labor organizations as have

members engaged on the project, and as are selected by the labor member of the board, shall be called upon, under conditions to be laid down by it, to agree upon a person who shall act under the direction of the board as an examiner.

"If the board does not succeed in having an examiner so selected, then the board shall by unanimous action select a person for such position. The examiner shall be subject to removal by the board at any time by unanimous vote. It shall be the duty of the examiner to report promptly to the board any dispute with reference to wages, hours or conditions of labor which he is unable to adjust satisfactorily to the principals concerned; but the board will take cognizance of such dispute when information concerning it comes from any source whatsoever. Before the examiner shall refer such dispute to the board, he shall confer with local spokesmen or representatives of such crafts as are involved in the dispute, or with such authorized heads or any local labor organization interested therein as may be designated by the labor member of the board, or on their request, with the national head or heads of such organization or organizations, or his or their duly authorized representative or representatives. If the examiner does not succeed in bringing about such adjustment, he shall in his report to the board, recommend terms of adjustment. The board after due consideration and such investigation as may seem necessary, shall decide the question at issue.

"As basic standards with reference to place of construction, the board shall use such scales of wages, hours and conditions as were in force in the nearest metropolitan city, March 10, 1931, and consideration shall be given by the board to any circumstances whatever arising after such wages, hours or conditions were established, and which may seem to call for changes in wages, hours or conditions. The board shall keep itself informed as to the cost of living, and a comparison between progressive periods of time. The decisions of the board shall, under proper conditions, be retroactive, in which case accounting, as may be proper shall be made in accordance with the directions of the board. The decisions of the board will insofar as this memorandum may be capable of achieving such result, be final and binding on all parties; but at any time after six months have elapsed following such ratified agreement or any such final decision by the board on any question as to wages, hours or conditions, such questions may be reopened upon the request of the craft or crafts affected by such agreement or decision."

In Resolutions Nos. 49 and 63 it is proposed that an effort be made to remedy the unfair labor conditions prevailing at Hoover Dam by petitioning Congress to withhold further appropriation of

funds for that project, until the contractors indicate a willingness to establish wage scales that will conform to the prevailing rate established by the various crafts. In Resolution No. 82 it is proposed to request an investigation by the Department of Labor and to seek the establishment of an adjustment board of three members to be appointed by the Department of the Interior, one to represent the contractors, one to represent the public and to be nominated by the President of the United States and one to represent labor and to be nominated by the President of the American Federation of Labor. Taken as a whole the three resolutions show that there is a pressing need for speedy action to improve wages and working conditions at Hoover Dam.

Your committee, however, after most careful consideration of the entire subject, has reached the conclusion that the procedure outlined in the resolutions is not sufficient to meet the needs of the situation. Every circumstance of the case points to the need for concerted action on the part of all affiliated organizations under the guidance and direction of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor. We therefore submit the following recommendations:

1. That Resolutions Nos. 49, 63 and 82 be referred to the Executive Council with instructions to take such action in relation thereto, after due investigation and consideration, as may, in the judgment of the Council, seem best calculated to bring about the desired improvements of wages and working conditions at Hoover Dam.
2. That all authentic information now in the possession of representatives of affiliated organizations, relative to wages and living and working conditions at Hoover Dam, be submitted to the president of the American Federation of Labor within ten days after the adjournment of this convention.
3. That the President of the American Federation of Labor be authorized to appoint, if, and when he deems necessary, a special committee to inquire into the contracts involved and the relationship governing, as well as into living and working conditions prevailing at Hoover Dam.
4. That the Executive Council be authorized and instructed to endeavor to bring about conferences between representatives of the contractors, the American Federation of Labor and the affiliated unions having jurisdiction over the sort of work performed at Hoover Dam, with a view of developing a joint agreement in relation to wages and working conditions to apply at the dam site.
5. That the Executive Council be authorized to take such steps as in its judgment may seem advisable to obtain an official inquiry into condi-

tions at Hoover Dam, if and when the Council deems necessary, by a Department or Departments of the Government or by Congress, as the Council may deem most likely to obtain results without undue delay.

6. That the Executive Council be authorized to take such other action in relation to the subject matter of this report as may, in the judgment of the Council, be necessary, proper and wise for the purpose of securing for the workers at Hoover Dam the improvements in wages and working and living conditions which they so sorely need.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### **Non-partisan Political Policy**

With another presidential, senatorial and congressional election in the making, the report of the Executive Council page 122, on the subject of "Non-partisan Political Policy" takes on additional importance. The Executive Council quite rightly sets forth that our interest and concern in the coming presidential election is reflected in political platforms and principles, rather than in personalities or qualifications of presidential candidates. We therefore concur in the approved procedure recommended by the Executive Council of submitting proposed labor planks to the national political conventions for their inclusion in the two major political party platforms.

The Executive Council further directs attention to the fact that in this coming election at least 32 senators and all members of the House of Representatives must be elected. As indicated in the Council's report our policy regarding such elections differs from that of presidential elections in that our standard of judgment involves both personalities and qualification of candidates, their previous and present attitudes as well as previous decisions and conduct upon labor problems and relationships. We therefore approve the procedure contemplated in the Executive Council's report of inquiring into the activities and inclinations of all such candidates and in determining their present attitude on several legislative proposals set forth in the Executive Council's report and as acted upon at this and previous conventions.

While the Executive Council is thus preparing to assume its full share of activities and responsibilities in an aggressive fashion in the coming national political campaign and election, it is only right and proper that affiliated organizations, their components and members thereof should prepare likewise to take an effectual part in this important work. We concur in the recommendation of the Council that committees be appointed by central labor bodies and local unions in every congressional district to interview candidates for Congress and for State Federations of Labor to select committees to interview senatorial candidates. In addition we recommend such committees be charged to co-operate with the Non-partisan Political Committee of the American Federation of Labor in every way and whenever called upon.

We likewise concur in the recommendation of the Executive Council to reaffirm the declaration set forth in the Council's report and to leave no stone unturned to the end that we will be assured a Congress at the next session that will give heed to the requirements of labor, enact the measures urged by the American Federation of Labor and repeal or prevent the enactment of laws designed to restrict, limit or deny the rights and opportunities of labor, whether manifested individually or collectively.

Your committee also desires to report on Resolution 84.

**Proposing City Central Bodies Establish Committees to Work for Registration of Voters**

Resolution No. 84—By Delegate I. M. Ornburn of the Cigar Makers' International Union of America.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has, throughout its history, stood for the fullest development of democratic government and for the participation of all wage earners in the political life of the nation, exercising the franchise fully and fulfilling all of the duties and obligations of citizenship; and

WHEREAS, In the coming elections issues of paramount interest and importance to wage earners will be before

the electorate for consideration and decision, with the necessity of defeating those who have proven false to their trust and of electing to office those whose records have been records of faithful and intelligent service in response to the public will; be it therefore

**RESOLVED**, By the American Federation of Labor in annual convention in Vancouver, that we call upon all National and International Unions, all state federations, city central bodies, building trades councils, printing trades councils, union label leagues, and all other affiliated bodies, including all committees and groups within the trade union movement working under the direction of the Federation or its Executive Council, and all friendly organizations and movements, to rally this year in a great effort to bring about registration of all qualified voters and the qualification of all who are eligible to become qualified voters, having in mind the fact that reliable estimates show that fully fifteen million Americans are eligible to become qualified voters and have failed thus far so to qualify; and be it further

**RESOLVED**, That a particular effort be put forward to secure registration of prospective voters who have just attained to voting age, to the end that these young citizens may at the first opportunity begin a proper discharge of the first duty of citizenship; and, be it further

**RESOLVED**, That we call upon all city central bodies to take the lead in establishing committees in all cities whose duty shall be the registration of non-registered voters, these committees to be composed only of those who will devote to this all-important task the necessary time and effort, and that all local unions be asked to co-operate with such committees, to the end that within the radius covered by every city central body there shall be a thoroughly organized effort to secure registration of those who are or can become eligible to vote; and, be it further

**RESOLVED**, That every city central body chartered by the American Federation of Labor be required to report within thirty days from the adoption of this resolution the name of the secretary and chairman of the citizenship committees appointed pursuant to these resolutions and that monthly reports of work done be rendered monthly thereafter, upon blanks to be provided by the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor, who shall see to it that such reports are filed at the specified times; and, be it further

**RESOLVED**, That the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor shall present a summary of these reports to each succeeding meeting of the Execu-

tive Council, which shall thereupon make such reports available to the press and the public.

The Committee recommends adoption of Resolution No. 84.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### Election of Officers

President Green: We have now arrived at the hour for the election of officers of the American Federation of Labor. The convention will please be in order. The Chair requests President Mahon of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employes to come forward and preside.

Delegate Mahon in the Chair.

Chairman Mahon: We now come to the election of a President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing year. We will now accept nominations for that office.

Delegate Kennedy, United Mine Workers: In 1904 I first met the man whom I am about to nominate for this high office. He was then in a subordinate position in our organization in the great State of Ohio. Later he became president of that district and a senator in that state representing his people. It was then but a step to the office of International Secretary-treasurer of the United Mine Workers of America, to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, and in 1925 he was elevated to the highest office in the American labor movement as the worthy successor of that great leader, Samuel Gompers. During all of this time this man has proved to the world that he was not only able to lead, but that he was an advocate, a preacher, a teacher, and one in whom the affairs of the American labor movement could be placed with confidence and with the knowledge that its affairs would be intelligently and honestly administered.

My friends, this man has stood every test that was placed upon his brow, and within the past several years, during these trying times of depression, it seems that this man has proved in every way that he could measure up to the added responsibilities placed upon his

office. He served his apprenticeship faithfully in the labor movement and his experience now serves the movement well in these times of stress and storm. On behalf of the United Mine Workers' delegation it is my pleasure and privilege this morning to place in nomination for the presidency of the American Federation of Labor the greatest Roman in the American labor movement, William Green.

(The delegates all arose, and applauded the nomination for some time.)

The Chairman asked for further nominations. No further nominations being made, Delegate Hesketh, of the Hotel and Restaurant Employes' organization, moved that the Secretary be authorized to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for William Green for President. The instruction was complied with and William Green was declared duly elected President for the ensuing term.

President Green: I interpret your action this morning as a call to service, and I assure you that I stand before you, touched very deeply by your demonstration of confidence, feeling very deeply the responsibilities that rest upon me in this position. These are very trying days, days when all the qualities of constructive leadership are put to a very severe test. Therefore I am suffering under no illusions. While I am very, very happy over this wonderful expression of confidence which you have manifested this morning, I realize that the work of the ensuing year is going to be increasingly difficult. Not only myself but all the leaders of our movement are going to be subject to a very severe test.

As I have stated in remarks made heretofore, we find ourselves caught between conflicting emotions, touched very deeply by the distress we see all around us and moved by a desire to do something constructive to help relieve the stress, to relieve human misery and bring about a restoration of normal conditions. Sometimes we are inclined to follow our feelings; at other times we realize we must be governed by our judgment, but I have found it safe in all my actions to blend feeling and

judgment and be governed wisely in whatever course we may decide to pursue. That will be the policy I hope to follow during the ensuing year.

I always remember upon occasions of this kind, as you must remember, that great figure who led us so successfully for more than forty years. He set a high standard of leadership and constructive action. Most of us in applying tests always keep in mind the very high standards which that great leader set. We have tried to remember the words of wisdom which he uttered, we have tried to maintain and protect the principles he enunciated, we have endeavored to follow the wise policies he outlined. So we will continue, and in my work during the ensuing year I ask that you give me your advice, your judgment, your help, your co-operation and your assistance. And in return I renew all the promises I ever made from the time I was first elected to this high and honorable position. God giving me strength, I will apply myself to the task and do the best I can. I thank you.

President Green in the Chair.

The Chairman called for nominations for the office of First Vice-president.

Delegate Hutcheson, United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners: I rise to place in nomination the name of one who for eighteen years has served as a member of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, one who has served the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America for thirty years as General Secretary. During past conventions much has been said as to the qualification of the various candidates for positions on the Executive Council. I will at this time condense all these good things that have been said for the one I am going to nominate, and will let the delegates look over the records to see what those good things were. Not wishing to take up any more of your time, I present the name of Frank Duffy.

No other candidate was nominated, and upon motion of Delegate Mahon, Street Railway Employees, the Secretary

was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for Frank Duffy. The instruction was complied with, and Vice-president Duffy was declared elected for the ensuing term.

President Green: The Chair now calls for nominations for Second Vice-president.

Delegate Manning, Union Label Trades Department: In line with the expressions of the previous delegates who have placed men in nomination for office in this Federation, I will be very brief. It was my privilege in the St. Paul convention and at each succeeding convention to place in nomination the man I wish now to name. His record since then has borne out everything I said about him in that convention, and it is with extreme pleasure that I again offer you as your choice for Second Vice-president, the General President of the United Garment Workers of America, T. A. Rickert.

No other candidate was nominated, and upon motion of Delegate Wines, United Garment Workers, the Secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for T. A. Rickert. The Secretary complied with the instruction, and T. A. Rickert was declared duly elected Second Vice-president for the ensuing term.

President Green: The Chair now calls for the nomination of candidates for Third Vice-president.

Delegate Olander, Seamen: I rise to place in nomination for the position of Third Vice-president a loyal, courageous, able and intelligent soldier of the cause of labor whose usefulness to the great trade union movement of America grows steadily as the years roll on. I nominate Matthew Woll, of the Photo-Engravers' Union.

Delegate Volz: As a co-delegate of Matthew Woll, may I add my support to his candidacy and second that nomination.

No other candidate was nominated and upon motion of Delegate Snyder, St. Louis Central Trades and Labor Council, the Secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for Matthew Woll. The instruction

was complied with, and Vice-president Woll was declared duly elected for the ensuing term.

President Green: The Chair now calls for nominations for Fourth Vice-president.

Delegate Maloney, Glass Bottle Blowers: I rise to place in nomination the name of a present officer who occupies the position of Fourth Vice-president. It occurs to me now that we are at the most solemn moment of our convention. Whether we like it or not, the world in general recognizes that every institution is judged by its representatives elected. The Federation has always, in my judgment, been most fortunate in its officers. They have been men of the very best judgment and loyalty, and men of high character. I listened to the discussion yesterday and it occurred to me that we stand at the crossroads of present-day situation, and if we ever needed men of character, men of the type that we have and that I expect to present to you in a moment, it is at this time.

Sometimes, Mr. Chairman, during the last ten years, it has occurred to me that, after all, this wonderful civilization of ours has entered the road that every other one did that leads to chaos and decay. So I desire to emphasize the type of man that sits over here, a friend of everybody, an orator, a man of courage, and, as I said a moment ago, loyal to the American labor movement. So, Mr. Chairman, it is a great honor to place before you for the office of Fourth Vice-president of the American Federation of Labor the President of the Pattern Makers' League of North America, Mr. James Wilson.

Delegate Frey, Machinists: In order to complete the record, now that I have found out who Maloney was talking about, I desire to second the nomination of "Red" Wilson.

No other candidate was nominated, and upon motion of Delegate Buzzell, Los Angeles, the Secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for James Wilson. The instruction was complied with, and James Wilson was declared duly elected for the ensuing term.

President Green: Nominations are now in order for Fifth Vice-president.

Delegate Burke, United Association of Plumbers and Steam Fitters: I consider it an honor to place in nomination for Fifth Vice-president of the American Federation of Labor the present incumbent in that office, my old friend and co-worker, John Coefield, General President of the United Association of Journeymen Plumbers and Steam Fitters of the United States and Canada.

No other candidate was nominated, and upon motion of Delegate Possehl, Operating Engineers, the Secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for John Coefield. The instruction was complied with and Vice-president Coefield was declared duly elected for the ensuing term.

President Green: Nominations are now in order for Sixth Vice-president.

Delegate Possehl, Operating Engineers: I rise to place in nomination the name of a man who for many years of his life has worked in the labor movement. He has been a friend and advisor to all the trade unionists, a friend to those who in their youth are stepping forward in the labor movement, and it gives me great pleasure to present the name of Mr. Arthur O. Wharton, General President of the International Association of Machinists, for Sixth Vice-president.

Delegate Bieretz, Electrical Workers: I wish to second the nomination of Arthur O. Wharton.

No other candidate was nominated, and upon the motion of Delegate Clarke, Flint Glass Workers, the Secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for Arthur O. Wharton. The instruction was complied with and Vice-president Wharton was declared unanimously elected.

President Green: Nominations will now be received for the office of Seventh Vice-president.

Delegate Weaver, Musicians: There is an infinite satisfaction in the contemplation of prophecies fulfilled. This is especially true when the augury has been one of good rather than of evil. When three years ago, in behalf of the

American Federation of Musicians, I had the honor of naming the President of that organization for membership in the official family of the American Federation of Labor, I spoke with conviction, confidence and faith that he would make good. It is the consensus of opinion on the part of those in position to know that he has measured up to every obligation imposed upon him. He is standing the test of these crucial years.

Surely, to borrow a homely aphorism from Abraham Lincoln, there will be no disposition here to swap horses in the middle of the stream, a stream whose surging tide gives frequent ominous indications of a disposition to overflow its banks. In the certain confidence that the fine service of recent years may be accepted as a dependable earnest of enlarged usefulness in the days which are to come, I again name for the office of Seventh Vice-president of the American Federation of Labor, Joseph N. Weber, of New York.

No other candidate was nominated, and upon motion of Delegate Flore, Hotel and Restaurant Employes, the Secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for Joseph N. Weber for Seventh Vice-president. The instruction was complied with and Joseph N. Weber was declared duly elected for the ensuing term.

President Green: The Chair now calls for nominations for Eighth Vice-president of the American Federation of Labor.

Delegate Paulson, Electrical Workers: If it had not been for the fact that the Vice-presidents are called out by number, I would think that every speech made previous to mine was in favor of my candidate. I therefore nominate J. M. Bugnizet, International Secretary of the Electrical Workers, for Eighth Vice-president.

No other candidate was nominated, and upon motion of Delegate Morton, International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen, the Secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for J. M. Bugnizet. The instruction was complied with, and J. M.

Bugnizet was declared duly elected for the ensuing year.

President Green: Nominations will now be received for the office of Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor.

Delegate Hanson, American Federation of Teachers: Mr. President—One thing that is needed in this organization is the happy human touch. We are so serious about all our duties, we are so overwhelmed with a sense of responsibility that we too often forget to smile. When the Executive Council has as a member one who is a complete combination of competent responsibility and the happy human attitude, one who lifts our spirits in joy and wins our respect by competence, it should not lose him.

It is my pleasure and pride and honor to place in nomination one whose delightful personality, intelligent competence in our field and record as Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor entitles him to that recognition, Martin Francis Ryan, to succeed himself as Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor.

No other candidate was nominated, and upon motion of Delegate Knight, Brotherhood of Railway Car Men, the Secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for Martin F. Ryan. The instruction was complied with and Treasurer Ryan was declared duly elected for the ensuing term.

President Green: The Chair now calls for nominations for the office of Secretary of the American Federation of Labor.

Delegate Howard, International Typographical Union: Mr. President, it would require a great deal of courage at this time to attempt to review the official record of the man I am about to nominate; it would be but repeating what the delegates in this convention know if I were to attempt to extol his virtues. More than a third of a century ago the organization for which I have the honor to speak offered to the American Federation of Labor the services of an outstanding character in our organization. For a quarter of a century,

through the trying times of the American labor movement, he traveled hand in hand with that peerless leader who has crossed the Great Divide, Samuel Gompers. You well know the incomparable service he has rendered to this organization and I am sure that every delegate in this convention in his heart and in his mind seconds the nomination I am about to make when I offer the convention as the nominee for Secretary-treasurer, Frank Morrison, a member of the International Typographical Union.

(The delegates all arose and applauded the nomination for some time.)

President Green: The Chair will have to correct the slip of the tongue made by our good friend Delegate Howard, and the reason I do so is that our good friend Martin Francis Ryan might feel we were trespassing upon his jurisdiction. The nomination is for Secretary.

Delegate Mahon: In order that there may be no further mistakes made in this convention, I move that the President cast the ballot for Secretary Morrison.

Delegate Howard: I accept the correction, and in explanation to the delegates I might say that in my youth and enthusiasm I made the nomination as I did. We have a Secretary-treasurer in our organization, so it was only natural to refer to the Secretary in that way.

President Green: Well, printers make typographical errors. I know that it would be perfectly superfluous to call for further nominations for this office, because we seem to regard Secretary Morrison, not as a personality, but as a sort of institution.

The motion offered by Delegate Mahon was carried unanimously.

President Green complied with the instructions, and cast the ballot, later declaring Secretary Morrison duly elected for the ensuing term.

Secretary Morrison: Mr. President, I desire to express to the delegates my sincere appreciation of this expression of good-will by re-electing me Secretary of the American Federation of Labor. I want to say I shall do everything I can to strengthen the American

Federation of Labor in bringing conditions that will result in happiness to the workers of the two countries. Notwithstanding the cloud of unemployment which gives the delegates and members so much concern, I feel that that cloud will disappear and the national and international organizations will emerge to a better day, with a five-day week for members and conditions much better than they have ever enjoyed before.

In conclusion, I want to direct your attention to the fact that in the past thirty years the organized workers have reduced the work-week from fifty-nine hours to a five-day week with forty hours, and in addition to that the wages enjoyed by organized labor are over three times those they received for fifty-nine hours thirty years ago. If during the next thirty years we make the same progress the hours will be reduced to twenty-one hours a week, and when that time arrives we will think no more of having a twenty-one hour week than we do today of the inauguration of the five-day week with forty hours. I thank you.

#### Election of Fraternal Delegates

President Green: We now come to the election of fraternal delegates to the British Trades Union Congress. There are two to elect. Nominations will be called for a delegate to the British Trades Union Congress. After one delegate has been selected, the Chair will call for nominations for a second delegate. There will be no difference, of course, in the status of the delegates; each one will go to the British Trades Union Congress occupying the same position as fraternal delegates from the American Federation of Labor.

Delegate Davis, Boiler Makers: I rise to place in nomination one of the pioneers, I believe, in the movement, and one who has for more than a quarter of a century attended the sessions of this Federation. He has served our International as an officer since 1906. And while this delegate has had the good fortune and honor of having been selected upon a previous occasion as a fra-

ternal delegate to the British Trades Union Congress, that being the year 1917, but because of the entrance of the United States into the great World War and because of his having been inducted by the Government of the United States as one of the directors of labor for the Railroad Administration, he was compelled by patriotic motives and because of his feeling of sacrifice and service to this movement to forego the honor of making the trip as a delegate and representative of this Federation. I therefore wish to place in nomination Brother Joseph A. Franklin, International President of the Boiler, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America.

No other candidate was nominated, and upon motion of Delegate Lindelof, Painters, seconded by Delegate Conners, Switchmen, the Secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for Joseph A. Franklin for delegate to the British Trades Union Congress. The instruction was complied with, and Delegate Franklin was declared duly elected to that position.

Delegate Franklin: Mr. Chairman and delegates—I want to take this opportunity to thank you for honoring me with this election and assure you that I will do the very best I can to represent you in the coming convention of the British Trades Union Congress.

President Green: The Chair will call for the nomination of another delegate to the British Trades Union Congress.

Delegate Mahon, Street and Electric Railway Employes: I rise at this time to place in nomination a young, active trade unionist, who has for the past ten or twelve years given valiant service in the trade union cause. He comes from the organization of Maintenance of Way Employes. We all know something of the struggle that organization has gone through, especially we know the results to that organization at the close of the World War when through the war they had secured conditions and a very large membership. It fell into the hands of men who had all kinds of imaginary notions and led them into a financial condition that almost destroyed the organization. At that time this young man came forward, took hold of

the organization and brought it out of that condition. At one time the organization was some \$200,000 in the red, but through the efforts of that young man there was placed in the treasury of that organization nearly a million dollars for the protection of the men doing that class of work, which is one of the lowest paid in the American labor movement. I place in nomination the name of E. E. Milliman, Secretary-treasurer of the Maintenance of Way Employes.

The nomination was seconded by Delegate Conners, Switchmen.

No other candidate was nominated, and upon motion of Delegate Martel, Typographical Union, the Secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for E. E. Milliman. The instruction was complied with, and Delegate Milliman was declared duly elected a fraternal delegate to the British Trades Union Congress.

President Green: The Chair will call for nominations for a fraternal delegate to the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.

Delegate Perham, Railroad Telegraphers: I desire to place in nomination as delegate to the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress a well-known trade unionist and one who will represent us in the convention with credit, James B. Power, of the Commercial Telegraphers.

No other candidate was nominated, and the Secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for Frank B. Power for fraternal delegate to the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress. The instruction was complied with and Frank B. Power was declared unanimously elected to serve as Fraternal Delegate to the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.

#### Convention City

Delegate Manning, Union Label Trades Department: Last year we met on the eastern coast of the United States, in Boston. In the convention last year you chose one of the most delightful cities in Canada for this convention. The choice was unsolicited by Vancouver. In this convention I find a very

large and fine sentiment for a meeting in the central part of the United States for next year. While selecting a city for our convention we should lose sight of all forms of entertainment by those in the city we select. I feel constrained to say that the city in which we hold our convention, where there is little or no entertainment, makes for more progress in our deliberations than where the attention of the delegates is diverted by entertainment. I therefore nominate the City of Cincinnati for our convention next year.

Delegate Case, Lathers: I do not rise to second the nomination of Cincinnati. I am from Cincinnati, but I have not received any word from the building trades of that city saying they would like to have the convention there. I did hear from the secretary of the central body of Cincinnati who was here yesterday that the Cincinnati Central Labor Council had turned down the thought of taking the convention to that city. I realize that when a convention goes to a city all the local unions like to offer at least some entertainment. As for myself, I am always willing to pay for whatever entertainment I may have, but I fear if the convention is taken to Cincinnati they are going to hear, "Oh, what kind of a town is this? This is all they did for us!" We had a convention in Cincinnati eight or nine years ago and we were glad to have it there, but I feel it would be better to take the convention next year during this siege of depression to some city where there is no entertainment.

Delegate Alifas, Washington Central Labor Union: In accordance with action taken at the recent meeting of the Washington Central Labor Union, I, as their delegate, have been instructed to present the name of Washington, D.C., as the city in which to hold the next convention of the American Federation of Labor. Washington, D.C., offers many advantages for holding a convention such as our organization has held annually. We have not only entertainment facilities, which appear to be minimized upon this occasion, nevertheless entertainment is expected and Washington furnishes all the varieties of entertainment that may be desired.

Washington, D.C., has been found a splendid place for the headquarters of the American Federation of Labor and no fault has been found with Washington as a place in which to transact business. Washington is the capital of the nation, and next year will celebrate the two hundredth anniversary of the birth of George Washington. Inasmuch as we have been in the habit of commemorating national events in determining the city in which the convention is to be held—such as at Boston last year—Washington furnishes this opportunity. We have a splendid radio system in Washington over which the proceedings of the convention can be broadcast to the nation. The publicity facilities of Washington are unexcelled anywhere in the United States. In view of these advantages and many others I could mention, I take pleasure in presenting to this convention the City of Washington as the place in which the American Federation of Labor shall hold its 1932 convention.

Delegate Mahon, Street Railway Men: I rise at this time to second the nomination of the City of Cincinnati. I realize that Brother Case has a right to give his personal opinion about going to Cincinnati. The brother who made the nomination said they were not looking for entertainment but for a place to meet. I am sure we will be well treated if we go to Cincinnati. I therefore second the nomination of that city.

Delegate Tobin, Teamsters: I believe the Executive Council ought to select the city in which to hold the convention of the American Federation of Labor. I made this suggestion some years ago. I am informed that the Central Labor Body of Cincinnati has officially declined to invite the convention. Our organization is organized there practically 100 per cent. The delegates ought to understand that next year our convention will open on the third Monday of November. At that time of the year the weather is usually very unpleasant in Cincinnati. If a convention is held in that city next year it will be the third convention in the history of the Federation to be held in Cincinnati. There are other large cities in Ohio in which no convention of the American

Federation of Labor has been held. There has never been a convention held in Indianapolis, Indiana, or in Cleveland, Ohio.

The convention will run into December. At that time of year the weather is usually very rainy in Cincinnati. The Cincinnati Central Body, by official action, has refused to ask this convention to go there. That will not make any great difference, but we cannot close our eyes to it. East of the Rocky Mountains there is no pleasanter place to hold a convention in than Atlantic City. The weather is fine at that time of year and the crowds have largely gone. For that reason hotel rates will be very reasonable. I think it would not be at all out of the way to refer this to the Executive Council. They can give consideration to the time of year and weather conditions in the city in which the next convention may be held. If I am in order I offer a motion that the selection of the next city in which the convention will be held, opening the third Monday in November, be referred to the Executive Council.

Delegate Hutcheson, Carpenters: I arise to a point of order. The constitution provides that the convention shall select the city in which the next convention will be held.

Secretary Morrison read Section I, Article III of the constitution, as follows:

"Section 1. The Convention of the Federation shall meet annually at 10 a. m., on the first Monday in October, at such place as the delegates have selected at the preceding Convention, except during the years when a presidential election occurs, when the Convention in those years shall be held beginning the third Monday of November. If the proper Convention arrangements or reasonable hotel accommodation can not be secured in that city, the Executive Council may change the place of meeting."

President Green: It is the opinion of the Chair that the point of order is well taken because the constitution provides that the convention is clothed with power and authority to select the convention city. The Executive Council is clothed with the authority to change the place which the convention has selected only in case proper hotel accommodations cannot be secured.

Delegate Martel, Typographical Union: Have there been invitations from cities other than Washington, D. C.?

President Green: The Secretary will please announce. It is my impression that invitations have been received from Atlantic City; Columbus, Ohio; Indianapolis, Indiana, and Cincinnati, Ohio.

Secretary Morrison: An invitation came from the Mayor of Memphis, Tennessee.

President Green: I think St. Petersburg, Florida, also sent an invitation.

Delegate Martel: Is that from the labor movement in St. Petersburg or from the Mayor?

President Green: As I recall, the invitation came from the labor movement and from the Chamber of Commerce.

Delegate Martel: The convention seems to be in a quandary as to where to hold its next convention. Some time ago you had a convention in Detroit. There were some of our fellow citizens who did not treat the convention of the American Federation of Labor very kindly, and I know what the situation is to be this year. There has been an invitation from the Central Body and from the City of Detroit to hold your convention there. I spoke to the Mayor before leaving Detroit and he expressed a desire to have you come there next year. I told him I doubted that could be done because you were there five or six years ago.

At this time I desire to extend an invitation, as the Secretary of the Central Body, to hold your next convention in Detroit. If you accept that invitation I assure you we will give you an entertainment equal to the one we gave you the last time and the people of the city will welcome you. The Y. M. C. A. that stepped out of line has been very properly slapped on the nose and the commercial tyrants of our city, who seemed to think they owned and operated everything there, have very properly been taken care of in the last election. If you come to Detroit you will be among friends.

Delegate Clarke, Flint Glass Workers: I had intended to propose an amendment to the constitution of the American Federation of Labor to provide for holding our convention in Washington on Labor Day, but for reasons that I will not take the time to explain I withdrew the proposed amendment. I fear that many delegates were laboring under the impression that if the convention should open on Labor Day we would become involved in an intricate controversy involving politics. That was the cause for withdrawing the proposed amendment, but I have long felt, as I expressed myself in Boston last year, that we make a tremendous mistake when it comes to selecting our convention city. I told you that many times.

In the early spring I brought this to the attention of the Executive Council and pointed out that 80 per cent of the delegates to this convention could reach the heart of our nation in less than twenty-four hours and save considerable expense. That is what actuated me to try to take the convention to Washington last year, and now when the American labor movement is confronted with conditions such as never appeared in our history before it is my conviction that we should take our convention to the capital of the nation, Washington, D. C. It has been clearly and convincingly stated that there we have the facilities to gain publicity. The remarkable addresses delivered in this convention by our distinguished President have been heard in Vancouver alone, but if we were holding this convention in Washington his voice could have been heard around the world. They would hear it in Vancouver the same as they did hear it, and our citizens at home would hear it.

We have a serious situation confronting us and it is my conviction that we should carry this labor movement right up to the representatives of our nation, to the President, his Cabinet and the members of the House and Senate, and let them hear at close range what the American labor movement stands for. For a quarter of a century we have been advising our representatives to move their headquarters to Washington

so that they could have an opportunity to confer with the representatives of the nation. We have not been there for forty-six years with the convention, and I venture to suggest, without fear of successful contradiction, that there are a great many men within the hearing of my voice who do not understand the workings of our Government and little realize that today we have no direct, qualified spokesman in either House in the interests of labor. We are depending upon men who are not bona fide representatives of the labor movement. If we do not have representatives in there directly to do that, then let us bring our convention there and plead our cause in a place and in a way that it will be heard.

I therefore desire to second the nomination presented to us by the Central Body of Washington, D. C., that we hold our next convention in the capital of our nation.

Nominations were closed.

Delegate Martel: If there are no objections I desire to withdraw the name of Detroit in favor of Washington, D. C.

#### Roll Call Vote on Convention City

**Cincinnati, Ohio** — Mullaney, Myrup, Beisel, Koch, Franklin, Walter, Davis (J. N.), Nacey, Haggerty, McEanarney, O'Dell, O'Connor (Nora), Dillon, Anderson (David), Bowen, Stretch, Moran, Price, Ryan (M. F.), Holmgren, Beaudry, Knight, Hutcheson, Duffy (Frank), Rogers, Hanson (Chas. W.), Flynn (Thos. F.), Page, Ornburn, Perkins, Collins (Wm.), Harrison, Pearsall, Hall (Frank H.), Broach, Bugniazet, Bleretz, Paulsen, Preiss, Cleary, Possel, Fitzgerald (F. A.), Maloney, Dornberger, Walsh (Wm. F.), Volz, Woll, McNamara, Morton, Holland, Rickert, Wines, Doyle (F.), Adamski, Houck, Maloney (James), Campbell (W. W.), Brock, O'Keefe, Wharton, Fry, Henning, Haggerty (D. P.), Fljozdal, Milliman, McAndrew, Davis (Geo. H.), Lewis (John L.), Murray, Kennedy, Green, Hartneady, Fagan, Boylan, Brennan, Musicians' delegation (500 votes), Lindeloff, Swick, Madsen, Meehan, Kaufman, Hunter (Jos. R.), Wilson (James), Coefield, Burke (T. E.), Smylie, Anderson (Charles), Marks, Ezart, Longley, Listman, Mahon, Kehoe, Van Ness, Jones, Cookman, Gavlak, O'Brien (P. J.), Furuseth, Olander, Canavan (Wm. F.), Dempsey, Maloy, Burke (James F.),

Cashen, Connors, Powers, Manning, Taylor (T. N.), Allai, Clinedinst (Lillie Barbour), Campbell (Joe C.), Kmetz, Slater, Nockels, Hunter (Andrew), Driscoll, Cox, Buzzell, Ickler, Clinedinst (J. D.), Snyder, Doyle (Frank E.), Covert, L'Estrange, Tracy, representing 17,952 votes.

**Washington, D. C.**—Shanessy, Birthright, Crane, Reagan, Merlino, Horn, Powlesland, Obergfell, Kugler, Zusi, Morrin, Ryan (Edw.), Bauers, McTague, George, Flaherty, Allen, Daney, McIntosh, Feeney, MacDonald (J. C.), O'Brien (Thos.), Baer, Macdonald (Neil), Clark (Wm. P.), Harshman, Moreschi, Marshall, Rivers, Etchison, Berg, Sidney, Flore, Hesketh, Koveleski, Quinn (A. M.), Schott, Tigue, Levine, McSorley, Moore (G. T.), Case, Hagen, Gainer, Finnan, Duffy (C. D.), Mugavin, Swartz (L. E.), Kennedy (A. J.), Bruck, Bjorklund, Hogan, Rode, Gorman (P. E.), Lane, Hofmann, Hynes, Ryan (J. J.), Reul, Close, Keough, McCoy, Rosendale, Musicians' Delegation (500 votes), Colleran, Scully (T. A.), Rooney, O'Keefe, Feeley, Duffy (J. M.), Hull, Windsor, Collins (W. M.), Strickland, Keegan, Sumner (C. A.), Soderberg, Hanson (Florence Curtis), Tobin (D. J.), Hughes (T. L.), Gillespie, McLaughlin (J. P.), Goudle, McKenna, Marion, Perham, McIntroy, Burr, Ellison, Howard, Morrisson (Frank), Trotter, Robinson, Martel, Nail, McLaughlin (Edw.), Soderstrom, Graham, Ryerson, Iglesias, Taylor (J. A.), Possee, Doll, Fritz, Juneman, Anderson (Gust), O'Connell (J. A.), Duncan (J. A.), Finn, Bengough, Alifas, Stevenson (F.), representing 8,216 votes.

**Not Voting**—Gillmore, Dullzell, Abernathy, Horan, Quesse, Nelson, McLeod, Schulte, Coulter, Zaritsky, Warfield, Rosemund, Steward, McNally, Fitzgerald (John), Schlesinger, Gordon (Edward), Onyett, Scully (J. J.), Britton, Burke (John P.), Sullivan (H. W.), Sutor, Mitchell, Cullen, Kaiser, McMahon, Gorman, Starr, Smith (Wm.), Evans (E. Lewis), Hatch, Fay, McDonough, Frey, Jewell, Provost, Gross, Petry, Rosqvist, Sherman, Elliott, Young, Moriarty, Hall (E. G.), Rafferty, Sullivan (John), Donnelly (T. J.), Garrison, Nance, Wahl, Joel, Flynn, Zoeklein, Campbell (G. C.), Michel, Coleman, Winberg, Barger, Augustino, Sumner (Steve), Rice, Sheehan, Foster, Farrell, Quinn (J. C.), Moore, Sisson, Bower, Smethurst, Marsh, Welsh (Warren S.), Martinez, Reed, Woodmansee, Wood, Thomas, Bohm, Stephens, Driscoll, Tuohy, Dahlbeck, Flynn (M. J.), McElligott, Randolph, Webster, Hampton, Galvin, MacDonald (Anne), Mitchell, Wolstencroft, Beard, McDonald (Colin), Fitzgerald, representing 2,147 votes.

President Green: In accordance with the vote of the convention the Chair declares Cincinnati as having been se-

lected as the convention city for the American Federation of Labor for the year 1932.

Delegate Alifas, Washington: For the purpose of making a suggestion. In the event the Executive Council finds that, due to the inclement weather in Cincinnati, some other city will have to be selected, I hope they will consider the beautiful, balmy weather in Washington, D. C.

Delegate Case: As a citizen of Cincinnati, I will do everything I possibly can to entertain you, but if I may use the word, you are going to find it drier than hell down there.

Vice-president Woll: Quite a number of the delegates have asked as to the possibility of the Committee on Resolutions being able to finish its report today. I feel if the convention will shorten the lunch hour by one hour and lengthen the session this afternoon, or hold a short night session, we can complete our work today. I therefore move that we set aside the rules and adjourn to meet at 1:30 this afternoon.

The motion was seconded by Delegate Hesketh and carried unanimously.

Secretary Olander continued the report of the Committee on Resolutions as follows:

**Hotel and Restaurant Employees Request Support of Efforts to Unionize Hotels and Catering Establishments**

Resolution No. 3 — By Delegates Edward Flore, Robert B. Hesketh, Emanuel Koveleski, Conrad Schott, Agnes Quinn of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees' and Beverage Dispensers' International Alliance.

WHEREAS, In these days of struggle and strife for improved working conditions and employment, many of the affiliations of the American Federation of Labor are found patronizing hotels and catering establishments that are unfair to and opposed to employing members of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees' and Beverage Dispensers' International Alliance; and

WHEREAS, Because they see fit to do business with these unfair institutions and thereby ignore the existence of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees' and Beverage Dispensers' International Alliance, it oftentimes happens that the local officials of the Hotel and Res-

restaurant Employes' and Beverage Dispensers' International Alliance in opportune time demand the withdrawal of said business—banquet, social function or patronage—from such houses; and

WHEREAS, While these demands are at times made just prior to the holdings of the occasion, they for this reason are not relished by those involved and are often classed as unfair. The action of the local officials of the Hotel and Restaurant Employes' and Beverage Dispensers' International Alliance in protecting the right of employment for their membership, even at the discomfort of those who proceed to carry on negotiations with hotels or catering establishments that do not employ members of the Hotel and Restaurant Employes' and Beverage Dispensers' International Alliance, is in every sense justifiable and fair and in keeping with the policy and principles of the American Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the convention of the American Federation of Labor endorse the efforts of the Hotel and Restaurant Employes' and Beverage Dispensers' International Alliance to organize all hotels and catering establishments within their jurisdiction and call upon all of its affiliations when holding banquets, functions, or patronizing hotels or catering establishments, that they see that said establishments are fair to organized labor and employ members of the Hotel and Restaurant Employes' and Beverage Dispensers' International Alliance.

The committee recommends that Resolution No. 3 be amended by striking out the preamble and by striking out the word "holding" in the last paragraph and inserting in lieu thereof the words "arranging for," and that the resolution as thus amended to read as follows, be adopted:

RESOLVED, That the convention of the American Federation of Labor endorse the efforts of the Hotel and Restaurant Employes' and Beverage Dispensers' International Alliance to organize all hotels and catering establishments within their jurisdiction and call upon all of its affiliations when arranging for banquets, functions, or patronizing hotels or catering establishments, that they see that said establishments are fair to organized labor and employ members of the Hotel and Restaurant Employes' and Beverage Dispensers' International Alliance.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

**Proposing Participation of United States in General Disarmament Conference in Geneva, February, 1932.**

Resolution No. 6—By Delegate Florence Curtis Hanson of the American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, Fifty-eight nations of the world, including the United States, have now, by signing the Kellogg-Briand Treaty, renounced war as an instrument of national policy and agreed to settle all international controversies by pacific means; and

WHEREAS, The General Disarmament Conference meets in Geneva, February, 1932, to consider the limitation and reduction of armaments by international agreement; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor petition the President of the United States to include a representative of Labor in the deputation of advisers to the General Disarmament Conference in Geneva, Switzerland, in February, 1932.

The committee recommends that Resolution No. 6 be adopted.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

**Textile Workers Urge Patronage of Pequot Products.**

Resolution No. 10—By Delegates Thomas F. McMahon, Francis J. Gorman, James Starr, William Smith of the United Textile Workers of America.

WHEREAS, Two thousand (2,000) union members of Local No. 33, of the United Textile Workers of America are employed at the Pequot Mills of Salem, Mass.; and

WHEREAS, The United Textile Workers of America and the Pequot Mills are parties to a signed agreement, which has provided for wages in excess of those paid in non-union sheeting mills; and

WHEREAS, The most mutual and harmonious labor relations exist between the parties to the agreement, a most serious condition has arisen; and

WHEREAS, The Pequot Mills and the union have had to resort to four-day-a-week basis in an attempt to balance production, we again call upon this convention to give its endorsement to an intensive co-operative plan of promoting the purchase of Pequot sheets and pillow cases; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor can call upon its affiliated membership to purchase and promote Pequot sheets and pillow cases; be it

**RESOLVED**, That this Convention reiterate the previous action of the American Federation of Labor in authorizing the promotion of the only union-made sheet in America (Pequot), and urge all international and national unions to assist the United Textile Workers in maintaining continuity of employment, preserving wages and conditions of employment and resisting the attack of the non-union sheeting mills; and be it further

**RESOLVED**, That a copy of this resolution be sent to all affiliated organizations.

The Committee recommends adoption of Resolution No. 10.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

**To Assist Ladies' Garment Workers in Negotiations for Renewal of Collective Agreements.**

Resolution No. 20—By Delegate Benjamin Schlesinger, of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

WHEREAS, The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union is now approaching the expiration of the collective agreements with the dress and cloak manufacturers' associations in New York City and will soon begin negotiations with the employers' associations in these industries for the renewal of the collective agreements affecting many tens of thousands of workers; be it therefore

**RESOLVED**, That the Fifty-first Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, in Vancouver, B. C., instructs the Executive Council to give the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union all co-operation and assistance in its negotiations with the employers' associations and also in the event of general strikes in these industries to safeguard the workers against the reduction of work standards, will become unavoidable.

The committee recommends adoption of Resolution No. 20, it being understood that the resolution does not involve any financial obligation on the part of the American Federation of Labor.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

**World Peace.**

Resolution No. 21—Delegate Florence Curtis Hanson of the American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, The attention of the entire civilized world is at this time turned to the problem of world peace as a necessity in preserving civilization; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor give attention to the study of the methods of promoting world peace; the growing interdependence of men and nations; and the accomplishments to date of organized world-wide movements in the interest of human betterment.

The committee recommends adoption of Resolution No. 21.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

**Dedication of the Gompers Memorial.**

Resolution No. 22—By Delegate Florence Curtis Hanson of the American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, The dedication of the Gompers Memorial is an epoch in the history of the Labor movement; and

WHEREAS, All members of the American Federation of Labor delight in honoring their revered leader and are eager to honor themselves in honoring him; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor consider the advisability of having in Washington, at the time of the dedication of the Gompers Memorial, a pageant designed to give labor's story eloquently and dramatically, in which internationals, state federations, and other groups (auxiliaries) may participate.

The committee recommends that Resolution No. 22 be adopted.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

At 12:30 o'clock p.m. the convention recessed to 1:30 o'clock p. m.

## Eighth Day — Thursday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order at 1:30 o'clock by President Green:

### Absentees

Gillmore, Dullzell, Mullaney, Abernathy, Horn, Bowen, Harrison, Schulte, Coulter, Zaritsky, Warfield, Schlesinger, Brock, O'Keefe (J.), Onyett, Kennedy (A. J.), Fljzodal, Scully, Lewis, Murray, Fagan, Boylan, Britton, Burke (J. P.), Sullivan (H. W.), Collins (W. M.), Gavlak, O'Brien, Mitchell (M. W.), Cullen, Kaiser, Manion, McMahon, Gorman (F. J.), Starr, Smith (W.), Evans, Hatch, Fay, Provost, Gross, Rosqvist, Allai, Young, Hall (E. G.), Sullivan (J.), Campbell (J. C.), Rynerson, Garrison, Joel, Campbell (G. C.), Driscoll, Coleman, Barger, Augustino, Sumner (S.), Rice, Juneman, Sheehan, Foster, Quinn (J. C.), Moore, Sisson, Bower, Smethurst, Welsh, Martinez, Reed, Duncan, Wood, Thomas, Bohm, Stephens, Driscoll, Dahlbeck, McElligott, Randolph, Webster, Hampton, Galvin, Mitchell (T.).

President Green: The Chair recognizes the Chairman and Secretary of the Committee on Executive Council's Report, Vice-president Wilson and Secretary Clark. We will interrupt the report of the Committee on Resolutions in order to receive the report of the Committee on Executive Council's Report. The Chair recognizes Secretary Clark, of the committee.

### REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON EXECUTIVE COUNCIL'S REPORT

Delegate Clarke, Secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

In considering the introduction to the Report of the Executive Council to this convention we are reminded that in a few days, November 15, 1931, the Fiftieth Anniversary of the birth of the American Federation of Labor will be upon us. As we stand on the threshold of this momentous occasion it seems altogether fitting that the delegates to this convention should reflect and recall the difficulties encountered and surmounted by the daring pioneers of this movement. Those indomitable characters who blazed the way in order that the men and women directly affiliated with our trade unions may attain their present position in the scale of

human accomplishments are entitled to our gratitude and deserving of our supplications.

But to attempt to recount the names of the individuals who gave of their time, their talents, their liberties and even their sacred lives for the uplift of the men, the women, and the children who toil would be impossible of accomplishment, due to the incompleteness of the record as well as the danger of omitting therefrom the names of some individuals who may be deserving of special mention. Because of this we must be content to speak in general terms and not in a specific way. Again, our judgment justifies the belief that those sturdy pioneers—those men and women who may be regarded as the apostles of this movement would, if they could, urge us to think of their deeds and their accomplishments collectively and avoid the singling out of individuals for special commendation. It is in this spirit that we enter into our reflection.

Historians tell us that forty-five years ago this City of Vancouver was unknown, that the very spot on which we are now gathered was then a wilderness—that the beauties of this Northwestern section of North America had not been recognized by man, while today every delegate in this convention will testify to the raptures that now surround us on every hand and with which we will be reluctant to part when the duties that caused us to assemble here are fulfilled.

And as we vision this city—its past as a wilderness and its present as a real garden spot in this great Northwest, so should we visualize this trade union movement of ours as formed first by its pioneers and now typified and exemplified by the American Federation of Labor of which we are all a living, breathing part.

The pioneers of this movement encountered long hours, low wages, oppressive methods, unsanitary conditions, lack of education, illness, injuries, diseases and almost numberless other difficulties of a nature that would test the courage of the men of our day,

while they continued on undaunted and unafraid. Many a life was unselfishly sacrificed that our present high standard of life and comfort should be attained.

We owe the founders of this movement the undying love of grateful hearts for the foundations they erected which formed the stepping-stones for the advancement of those directly identified with the American Federation of Labor, and those not identified with the unions of their craft and who have not formed a part of or contributed to the support of this movement may well join in this expression as a recognition for the harvests they have reaped and from fields they did not plant.

It is practically impossible to conceive the hardships endured by the founders of this movement, but we should weep to think that any of us who now enjoy the fruits of their efforts would ever fail in affection and veneration for those who builded that we might prosper and progress. They left to us a very precious heritage of which we may justly feel proud. We may not have known them personally but we know their deeds and we certainly should appreciate their worth. They were the sowers and all of the workers who enjoy a better standard of life are the reapers.

We rejoice over the achievements of the past fifty years, we are conscious of the present economic situation confronting our people at this moment and while we pledge undying allegiance to those who have gone before us we are at the same time gazing into the future with a determination to carry on in a way and with an understanding that will enable those who appraise our efforts and our accomplishments to record that we kept the faith and that this labor movement will pass on to our successors in a better condition than it was received by us. This is the spirit and this is the faith that should animate us all.

It has been this spirit and it is this faith that has enabled us to eventually acquire higher wages, shorter work-days, better sanitary conditions, purer food, happier homes, greater safety,

workmen's compensation, mothers' pensions, protection for women and children, opportunities for greater education and almost countless other beneficial achievements until we have finally established a standard of living in North America that is not equalled in any other country under the blue dome of Heaven.

But the present and the future are before us and we must approach our difficulties convinced of the righteousness of our position and with a determination to grapple with the problems that may confront us. Fortified by experience and with renewed encouragement we shall endeavor to master the situation in a way that the greatest good shall come to the greatest number.

This committee recognizes and appreciates the efforts put forth by our officers and members of the Executive Council to hold and, where possible, to advance the ideas for which our movement strives. This review therefore should be understood as a well earned testimonial to those who have gone before as well as to commend and approve the efforts of all who are now and shall continue to aid in advancing the high and noble principles on which the American Federation of Labor was founded and still rests.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### **Jurisdictional Problems**

Your committee has given very earnest consideration to the jurisdictional problems brought to our attention. We realize how intricate these questions are, how easily they arise and how difficult they are of solution, and we bring to you the result of our deliberations with the conviction that under the circumstances we have done the very best that it was possible for us to do.

#### **Teamsters—Railway Clerks.**

On pages 93 to 96 of the Report of the Executive Council will be found reference to this problem. It is the judgment of this committee that much progress has been made and that pres-

ent indications point to an early adjustment that will meet with the approval of the interested parties. Therefore, we advise that the Executive Council continue along the lines they have been following to the end that a satisfactory understanding shall be reached.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### **Theatrical Stage Employees—Electrical Workers**

If you will peruse page 96 of the Executive Council's Report, you will find that they inform us that while a settlement has not been reached, progress has been made. They recommend that the Council be privileged to continue its efforts and your committee concurs in this recommendation.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### **Technical Engineers, Draftsmen—Federal Employees**

The Executive Council has rendered its decision on this controversy. A review of the case as well as the decision can be found on pages 96 and 97 of the Council's Report to this convention. Your committee approves of the action of the Council and we recommend its ratification by this convention.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### **Cigar Makers—Tobacco Workers**

The Executive Council reports that there have been no new developments in this proposed merger, but they are not without confidence as to the future. This part of their report appears on page 97. Your Committee recommends that this matter be left with the Executive Council for further consideration.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### **Flint Glass Workers—Machinists**

This subject is reviewed on page 97 of the Report of the Executive Council. The Council recommends that they be permitted to continue their policy of

being helpful to the contending organizations. While your committee regrets a failure to abide by the decisions of the American Federation of Labor, still we are agreeable to the recommendation made by the Executive Council that will enable them to continue their efforts and we trust that by next year this long standing controversy will be finally disposed of.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### **Flint Glass Workers—Glass Bottle Blowers**

On page 98 of the report of the Executive Council, it is recorded that the conference held September 12, 1931, failed of results. Your committee heard the representatives of the two organizations involved. Out of this hearing came a proposal which met with the approval of the representatives of the interested parties and to which they have attached their signatures. It reads:

#### **Agreement**

Vancouver, B. C., Canada,  
October 13, 1931.

With the intent of reaching a definite settlement and permanently disposing of the subject of jurisdiction over Neon Gas Sign Workers, the undersigned representatives of the American Flint Glass Workers' Union of North America and the Glass Bottle Blowers' Association agree:

That a committee of three shall be created by the President of the American Flint Glass Workers' Union selecting one representative, the President of the Glass Bottle Blowers' Association selecting one representative and the President of the American Federation of Labor selecting the third representative. This committee shall make an investigation and present a report and a recommendation to the Executive Council and the Executive Council shall submit said report and recommendation to the next convention of the American Federation of Labor for final decision.

WILLIAM P. CLARKE,  
HARVEY H. HARSHMAN,  
For the American Flint Glass  
Workers' Union.  
JAMES MALONEY,  
W. W. CAMPBELL,  
For the Glass Bottle Blowers'  
Association.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

**Engineers—Firemen**

Your committee is pleased to observe on page 98 of the Report of the Executive Council that the Executive Board members of these two organizations will meet and endeavor to adjust their jurisdictional differences. We approve of this procedure and recommend its ratification by this convention.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

**Extension of Title**

On page 98 of their report the Executive Council gives a review justifying their action in extending the jurisdiction of the International Union of Pavers, Rammermen, Flag Layers, Bridge and Stone Curb Setters to include "Asphalt Workers," and your committee concurs and recommends approval by this convention.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Marshall, Hod Carriers and Building Laborers: Our International Union does not concur in the committee's report, owing to the fact that when this hearing was held and a decision was rendered by the Executive Council our representative was in New York and did not have an opportunity to appear before the Council.

Therefore, I make a motion at this time that this matter be referred back to the Executive Council in order to give us an opportunity to present our case.

The motion was seconded by Delegate Martel, Typographical Union.

Vice-president Wilson: While it is true that at the one meeting of the Executive Council there was no representative of the building laborers present, at the same time at the following meeting of the Executive Council there was a presentation of their case before the Executive Council, when reaffirmation was made of the decision that had been rendered by the Council.

Delegate Marshall: Mr. Chairman, in reference to that statement I want to enlighten the delegates here. There was no decision rendered in its entirety on that jurisdiction. There was a local

decision rendered in the San Francisco situation, and that only in the Baltimore convention. It only acted on that particular locality and not on the whole. We are abiding by that decision.

When the yea and nay vote was taken the Chair expressed doubt as to the result and a vote by show of hands was taken, with the following result: 32 in favor of reference to the Executive Council, 28 opposed.

President Green: The majority having voted to refer, the motion to refer the matter to the Executive Council was adopted.

**Change of Title.**

The Executive Council advises that they have approved of the change in the title of the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen and Oilers to that of "International Brotherhood of Firemen and Oilers." No objections having been presented, your committee recommends that the convention concur.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

**Benefit Services of National and International Unions**

Pages 98 to 103 of the Report of the Executive Council brings to us in a rather concise way a record of the benefits paid by our various organizations to the members thereof. This data is worthy of deep study and mature reflection. It is a clear indication of the humane and sympathetic feelings that animate our members. The amount expended during the past year for sick, death, unemployment, old age, disability and miscellaneous benefits totalled the vast sum of \$36,697,979.56, or an expenditure of approximately \$100,000 during each and every day of the year.

This one service alone would justify the existence of the trade union movement, for be it remembered that when we were ministering to the sick, burying the dead, aiding the unemployed, comforting and giving relief to the aged, assisting the disabled and helping the unfortunate, we are doing the work that the Divine Master had in mind when he

proclaimed: "He that doeth unto the least of mine doeth unto Me." This humanitarian work of our movement comes within the full meaning of another proclamation of Him on High when he declared: "Even a cup of water given in my name shall not go unrewarded."

Surely this effort to help and assist those less fortunate will bring its own reward. We thank the Executive Council for the compilation of this data and express our gratitude to all who assisted in making the results herein recorded possible.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### **Workmen's Compensation**

There is no more timely, thoughtful or tactful review appearing in the Report of the Executive Council than that presented on page 119 under the foregoing caption. Here is a remarkable opportunity to further the interests of workmen's compensation. Here will be found evidence which can be translated into arguments to support many worthwhile propositions. It is hardly possible to realize that the cost of administering workmen's compensation by private insurance companies is thirty-eight (38) times as great as it now costs the State of Ohio to administer the workmen's compensation law in that particular state. The welfare of the workers the country over justifies the suggestion that these facts be broadcast so that the benefits that may accrue as a result of this knowledge may be attained as quickly as possible.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### **Extension of Jurisdiction**

Resolution No. 58, introduced by the delegates from the National Federation of Federal Employees requesting an extension of jurisdiction, was referred to this committee. A lengthy hearing was had at which time opposition was entered by the representatives of several organizations. Your committee gave this request mature

consideration and we have concluded that the request should be non-concurred in.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### **Appeal From the Decision of the Executive Council**

Resolution No. 88, appearing on page 213 of the second day's proceedings, is an appeal as to the constitutionality of an action taken by the Executive Council, which action has not been reported to this convention and was not before your committee. In view of these facts, we recommend that Resolution No. 88 be referred to the Executive Council.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Price, Bricklayers: I would like to ask that the decision of the Executive Council in this case be read. I have a copy of it here.

Delegate Marshall, Hod Carriers: Mr. Chairman, I don't think it is proper to inject that into this controversy. It should not be part of the proceedings of this convention.

Delegate Price: Mr. Chairman, I think I have the right to ask for the decision of the Executive Council.

President Green: It is the opinion of the Chair that Delegate Price has a perfect right to ask for that information, so that he may have it and the delegates may have it.

Secretary Morrison will read the decision.

Secretary Morrison read the following:

"The Executive Council decides that jurisdiction over terrazzo workers' helpers belongs to the Marble Workers and that that organization be allowed to change its name and title to include these workers. The Council bases this decision on the finding that the records do not disclose that the International Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union at any time was granted jurisdiction over terrazzo workers' helpers; that there is therefore involved no trespass of jurisdiction in this case."

Delegate Price, Bricklayers: Mr. Chairman, I offer as a substitute for the committee's report a motion that

the decision of the Executive Council be sustained, and I would like to give my reasons.

President Green: Delegate Price offers as a substitute the decision of the Executive Council and moves that it be adopted in lieu of the committee's report. The question now occurs on the substitute offered by Delegate Price.

Delegate Moreschi, Hod Carriers and Building Laborers: A point of order, Mr. Chairman. Are we dealing with Resolution No. 88 or what are we dealing with? The Executive Council has not made any report to this convention, and if we are dealing with Resolution No. 88, I can't see where a substitute should be introduced.

President Green: Yes, we are dealing upon Resolution No. 88, upon which the committee makes a report.

Delegate Moreschi: What is the report?

President Green: The report is that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council. Delegate Price offers as a substitute for the committee's report that the convention endorse the decision of the Executive Council.

Delegate Moreschi: I think the substitute is not proper.

President Green: The Chair is bound to rule, according to parliamentary law, that the substitute is in order. The substitute is before the convention.

Delegate Price, Bricklayers: Mr. Chairman, I base the substitute for the committee's report on the grounds that this question has been before the Executive Council on three or four different occasions, where all parties concerned appeared before the Council and the question was thoroughly threshed out. The Council, as it states in its decision, has searched the records of the American Federation of Labor and found no trespass of jurisdiction, and therefore granted this decision to the Marble Helpers. We are not responsible for the printing of this decision of the Executive Council's report. There is, however, in the Executive Council's report a notice of the change of title under date of May 14, 1931. While the entire question is not placed upon the

record in the report of the Executive Council before this convention, in my opinion that does not alter the fact that the case was thoroughly threshed out and a decision handed down. I believe the appeal, as termed under Resolution No. 88, is a subterfuge and simply a matter of trying to delay the question for a final settlement.

I also base my argument on Resolution No. 88 on the fact that it is not alone an appeal on a question of law or authority granted to the Executive Council in these matters, but I also contend that the first and second where-as in the resolution enter into this question of jurisdiction, which the Council has already decided.

This question has been hanging fire for some two or three years. The International Hod Carriers and Building Laborers' Union has never, previous to two or three years ago, made claim to this class of men. The terrazzo helper, as well as the mechanic, years ago, were in a mixed union. They held Federal charters from the American Federation of Labor, and we can go back for some thirty years into the records of the Federation of Labor and also produce some of the charters of these unions to back up our statements.

If, as the Hod Carriers contend, they have always claimed this class of work and the men engaged in that class of work, why did they not claim jurisdiction over these men many, many years ago? It was not until the Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union took over the mechanics in that craft that the helper belonging to the craft became affiliated with the Marble Helpers. It is an industry that derives its mechanics from the helpers. They are not laborers in the term that the Hod Carriers would term them, but they are a semi-skilled bunch of men, and I venture to say that no man in this room can go on to a building and point out offhand the difference between them and the mechanics. It is an industry that must work together—the mechanics and the helpers.

If these men were awarded to the Hod Carriers, the entire method of that trade would have to be changed, the

men would be known as laborers, they would not advance to the mechanic, but would remain laborers for the rest of their lives the same as the Hod Carriers.

I contend that the appeal offered in the resolution by the Hod Carriers and building laborers is not in line with the policies of the American Federation of Labor, any more than a few minutes ago, when this convention passed upon a committee's report, this very committee, on the granting of extension of title to different organizations. The resolution in that portion of it claims that eration of Labor Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor had no authority in this matter. For many, many years the American Federation of Labor Executive Council has brought in similar reports and they have been adopted by the convention. It is a well-known fact that the Executive Council on many occasions has granted extension of title to a class of work where no other union has claimed that class of work in the past. That is the case here, and we contend that the Executive Council of this American Federation of Labor was within its rights in making a decision as they did under date of May 14.

Relative to the committee's report as to the way they arrived at their report, that the matter was not reported to the convention from the Executive Council's report, is an organization that has been called into conference on these matters and threshed them out on three or four different occasions, going to be responsible and the matter delayed another six months or three months, as we say, simply because that matter has not been reported in the Executive Council's report? Are we resorting to subterfuge, or are we here for the betterment of the men we represent?

If the matter, under the report of the committee, was referred back to the Council, I dare say that the Council would make the same decision. We are not fearful of that, but we

are fearful of what the men will do, what the contractors will do when the agreements terminate between these unions and the contractors, and that will be very soon, or on the following day if this matter is delayed. More dual unions will be organized. Turmoil will prevail on the buildings. Mechanics as well as helpers will be forced out of work. We as an organization of bricklayers, masons and plasterers, who control the mechanics in that trade, desire to say who should help us and who should not. That is why we are here in this delegation today saying to you that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor was within its right in rendering that decision. That is the ground on which we base our substitute for the committee's report.

Delegate Moreschi, Hod Carriers and Building Laborers: I wish to ask the Secretary to read Resolution No. 88.

Delegate Clark, Secretary of the committee, read Resolution No. 88.

Delegate Moreschi: Mr. Chairman, I still stand on my request of the Chair that the substitute offered by the delegate across the hall is out of order. Our Resolution No. 88 plainly deals with the carrying out of the constitutional provision of the American Federation of Labor and no other. The speaker across the way said that it is only two or three years ago that the jurisdictional dispute has arisen on this matter.

I want to say that our International Union had possession of the work since 1903, when it was organized, formed by Federal locals of the Federation at that time. The Executive Council reports that they do not see any infringing on jurisdiction. Why is the question before the house or why was it brought before the Executive Council? Why was this taken up by the Building Trades Department four years ago, and back to ten years ago, if there had not been a jurisdiction question? Our International Union would not have brought it up and made ourselves defendants in this matter.

The constitution plainly states how charter extensions shall be granted and how the procedure shall be carried on, and I can't see where the rights of the thousands of men belonging to this Federation would be safeguarded and protected if this provision would be violated by the officers themselves.

It was said on the floor that these men had no opportunity to become practical mechanics, and there is a system between the organization in connection with ourselves, also the bricklayers, and the same thing works out in the cement finishers and all the other trades, and it was never the condition, as quoted by the delegate, that a man has no opportunity for advancement.

Our claims on this is plain, as our jurisdiction as granted by the American Federation of Labor is helpers to mason's. Our organization does not interfere with the mechanical part, but certainly a helper is the only salvation to the unit of organization to two or three divisions of the craft. From a technical point, as mentioned by the previous speaker, it certainly would weaken the standing of our organization as well as the individuals themselves. We have contracts which have been in existence for many, many years covering this work. We have had organizations for many years on this calling of work, and I have never heard the complaint offered by any mechanic or contractor in relation to the men who were working in this calling.

Who is to be the judge whether a man is efficient to his calling, the man who employs him and hires him and dictates to him what is to be done or some one else? Therefore, I think in fairness to our organization and also in accordance with your own laws which govern our organization and guarantees the rights of our International Union to our membership, as well as every other international union, this matter should be adjusted according to law. The law plainly states:

"No charter shall be granted by the

American Federation of Labor to any national, international, trade, or Federal labor union without a positive and clear definition of the trade jurisdiction claimed by the applicant, and the charter shall not be granted if the jurisdiction claimed is a trespass on the jurisdiction of existing affiliated unions."

That is plain before you. It is the law of the Federation, and as far as I know it has not been amended, so I feel we are justified in demanding that the law that governs us shall be carried out.

Our organization was chartered in 1903 as Helpers and Laborers to the Masons, Plasterers, etc. The Marble Polishers and Rubbers were chartered in 1917 as a trade in polishing and rubbing and afterwards, through unknown reasons to us, they have attempted ever since to infringe on the work which is today under the control of our organization.

I cannot see where the substitute offered by the delegate is a constitutional one, so I trust that the delegates attending this convention, if they are out to uphold the law of the Federation, will vote the substitute down and support the committee's report.

This matter was referred by the Building Trades Department to the American Federation of Labor at its convention last year, and on five minutes' notice after the convention had adjourned and every delegate had left the hall, I was censured by some one because we were not present at the hearing.

I have requested the Chairman of the Federation to appoint and select some one who has knowledge of the trade and industry, and we would gladly assist them anywhere and any place to show our justification for the work. I believe the Chairman of the Federation cannot deny it, and to this day I have yet to receive a reply. On the contrary, they say there is no dispute over this matter and that is why the Executive Council rendered its decision.

I do not intend to delay or prolong this convention, but if the provisions of

this constitution guaranteeing the rights of the men who belong to the Federation are to be carried out, according to the law, the substitute can be ruled out of order or it should be voted down and the committee's report sustained, and we will then have an opportunity to try to go ahead and adjust it to the best interests of those who work in the industry and the welfare of themselves.

Delegate Rivers, Hod Carriers and Building Laborers: We are placed in a rather peculiar position here, the committee agreeing with us in a conference that this matter was a question of law and not a question of jurisdiction. Now the constitution of the American Federation of Labor says there cannot be an extension of title of the organization where there is a question of jurisdiction involved, and it was necessary to raise the point. The committee readily agreed with us that there was a question of jurisdiction in this matter.

Section 11, Article IX, which has been quoted, is very plain on this question. Now it has devolved itself into the settlement of a question on jurisdiction before this house. We maintain in our organization that the Executive Council has not the right, when there is a question of jurisdiction involved, to extend charter rights. The matter was not presented to this convention, and on our arrival in this city, it was necessary for us to call the President and Secretary of this Federation to ascertain from them what action we might take in this question, as the matter was not reported to this convention. We don't know why it was not reported and we are not questioning the honesty of anybody as to why it was not reported, but the fact is there was no mention made of it in the report of the Executive Council and we had no right to appear on this question. The President informed us if we wished the matter to be cleared up, we should present a resolution, which we did, and in that resolution we questioned the right of the Executive Council to make such a decision contrary to the constitution of the American Federation of Labor.

That is not a pleasant thing for us to do. It is not a pleasant thing for us

to get up here and question the right of the Executive Council on this very important matter, but it is necessary for us to call the attention of the delegates assembled here to the fact that if the Executive Council has a right in this question, they have the right to extend anybody else's charter rights where there is a jurisdictional question involved without presenting it to the convention for their approval. We claim that is not in accordance with the constitution by which we are to be governed.

We appeared before the Executive Council many times on this matter and presented jurisdiction claims for this work. It is true the marble workers have a great number of these men organized. It is true we have a great number of them organized in a great many cities in this country, nearly as many if not more than the Marble Workers, and yet the Executive Council says there is no question of jurisdiction involved in this matter. What right have they to say that when the late D'Alessandro, President of this International Union, deceased several years ago, held conferences with the late President Gompers of the American Federation of Labor trying to decide this question? It has been going on all these years, and now we come here and we are told to take a substitute for the report of the committee.

I thought the time for presenting resolutions was midnight of Tuesday of the first week of this convention. We were told that was the latest time for presenting matters of this importance to the convention. We were told by the President of this American Federation of Labor, and we come along here at this late hour, possibly the last day of this convention, and by a motion we present in fact a report of the Executive Council and ask this convention to adopt it. We are very much opposed to it.

Vice-president Wilson: May I ask Brother Rivers a question? Did I understand you to say the committee agreed with you that there was a jurisdictional dispute involved in this resolution?

Delegate Rivers, Hod Carriers and Building Laborers: Not the committee—members of the committee.

Vice-president Wilson: I just want to correct the statement, and say the committee did not have the dispute before their committee. We had a resolution before the committee and the chairman of the committee ruled that there was no jurisdictional dispute before the committee, it was merely a resolution which dealt with a question of law and we were not dealing with this question. I want the delegates to know that the committee did not consider the question of jurisdiction, because as we say in our report, it was not before our committee.

Delegate Tobin, Teamsters: Mr. Chairman, I would like to ask a question by way of information. Are the charges made by Delegate Rivers correct, that the Executive Council extended the jurisdiction of another organization without first reporting the matter to this convention for approval?

Delegate Rivers: And issued a charter?

Delegate Tobin: And issued a change of title of charter?

President Green: That matter, I think, was explained a moment ago, Brother Tobin. Perhaps you were not present. Here is the decision of the Executive Council on the matter. I will be pleased to read it:

"The Executive Council decides that jurisdiction over terrazzo workers' helpers belongs to the Marble Workers and that that organization be allowed to change its name and title to include these workers. The Council bases this decision on the finding that the records do not disclose that the International Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union at any time was granted jurisdiction over terrazzo workers' helpers; that there is therefore involved no trespass of jurisdiction in this case."

That was the decision of the Executive Council.

Delegate Tobin: I am not going to enter into this question of jurisdiction. I don't know to whom the work belongs. I am not rendering an opinion,

but on three different occasions it was necessary for the International Brotherhood of Teamsters to ask for a change in title, and under the law as explained to us and as understood by us, we had to come into the convention and ask for that change of title on the charter. That change in title might have been recommended by the Council, but to grant an absolute right to a change of title of any international union is not within the power of the Council, if I understand something about the law. I am not a bit prejudiced one way or the other, but if you can change the title of some international union, like the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks, with whom we had a jurisdictional dispute, or the Iron Workers, and give them absolute jurisdiction over a question at issue, you are doing an injury, an injustice to another international union. I think the only power the Council had was to recommend that the change in title be granted, and the approval of such recommendation remain with the convention.

What protection has any international union here in its title and in its charter if the Council, which I have fought for for years, which I shall still fight for, has the right to destroy that jurisdiction of another union by granting them an extension of charter rights to another affiliated body? I hold that the Council was not within its right in granting a change of title without the approval of this convention. That is the only point I have at issue, and I am making the point, not in regard to this international union or not in opposition to the other organization, but in defense of the unions that are here affiliated to the American Federation of Labor. I am opposed to such procedure. It is too much like a dictatorship to have the extension of charter rights granted by a change of title because some international union makes such a request, because there are none of us who may not be made to suffer from a similar transaction in years to come.

I believe that the Council should, if in its judgment it believes that this jurisdiction was not in issue, that it belonged to the marble setters, that the

Council was within its province only in recommending that a request for change of title be granted to the requesting organization and that the power of the Executive Council ended right there.

Delegate Moreschi, Hod Carriers and Building Laborers: I would like to ask the Chairman on what page of the Council's report to the 1931 convention that decision appears, or the finding of the Executive Council? The Chairman says, on reading the pamphlet, that there was no jurisdictional dispute. Men were charged for years, and in the city I mentioned a while ago, with mobbing men off the job. If you don't call that a dispute, I don't know what is a dispute. I offered to show the Chairman the court records in that case. He said, "I am not interested in that."

I am standing, not on this decision, much as we are entitled to the jurisdiction of the work, but upon the laws of the Federation, as well as the laws of our country, granting us certain privileges under those laws and the right to exercise those privileges. I have been attending conventions since 1912 and prior to that time. I never heard where an Executive Council took it upon themselves to destroy the laws that governed them, and not only granted the jurisdiction, but issued the charter. The charter is out before your convention had a chance to even say yes or no on it.

Delegate Hogan, Marble, Slate and Stone Polishers: We wanted to get the records of the proceedings that granted this jurisdiction before this convention, in the decision that was rendered by the Executive Council. Many points and questions have been brought up since that was accepted, that that was the contention at the present time, the decision of the Executive Council. When we appeared before the Committee on Executive Council's Report we were told that it was a question of law only. I thought that I had conclusively proven to the Committee on Executive Council's Report that the Executive Council had not asserted their rights or their authority in what they had done. I am not going into the details as to why we pushed the Executive Council

and asked them to give us consideration, to give us the decision. Another organization was infringing upon our rights, and unless a decision had been rendered, our contract with the contractors in this industry would be held in abeyance and perhaps our organization or our locals in that industry would be completely demoralized through the tactics that were being pursued by the Hod Carriers and Building Laborers, who are now trying to claim jurisdiction over a class of work that they claimed was theirs since 1903.

As I stated, I don't want to bore you with the jurisdictional controversy, but there have been statements made here and I am not going into detail. Here are the records as they stand in the American Federation of Labor office on the work of the men that we claim have been ours since the granting of our charter in 1902. That goes the building laborer one year better. In the classification of work, jurisdiction over these men concerning which this controversy arises at the present time has been granted to us by our charter in 1902.

Brother Tobin makes a statement which indicates that he is under the impression that the Executive Council has taken it upon themselves to grant a change of title and add to our jurisdiction. They have not. In their decision they state that they have gone over the records and found that that class of work belongs to the organization that I have the honor to represent and they cannot find at any time where the Hod Carriers and Building Laborers have been granted jurisdiction over that class of work.

Delegate Tobin, Teamsters: Will you answer a question? Did you change your title without the consent of the Executive Council?

Delegate Hogan: No sir.

Delegate Tobin: Did the Council grant you the right to change your title?

Delegate Hogan: Yes sir.

Delegate Tobin: That is the only point I am making.

Delegate Hogan: But previous to that the classification of work that calls for the title has been granted us since 1902 in our charter.

Delegate Tobin: Why did you change your title if it was granted?

Delegate Hogan: There seems to be an impression that you have got to include every class of work. We simply asked the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to tell the Hod Carriers and Building Laborers to keep off, that that class of work had been granted to us and it was under our jurisdiction since 1902. In their decision they found out that that class of work had always been in our possession and gave us the permission to change the title. Is there any crime in that? It is simply an organization that has organized these men and got conditions for them. They are satisfied with the organization that got them the conditions and they want to stay there. That is the organization that I represent, and I could show you in the records of the American Federation of Labor, July 1, 1919, and March, 1920, that these men that Brother Moreschi claims they had control over since the granting of their charter had Federal charters in the American Federation of Labor.

Now in 1924 they requested us to allow them to affiliate. On investigation we found out that they were doing work that had previously been in our possession as marble polishers and rubbers, men that go into the building and finish the material. They applied for affiliation with us. We could have told these men that that classification of work belonged to us, and they would have to join our Marble Workers' organization, but instead of that, we said to them, "All right, we will take you into our organization as a local and for the sake of harmony in the trade, to keep harmony on the building, we will give you a charter."

Now it was only after we had issued several of the charters that the Hod Carriers and Building Laborers came after them. We had also organized them in other localities. Understand, though, in this confusion when we issued them

charters and when we started to organize them, we were satisfied that no other organization had ever been awarded jurisdiction over that class of work. Therefore, we did not consider that we were usurping the rights of any other organization.

The question came up here and we thought it was going to be settled finally. Our contention is that it should not be referred back to the Executive Council, regardless of conditions or regardless of subterfuge.

First this matter went into the Building Trades Department. President Moreschi was the first one to suggest that the Building Trades Department had no authority in granting jurisdiction or a change of title, and I recognize the fact from past experience on another jurisdictional trouble we had with the Hod Carriers and Building Laborers over tile and marble helpers. So in going over the records I find that the records of both the Building Trades Department and the American Federation of Labor sustain us.

We mutually decided, through the President of the Building Trades Department, we mutually agreed to put the case in the hands of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and abide by their decision. Was there anything fairer than that? Three times we had our committees in Washington, Atlantic City and Boston, and three times it was postponed. Finally I believe the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor asserted themselves and said, "If you don't produce your case on May 8 we will render a decision." They appeared before the Executive Council and put their case in.

The American Federation of Labor, which we consider the highest court in the trade union movement, rendered its decision, and an appeal was taken by the Hod Carriers and Building Laborers, claiming that that court had no right to render a decision, after they agreed to put it in their hands. We had mutually agreed that they should be the ones to handle it. After the decision was rendered they circularized every local council of the Building Trades

Department, questioning the right of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to render a decision. That was shortly after a letter from President Green, which is now a matter of record here, or a copy of it, sent to the different local building trades councils to protect us from the onslaught made by the Hod Carriers and Building Laborers to get possession of that work that had been in our possession since 1902.

At the meeting of the Executive Council following that decision, held in Atlantic City in August, evidently the committee, either through verbal or written communications, made a request of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor for a reopening of the case, asking for a re-trial before the same court that they claimed had no jurisdiction. That is why we object to this continual postponement. It is only done for a purpose.

They are a bigger organization than we are. That is the only thing that they are after, a postponement, a delay, and I think the delegates to this convention should sustain the action of the Executive Council, because they have heard this case before and they know to whom that class of work belongs.

The technical point about the omission has been raised. In 1920 it was omitted, but we got over it in 1920 at the Denver convention by a supplementary report. I do not insinuate that there was any object by any party in omitting it from the President's report, but I missed it in the first copy I got and I suggested a supplementary report, but the reason was given to me that it was too late to submit a supplementary report.

I am glad that we are able to get the case before the convention in its entirety. As the weaker of the two organizations we believe all you want is a clear statement of our case, so that we can show the contractors who ought to do business with us that the American Federation of Labor is back of us.

President Green: Will you permit the Chair just to clarify the situation if I can? I want to do it in a fair way, so

as not to influence you in your decision as between these two organizations.

The question came before the Council as to classification. The terrazzo mechanics belonged to, I will say, Brother Hogan's organization, because the name of his organization is so long that I do not care to pronounce it. He claims that terrazzo mechanic's helpers who helped the terrazzo mechanics to lay terrazzo work came under the jurisdiction of his union. The hod carriers, of course, claimed jurisdiction over those workers, and the facts disclosed, when the hearing was held before the Executive Council, that each organization had something. After the Council heard the facts the Council decided that the terrazzo mechanic's helpers belonged to Mr. Hogan's organization. That is all there is to it. We did not consider there was any change of title involved. It was a question of who these men belonged to—two organizations that had already been chartered by the American Federation of Labor.

Delegate Moreschi, Hod Carriers and Building Laborers: I want you to correct that. The mechanics belong to the bricklayers and not to Hogan.

President Green: I stand corrected. The terrazzo mechanics belong to the Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers.

Delegate Moreschi: I want to correct the previous speaker across the hall. I don't want him to misrepresent the facts to this convention as to 1902. If you refer to 1902, as your records show, the International Association of Marble Workers was only the marble workers and helpers. The charter granted to Hogan was granted February 2, 1917, known as the International Association of Marble, Slate and Stone Polishers, Rubbers and Sawyers of America. That was the understanding at that time and we did not contest the granting of the charter. Later on, at the Denver convention there was a question over our protest, the same as we are doing now. A demand was put in for extension and that was approved by a convention, but here is a matter now before you that has never been approved by the convention. It is a fact that the matter came up in the Building Trades Department and

was referred to the American Federation of Labor, the Executive Council, for proper adjustment. After this decision went out, as we tried to point out to the Executive Council in their August meeting in Atlantic City, they had no right to grant this until it was approved by the convention. That is why we wrote the Building Trades Department quoting the law of the American Federation of Labor and the duties of its officers and members.

\* Delegate Moran, Bricklayers: I don't propose to take up much time of this convention, but as a representative of the Bricklayers' group in the convention I want to draw your attention to certain things. There seems to have been much water passed under the bridge. If you will take the titles of the respective organizations, it ought to clear up in your mind why the Executive Council made the decision that it did. I have no animus, I hold no brief for either one of these organizations. I do believe, as a member of a building trades organization, that a certain duty devolves upon me when I come to a great congress such as this, that I ought to make plain that part of my trade which may not be understood by the general delegates in this assembly.

The one is a laborers' organization and the other is a helpers' organization. If you take your Webster's Unabridged you will see what the difference is. The helpers' organization is plainly one from which the future mechanics are drawn. All law is based on reason, and I take it that in the effective order of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor in reaching its decision, it used the rule of reason upon which to base law.

Go back as many years as you want to and you can apply it to anything, and you will find that as progress increases decisions become different. There are less than 2,000 men involved in this, but those 2,000 men are so closely involved, so closely connected to the mechanic, when he is the helper of the tile layer, the marble worker, etc., that the distinction between them is very, very narrow indeed.

As a member of the Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union, to which the terrazzo and slate worker is merged, I say to you that it is very easy to disrupt a group of men and often injure the very trade in which they are engaged in the building industry. I am speaking, not from the standpoint of the theoretical unionist, my friends, I am not so far removed from the time when I worked on buildings, building construction, and had men under my charge responsible to the contractor and to the owner and to the cost of what enters into the building. I am speaking for the good of the trade. I have a high regard for the laborers and I have a high regard for the helpers.

I want you, my friends, who do not understand the inside of this to bear with me a moment. The laborer furnishes the building with all classes of labor in the common term in which he designates his own organization. The helper to a particular trade, you will readily reason, is in a different status. And where is the employer going to go, Mr. President, when he is looking for competent help and immediate help unless he follows the theory which no doubt is the groundwork that the Executive Council based its decision upon? Those are the things that come in. This, in my view, is the last court and the final resort. Technicalities should not creep into decisions based upon reason, and the decision of the Executive Council in giving this work to this small organization, which specializes in the helpers to the various crafts of its kind, men who help to embellish the building, I think, is the right one. Do you understand that the most beautiful piece of mosaic work known in this nation and possibly since the old days of Rome is in the Congressional Library at Washington today? Can you recognize that you can't pick up your laborers for that sort of work? In ten minutes' time an incompetent man could wreck all that fine work that has been done. I am speaking for those who put their money into buildings, for the contractors who are involved and for the trade that is involved, and I trust that this convention will sustain the action of the Executive Council in their wise decision.

Delegate Berg, Hod Carriers and Building Laborers: Mr. President, surely the committee has some reason for making a report such as they do. After having listened to the delegates from the Marble Workers and the delegates from the Hod Carriers, they have come to a decision. Surely these men had all the facts placed before them and they would not come to a decision unless they thought there might be a further presentation of facts that can still be placed before the Executive Council. I think they have also taken into consideration the facts as pointed out by Delegate Tobin, that there is a danger that an error has been made in this case, and that if such an error has been committed then no international organization is safe. An extension of title might destroy some of the organizations which are in existence at the present time.

I am going to say that as far as we are concerned it is a very, very serious matter. We do claim, and I challenge any one to say that it is not so, that we have a majority of these workers at the present time. The delegate over there stated that they had them since 1902. I am going to say if you had jurisdiction all along you have been asleep at the switch. I know as far as this part of the country is concerned, and I am speaking of Canada, we had these men organized in our organization. We have agreements with the employers and we have never yet had an employer who would make a statement that we have not supplied them with efficient men. When you come to drawing the line as to what are efficient men, as far as the helpers or laborers are concerned, or claim that the helper is an apprentice, then you are absolutely wrong. If it is a matter of apprenticeship, all right, we will concede you the right to take the apprentices and place them in any organization you desire, but even so, we can't see why they should be placed in an organization different from the mechanics.

I am very thankful to those who are trying to elevate me in the different positions in the trade, but I doubt their honesty and their sincerity when they say they are going to make something

better out of me than I am at the present time. We as helpers have done our work and done it efficiently, and there has been no charge made against our organization by any one to the contrary. If you put me in a different organization tomorrow I shall still be the same man—bear that in mind—you don't change my status whatsoever.

If, by one stroke of the pen, you are going to rob us of the membership that we have spent all kinds of money and all kinds of effort to organize and raise their standards of living and improve their conditions, then what assurance have we that you are not going to come along tomorrow and say another class of laborers are no longer laborers? Surely you tradesmen, you men who are mechanics in your various trades do not want your organizations cluttered up with laborers. If you want to hold the position that you now hold, if you want to be looked upon as tradesmen and mechanics, as organizations definitely as such, then remain as you are with the lines drawn. If you are going to take us as laborers into your organizations, then you are forming an industrial structure. If that is what Delegate Price is after, if he wants to abolish the trade union idea and come out for industrial unionism, let him say so and not camouflage it at all.

I sincerely hope that this convention will vote in favor of the committee's report. We realize it is a compromise. We did not want to bring a jurisdictional squabble into this convention whatsoever, but it was forced on us. We claim an error was made in that this report was not presented in the regular way, according to the constitution, but nevertheless it is a compromise as far as we are concerned, and surely there is no hurry or rush at this time. If other facts can be presented between now and next year, that should not be denied, and I therefore trust that the delegates will support the committee's report and that it will be referred back.

Delegate Tobin, Teamsters: A question of information—the delegate made a statement there a moment ago and I want to know just exactly what it means. I think I know. You stated that the only question that was acted upon

by the Council was the question of jurisdiction, and that no request for permission to change the title of this organization was acted upon by the Council. Is that right?

President Green: That would be my construction of it, although the organization represented by Brother Hogan had included in its title the name "Terrazzo Workers' Helpers."

Delegate Tobin: Brother Green, the only question that came before your Executive Council was the question of rendering a decision on this jurisdictional dispute?

President Green: Yes sir.

Delegate Tobin: Did any application, any official application come before the Council for permission to change the title of this organization?

President Green: Not as I would construe it.

Delegate Tobin: That is all I want to know.

Delegate Moreschi, Hod Carriers and Building Laborers: When the decision was granted by the Council to grant extension of title by the applicant?

President Green: The decision of the Executive Council, as I understand it, gave jurisdiction to this organization over terrazzo workers' helpers.

Delegate Moreschi: You took it away from our international union and gave it to them.

Delegate Clarke, Flint Glass Workers: As a member of the committee, let me see if I can throw a little light on this subject. You appoint a committee of fifteen here and you send these subjects to them for their consideration. As I understand this subject, this organization was created in 1902. In the meantime sixteen Federal organizations are created outside either of the organizations, and in these sixteen Federal labor organizations they are doing this—it is not in the title of this organization, it is not in the title of that organization. A controversy has gone on throughout the country. The Executive Council had it up and arrived at a decision. Our committee goes out to meet and the subject is not reported by the Executive Council to this convention, but Resolution No. 83 comes in to us and the reso-

lution brings one phase of the subject to the attention of this committee.

The committee devoted more time to this one subject than they did to all the other questions we had before us. We had more people come before us on this one question than on all the other questions brought to our attention, and out of it all our judgment was finally that we should refer this resolution to the Executive Council. Now when you send out a committee to do work they find pretty unpleasant tasks to perform, and we had an exceedingly unpleasant task in this case, and I don't believe that I violate any confidence when I say to this convention, slowly and thoughtfully, that if our committee was to render a decision we would have decided the same as the Executive Council decided. But in order to save your time, and in order to avoid this controversy on the floor of this convention, we recommended that Resolution No. 88 be referred to the Executive Council.

Now as one member of the committee I believe the final solution for it is the adoption of the substitute before the convention. I know that will displease my brothers over here, but when you have a duty to perform, then you have to perform it. You have to have peace in your industry. If the committee sits here and does not give expression to their judgment, then we are not doing our duty, either. It is not a pleasant duty to say these things, but I am confident if the committee had rendered a definite decision other than referring it back they would have been in favor of doing the very thing that the delegate over here wants.

Delegate Moreschi, Hod Carriers and Building Laborers: If this committee had the right to settle a jurisdictional dispute—he said he would have decided it. Has the committee the power to settle a jurisdictional dispute? That is what I want to know.

President Green: The convention has the authority to do it.

Delegate Moreschi: I say has the committee the right?

President Green: To make recommendations to the convention.

Delegate Moreschi: Would the committee, if the whole question of jurisdiction was before them, be the proper body to consider this matter?

President Green: Oh, yes, this committee has a right to act upon it.

A ye and nay vote was first taken on the substitute offered by Delegate Price. The Chair was in doubt as to the result and a vote by show of hands was taken, resulting as follows: 63 in favor of the substitute motion; 43 opposed.

President Green: In accordance with the announcement of the vote, the substitute for the committee's report has been adopted by the convention.

Delegate Moreschi: The entire delegation of the Hod Carriers and Building Laborers' Union wants to be recorded as voting no on the substitute.

President Green: It will be so recorded.

#### **Machinists vs. Carpenters**

This question comes to your committee through the instrumentality of Resolution No. 89 appearing on pages 214 to 216 of the proceedings of the second day's session. Embodied in this resolution is a review of former efforts to adjust this controversy. It is the judgment of your committee that some progress has been made towards a settlement of this long-standing controversy, and your committee deems it advisable to reproduce that part of the record which embraces the report of a committee composed of three representatives of the Machinists' organization and three representatives of the Carpenters' Union, which committee was appointed by Presidents Wharton and Hutcheson for the purpose of making an investigation. This report reads:

"Mr. William L. Hutcheson,  
General President of the United  
Brotherhood of Carpenters and  
Joiners of America.

Mr. Arthur O. Wharton,  
General President of International  
Association of Machinists.

Dear Sirs and Brothers:

We, the undersigned Commission, appointed by you to make a survey of the work of installing and erecting of machinery in industrial and other plants and to endeavor to find a basis or ground

for an agreement or understanding between the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America and the International Association of Machinists, beg leave to report as follows:

The Joint Committee or Commission have agreed:

1. That better than fifty per cent. of this work is being done by others, not members of either organization, on account of no agreement or understanding being reached between the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America and the International Association of Machinists.

2. That fully seventy-five per cent. of the maintenance of this work is being performed by others than members of either organization.

3. That there is no line of demarcation between the installing and erecting of machinery and other mechanical devices where the work could be divided between the Millwright of the Brotherhood of Carpenters and the Erecting Machinists.

4. That it is impracticable to do this work with a mixed membership of millwrights and machinists.

5. We agree that all mechanics installing, erecting and maintaining mechanical devices should be members of one International Organization.

6. We cannot agree as to which organization should have complete and absolute control of the militant and economic responsibility of the erecting and maintaining of all mechanical devices.

7. We find some members of both organizations who have performed this class of work for more than twenty years.

8. We find members of both organizations who do not want to change their membership from their present organization because if they could not find work at erecting and installing mechanical devices, they could not follow other branches of their trades.

9. We find others who do not want to change from one organization to another because of the financial benefits they have been paying for during the past years.

10. We recommend that the two International Presidents consider the following plan, to wit:

A. That one organization be given complete and absolute control of the militant and economic responsibility of the erecting and maintaining of all mechanical devices, and the members employed thereon.

B. That all men be transferred who are following this line of work to said International Organization, and on payment of dues of that Organization be given credit for the number of years of membership he

had in the international organization he transferred from and said member shall be entitled to all rights and benefits of the organization he transferred to, as if he had always been a continuous member of that Organization.

C. That the members who had been working at the installing of machinery and other mechanical devices and who desire to continue working at the same must transfer his membership to the organization having control; he shall be admitted to said organization without payment of initiation fee, by being certified to by letter bearing the official seal of the organization he is now a member of. The aforesaid member, if he so desires, may continue his membership in his present organization so that he may be entitled to the benefits of same, and work at the trade that that organization has jurisdiction of.

(Signed)

T. M. GUERIN,  
H. MORHEIM,  
JOHN FLYNN,  
HARLEY F. NICKERSON,  
CHAS. W. FRY,  
WM. J. FITZMAURICE.

In the judgment of this committee, formed upon the information presented to us and the findings of the joint committee of the two organizations, this question can be settled. Therefore, it behooves President Wharton and Hutcherson to devote time and effort to the end that they may agree on a plan to carry into execution the recommendations of their joint committee. Because of this, we recommend that this matter be referred to the Executive Council and that they be directed to give every possible assistance in bringing about an adjustment.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### Conclusion

Your committee is cognizant of the immense difficulties that confront our movement. Unemployment is greater now than ever before. Discouraged and misguided men are committing a grievous error when they assail our wage standards.

The lowering of wage standards means a lesser demand for automobiles, radios, carpet sweepers, vacuum cleaners, talking machines, telephones, frigidairs, gas heaters, clothing and hundreds of other

items, all of which will be removed from the purchasing list of the workers if wages are reduced. This will mean a greater stagnation of the industries of our country, a thing that should be avoided.

Three years ago much oratory was indulged in and declarations made as to how prosperous our country was and the plans that were to be placed in operation by the incoming administration to meet an economic crisis. A conference of Governors was held in New Orleans, November 21, 1923. It was our privilege to be in that city on that occasion. Ralph C. Brewster, Governor of Maine, came to the conference as the spokesman of President-elect Hoover and addressed the conference in the name of the newly elected President. That was a year before the present panic. There were no signs of an economic disturbance on the horizon then, so promises were plentiful. The Governor spoke at length advising how the newly elected President would care for any depression that may overtake the country. We quote two paragraphs from his address. He said:

"Picture the approach of an economic crisis with unemployment threatening on every hand. The release of three billions in construction contracts by public and quasi-public authorities would remedy or ameliorate the situation in the twinkling of an eye. Federal indexes are already becoming available that remove the problem from the domain of speculation or opinion and place the need upon a basis of simple facts.

"No centralization of authority is proposed but merely the creation of a condition by concerted action that shall make possible a remedy that will appeal persuasively to all. Follow the flow of those three billions to the contractor, to the laborer, to the material men, to the factory, to the factory employes, to the merchants, to the farmer. It goes like the house Jack built and unemployment is at an end."

The statements of Governor Brewster impressed us—they continue to impress us, hence we now call upon the administration to place those three billions of dollars in circulation so that unemployment will come to an end.

We entertain no idea, however, that this can be accomplished in the "twinkling of an eye," even with three billion dollars placed in circulation, but we are sincere in the belief that such a pro-

cedure will be a move in the right direction while attempts to reduce wages is a move in the wrong direction.

This Committee compliments the Executive Council on its opposition to wage reductions. A general wage reduction policy is false in its conception, unsound in practice and unjust in application.

The splendid addresses delivered in opposition to wage reductions by President Green were as logical as they were eloquent. His reasoning charmed us while the emphasis he placed on his words and sentences thrilled us. We appreciate his efforts and the marked ability that he has displayed in presenting the cause of the workers and trust that he shall be spared to this labor movement both in health and strength in order that he may continue to expound and defend the principles of our movement.

In bringing our report to a close we should all gain new inspiration from the words of poet Braley, who dedicated the following poem to those who toil:

#### The Worker

I have broken my hands on your granite,  
I have broken my strength on your steel,  
I have sweated through years for your  
    pleasure,  
I have worked like a slave for your weal,  
And what is the wage you have paid me?  
You masters and drivers of men—  
Enough so I come in my hunger  
To beg for more labor again!

I have given my manhood to serve you,  
I have given my gladness and youth;  
You have used me and spent me and  
    crushed me,  
And thrown me aside without ruth;  
You have shut my eyes off from the  
    sunlight,  
My lungs from the untainted air,  
You have housed me in horrible places,  
Surrounded by squalor and care.

I have built you the world in its beauty,  
I have brought you the glory and spoil,  
You have blighted my sons and my  
    daughters,  
You have scourged me again to my toil.  
Yet I suffer it all in my patience  
For somehow I dimly have known  
That some day The Worker will con-  
    quer,  
In a world that was meant for his own.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Secretary Clarke: This completes our report, which is signed by the committee.

JAMES WILSON, Chairman,  
HARRY LISTMAN,  
THOMAS KENNEDY,  
CHARLES W. HANSON,  
F. H. KNIGHT,  
EDWARD FLORE,  
ANDREW FURUSETH,  
JAMES C. SHANESSY,  
JOHN H. DILLON,  
JAMES WINDSOR,  
CHARLES SUMNER,  
HENRY W. STRICKLAND,  
WILLIAM P. CLARKE, Secretary,  
Committee on Executive  
    Council's Report.

The report of the committee as a whole was adopted by unanimous vote.

President Green: Just at this moment, before we proceed with the regular order, I will ask the Secretary to read a telegram from the Hon. Frank Murphy, Mayor of Detroit. The other day when Delegate Martel reported to the convention that Mayor Murphy had won a decided victory in the primaries I sent him a telegram of congratulation. I thought that I was expressing the sentiment of the convention when I did that. He replied. I have his reply and I should like to have it read and included in the proceedings of the convention.

Secretary Morrison read the following telegram:

Detroit, Mich.,  
October 15, 1931.

William Green, President,  
American Federation of Labor in Ses-  
sion, Vancouver, B. C.

Please convey my appreciation to delegates attending Fifty-first Convention,  
American Federation of Labor.

FRANK MURPHY, Mayor.

Secretary Morrison read the following supplemental report of the Committee on Credentials:

#### Supplemental Report Committee on Credentials

October 15, 1931.

In accordance with instructions received from President C. L. Rosemund, your committee recommends the seating of J. L. R. Marsh as delegate of the International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and Draftsmen's Unions, who also requests that

he be permitted to represent the International Union, instead of the Federated Trades Council of Sacramento, California, from which organization he was seated as delegate in this convention.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

Secretary Olander continued the report of the committee as follows:

##### The Bituminous Coal Situation.

In this section of the report on page 135, the Executive Council relates in self-restrained and moderate language the terrible conditions prevailing in the coal fields and directs attention to the suffering and privation which so many hundreds of thousands of miners are continuously forced to endure. It likewise refers to efforts made to have a conference called of miners and operators under government auspices and of its failure in that direction. Finally it refers to the economic and legislative plans and measures designed and furthered by the United Mine Workers in correcting evils complained of and in again placing the bituminous industry upon a sound and wholesome basis and wherein the interests of wage earners will be fully conserved, and opportunity accorded for constant improvement.

We direct particular attention to the part of the report of the Executive Council—which your committee deems of predominant importance—which reads as follows:

"We are convinced that the primary requirement necessary to the stabilization of the bituminous coal industry are a thorough and complete organization of the men employed in the industry, the establishment of contractual relations between employers and employes through the process of collective bargaining, and the adoption of a just, equitable and fair wage scale which will in operation provide for a universal labor cost in coal production."

Complete organization and universal observance of adequate wage rates in

production and operating costs are, indeed, the essential requirements to stabilize not alone this industry, but every other industry subjected to destructive competition. Herein is sounded a new note though based upon an old economic conception of the trade unions, and by this method there is provided to industry a way for the elimination of unfair competition and the organization of industries along constructive and mutually beneficial lines.

We most heartily concur in the assurance of continued co-operation and full measure of support pledged to the United Mine Workers and as embodied in this section of the report of the Executive Council.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Kennedy, United Mine Workers: Mr. Chairman, I only want to take up the time of the convention for a very brief period in order to give the delegation some idea of the situation in the bituminous coal industry. I do that because of the fact that this is without doubt the real basic industry of the country. In 1922, when the officers of the United Mine Workers of America challenged the right and the justice of the President of the United States in his efforts to force a wage reduction upon the anthracite mine workers and upon the bituminous mine workers, it seemed that from that day on all of the powers of wealth and of influence have been turned against the mine workers.

Following that particular strike, which resulted in a settlement maintaining present wages, the Jacksonville Agreement was eventually consummated, and the President who now sits in the White House, who was then a secretary in the Cabinet, was one of the men instrumental in helping to bring that about. That agreement was repudiated by practically all the large bituminous operators in Pennsylvania and in Ohio. The Mellon interests, representing the Pittsburgh Coal Company, were the chief offenders in this particular case, and you no doubt know that the head of the Mellon interests is a member of the Cabinet, not only of this President, but he was a member of the Cabinet of the former President.

In the outlining of our policy we decided that wage reductions would not cure the situation in the bituminous coal industry. Many of the operators in that district who elected to fight us on that issue, and who are now in the hands of the sheriff, or out of business, can attest to the logic of our position, and they are wishing that they had followed our advice.

The situation in the bituminous industry has gone from bad to worse. The chief offenders against the industry are the railroads in the United States, the public utilities and one particular railroad especially, in Canada, the Canadian National. The public utilities and the railroads of the United States are practically getting their coal for less than the cost of production, and they must make up the amount on the coal sold to the ordinary consumer. These facts were developed before the United States Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce about two years ago and could not be successfully challenged or denied by the railroads or by the public utilities.

As far as the Canadian National Railroad is concerned, that concern owns and operates mines in the State of Ohio, and their mines and their policy of operation are no better than the policy maintained by other non-union operators in the bituminous field. For the past number of months our officers and members in Western Canada and in Nova Scotia have been endeavoring to iron out this situation with the Dominion Government, which owns and controls the Canadian National. There is some hope as a result of the influence of our Canadian brothers, who are working hard on this matter to bring about a solution.

Some time ago the International Executive Board of our organization asked the President of the United States to convene a national conference of bituminous coal operators and the representatives of the United Mine Workers for the purpose of stabilizing that industry. We predicated that on the basis that the only way to stabilize the bituminous industry was to stabilize labor costs, and the only way to stabilize labor costs was through the instrumentality of a joint agreement.

The President advised us that the matter would be taken under consideration. It was referred to Secretary Lamont and Secretary Doak of the Department of Labor to investigate and report to the President. Now I am going to state a fact, and whether it develops controversy or not, it will not change the fact. The fact is that Secretaries Lamont and Doak practically put the question of a conference to a referendum vote of the coal operators of the bituminous field, and we knew what the result would be before that vote was announced, because the Mellon interests and other non-union operators were not going to vote to come into a conference. As the result of that, which was practically a referendum vote, there was a majority in opposition to the conference and the President declined to convene such a national conference.

The report of the Executive Council sets forth that we registered our disappointment. My friends, that is a mild term to what I would like to call it

here this afternoon, because after all is said and done, the bituminous industry is so thoroughly disorganized among the coal operators that there is only one agency that, in our opinion, can bring both sides together as they should be, on a national basis, and the Government must enter the picture because of the fact that freight rates, the question of interstate commerce, preferential freight rates, the development and opening of new mines when we already have too many mines, are questions that can only be solved on some national basis, and we believe that the Federal Government at Washington should concern itself more about stabilizing industries in America than attempting to stabilize industries in the rest of the world.

Two years ago, as a result of hearings conducted by the Committee on Interstate Commerce of the United States Senate, a bill was evolved out of those hearings. On that committee we had some very fine friends, Senators Wagner of New York, Wheeler of Montana, Watson of Indiana, and many others. As a result a bill was drafted and presented to the Senate by Senator Watson. This is rather a unique bill, in that it establishes a certain amount of Federal control over the bituminous industry through the instrumentality of a Federal Coal Commission. Certain zones are taken, certain pooling arrangements are made, provision is made for contractual relationships, not with the Government entering into the picture, but as between the operators and miners. The yellow dog contract is outlawed in that proposition.

That bill has been pending before the last Senate of the United States. It is the opinion of some of the most learned lights in the United States that the bill is legal, and some of the most noted economists have expressed the opinion that it is the most forward piece of legislation that has been proposed in the last twenty years to bring about industrial stability. One of the economists who made statements along that line is a man who, in my judgment, has one of the best analytical minds on industrial questions in the world today. I refer to the Rev. John Ryan of the Catholic University of Washington. We intend to go into the next session of Congress and make an effort to put this legislation over. We anticipate better results in the next Congress than we have had heretofore, and in this connection we invite and we welcome the support of the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated organizations.

Now, my friends, while I am on my feet I want to say this: That it seems the past two years in the United States have seen a condition developed where practically every university professor with a red tinge, the so-called liberal writer and others have joined in an attack upon the United Mine Workers of America and against the policies of the

organization. Among this number is the famous fiction writer, Theodore Dreiser, who came into Pittsburgh and spent five minutes there among the miners and wrote an article for one of the news agencies of the country. Well, he wrote fiction with regard to the situation!

The policy of the United Mine Workers is the policy of the American labor movement. These writers and professors, together with the Mellon interests and all others who are equally opposed to the policy of our organization and are in favor of wage reductions, can be classed together. We therefore upon this occasion can only put the stamp of —yes, I might term it traitor—on the brow of those writers and so-called liberals in this country who have joined with the Mellons and with others in attacking the policies of the United Mine Workers and coming out indirectly for wage reductions.

In Philadelphia not very long ago there was a Socialist convention, which was dominated practically by the professors of the surrounding universities, that adopted a resolution against the policies of the United Mine Workers. Some of the delegates who voted for that resolution happen to be officers and members of a labor organization that accepted a wage reduction four days later.

Samuel Gompers at El Paso, the last convention over which he presided, made a statement I have never forgotten and will never forget. He said, "Better to have fought and to have lost than never to have fought at all." The United Mine Workers have fought and they stood up. We lost in some sections but we are regaining ground, and the time will shortly arrive when once again the banner of this organization will be triumphant over every coal community in the United States and Canada. In this great battle of our organization, similar to the battles of all other organizations, we must keep together and co-operate and float high the banner of the American labor movement; adopt as our slogan, "United we stand, divided we fall," and write continuous progress into the proud history of our movement.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried by unanimous vote.

#### **Injunction Legislation**

Under the caption, "Injunction Legislation," pages 114-117, the Executive Council sets forth the pressing need for anti-injunction legislation, describes the development of the use of the injunction in the labor field, directs attention to the declarations made by both major political parties in 1928, favoring legislative relief in relation to

injunctions in labor disputes, warns State Federations against the acceptance of legislative proposals not approved by the American Federation of Labor, reports that the Special Committee on Injunctions is being continued in existence to deal with state anti-injunction legislation, and urges that every effort be made to secure remedial legislation from the coming session of Congress.

As indicative of the pressing need for legislation on this subject the Executive Council states that "we find the functioning power of trade unions constantly and progressively limited and restricted and to the point that if all injunctions issued were literally enforced hundreds of thousands of wage earners would be subject to 'contempt' charges and possible jail penalties, and if like restrictions were generally imposed on all wage earners, there would be no effective trade union movement in the United States." "It is indeed a sad and deplorable commentary upon the legislative branch of the government," says the Council, "in that it fails speedily and effectively to remedy this situation."

We note that the Executive Council under authority vested in it by previous conventions to prepare and propose legislation designed to bring relief to labor organizations against injunctions restraining the proper and effective functioning of trade unions, has prepared an anti-injunction bill to be introduced at the next session of Congress. In accord with the authority conferred by previous conventions the bill is, of course, subject to such modifications and alterations as the Executive Council on its own volition may find necessary or expedient to make. We believe that the Toronto and Boston conventions displayed wise judgment in empowering the Executive Council to deal with the subject as future developments and situations may warrant, instead of restricting and limiting the Council to an inflexible procedure on a matter so complex.

We commend the Executive Council for the intelligent procedure followed and recommend continuance of the dis-

cretionary power vested in it and advise that all who may have helpful and constructive suggestions on the matter submit their suggestions to the Council for its consideration and action. We earnestly warn against the danger involved in tying the hand of the Council by too rigid instructions as to specific language or provisions in a proposal of such importance as an anti-injunction bill.

We agree heartily with the declaration of the Council that "our immediate and foremost task is to secure remedial legislation from the coming session of our national Congress. Every energy and effort should and must be directed to that end and all other legislative proposals ought to be subordinated to this great task."

We earnestly urge all national and international unions, state federations of labor, city central bodies and local unions to respond whole-heartedly to every call which may be issued by the Executive Council on this subject, and recommend the approval of the section of the report of the Council as herein referred to.

In connection with this section of the Executive Council's report your committee desires also to report on the following resolution:

**Advocating Exercise of Constitutional Rights Denied by Injunctions Issued in Labor Disputes**

Resolution No. 61.—By Delegate J. W. Buzzell, Los Angeles, Calif., Central Labor Union.

WHEREAS, The continued use of the injunction in labor disputes has developed an industrial government by injunction that has been extended even to the activities and funds of the trade union movement of the United States, until the rights of the workers to act in concert for their mutual protection and advancement is practically destroyed; and

WHEREAS, Practically every effort to prevent issuance of an injunction in the courts has met with defeat there; and

WHEREAS, Legislation that will confine the use of the injunction to the protection of tangible property and to entirely remove labor unions and their activities from the jurisdiction of the equity courts seems impossible of accomplishment; and

WHEREAS, Nowhere in the history of all the world do we find that any reform in the courts has come from the courts, nor reform in government from the government, but that all such reforms have come as result of protests by the oppressed; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the 51st Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, that it shall be its policy henceforth to exercise for its members all the rights guaranteed to the citizens of the United States by its constitution, to strike, to boycott, to band together and act in concert for their mutual aid and advancement, injunctions by the court to the contrary notwithstanding; be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Labor movement here declares that it will never spend one cent more of its funds in court opposing the issuance of injunctions, but instead it will use its funds to secure the release of any of its members should they be arrested for the violation of such an injunction.

The committee submits the following report on Resolution No. 61. There is only one way to secure relief from the injunction evil. That is through legislation. The American Federation of Labor is conducting an active and persistent campaign to bring about the necessary legislative action on the part of Congress and the legislatures of the various states. The officers and members of all affiliated international, national and local unions, city central bodies and state federations of labor are being urged to concentrate their energies and activities in support of this demand for legislative relief. Under such circumstances the adoption of the sort of procedure outlined in Resolution No. 61 could have no other effect than to create confusion and to increase the already widespread misunderstanding of the injunction problem and thus materially increase the difficulty of securing adequate and effective legislation on the subject. The resolution itself is drafted in such manner as to indicate a grave misapprehension of injunction procedure and its adoption would tend to seriously mislead the affiliated membership and others on this very important subject.

We direct the attention of the convention particularly to the last paragraph of the resolution, wherein it is proposed that nothing be done in relation to specific injunctions except to endeavor

"to secure the release of members should they be arrested for violation of such an injunction." What does this mean? In many instances temporary restraining orders and temporary injunctions would be made permanent by default, of course. Technically, in most cases, the actual arrest of a person for violation of an injunction occurs after he has been cited to show cause why he should not be punished for contempt and after he has been found guilty and sentenced, when not even the pardoning power (except perhaps in cases of criminal contempt, not easily defined), can bring about his release. From this point of view the resolution proposes that nothing shall be done for any member in an injunction case until it is too late to do anything. We do not believe the resolution was actually intended to present so ridiculous a proposal. Doubtless the real intent was to propose that no funds should be expended in any injunction case except for the defense of members after they are cited for contempt. Even that proposal, however, is based upon a misunderstanding of injunction procedure. That sort of procedure would in many cases result in permanent injunctions by default. It is well to remember, too, that appeals in actual contempt cases are rarely successful as effecting the liberty of the members involved. Your committee recommends that Resolution No. 61 be non-concurred in for reasons stated in this report.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Furuseth: Mr. Chairman, I have something to say to you on this question that I beg you to listen to without prejudice. Many of you tell me that you agree in substance with what I have been saying at Toronto and at Boston, but that you do not feel that you understand the question well enough to undertake to express your sentiments. For that reason I shall try to analyse the bill which the Executive Council calls an anti-injunction bill. There was never such a misnomer as that used from the platform of this organization. This is not an anti-injunction bill, it is an injunction code. It is not the prohibition of the issuance

of an injunction, it is the specific regulation of how and when and where it shall be issued.

I have no criticism to offer of the committee, they have never specifically recommended the bill. Their recommendation, spoken of literally, is that they are opposed to injunctions in labor disputes, they want them abolished, and they recommend that a bill be referred. They look over a bill and say, "Well, in substance this seems to be all right. We recommend that it be sent to the Executive Council with the power to change it." That was the substance of the action taken in Toronto and it was the substance of the Boston action. And now there comes before you a bill that is worse than anything you ever touched before.

I am not blaming the Executive Council, because I realize that their time must be taken up with their own organizations and with all kinds of work of the Executive Council, which may have made it impossible for them to give a fundamental study of the question, and so they have obtained the advice of a lawyer. Now, what may be said about that lawyer I will leave somebody else to say. I have no doubt as to his honesty, I have no doubt as to his ability so far as his knowledge goes, but I have the most grave doubts about his ability to deal with the question involved.

The bill drawn up by, or supposed to be drawn up by the minority, or by the special committee on injunctions provided by the Congress before the last Congress, touched on partially here, found in the labor movement so much criticism against this bill, so many protests even from the labor movement, that they didn't feel they could go on with the bill they had before them, and so they called in two equity professors and a lawyer besides, a man known as a labor lawyer, serving the labor organizations and serving them well for the purpose for which they want to be served.

The professors are lecturing on equity in the great universities of the country. They are telling their students that equity is superior to law and, being

honest men, what in the name of common sense, what in the name of God Himself, could you expect from them? Would you go to a Catholic priest, knowing him to be an honest man and wearing the cloth—would you go to him to find a remedy if you disliked some of the special canons of the Catholic Church? Would you go to him to inform you about the best arguments against the Immaculate Conception? Of course you wouldn't. It isn't that he is dishonest, he is honest, he does give you the kind of advice that he believes himself and by which he lives. And so the equity professors.

Now then, the bill as it came from the sub-committee was a bad bill, very bad, and on a fair analysis of it you would have to go pretty deep to prove that there was anything good in it at all. If you could find it you would have my admiration. But the committee is not responsible for that. The labor organizations don't want the bill because they don't understand it. They protested against it and no one protested stronger against it than the miners who have suffered the most of almost anybody under the injunction system. When the protest was entered and the lawyer who wants to be a friend of labor, and who wants to be helpful, calls in those men and they say after ten days of consultation that here is a remedy, and that remedy gets the labor support, what would you expect these friends of labor to do?

You go to the senators and congressmen with this bill and it is endorsed and you say, "Will you accept this bill and father it and fight for it and let us have it?" Usually the friend of labor says, "If you want it I will get it as far as I can." I have tried to talk to some of the Senators who are as good friends of labor as can be found on Capitol Hill and they won't talk about it at all. They say, "This is a Federal bill and we will support it."

Friends, if you get another Clayton Bill it is your fault and it is not the fault of the sub-committee, nor the committee, nor Congress. Don't shelter yourselves behind anything else but accept the responsibility. If the bill is passed,

and I fear it will be, and the result comes, as it inevitably will, don't blame them who gave you what you asked for, blame yourselves for having held out your hands and asked that shackles be put on them and hold out your legs and ask that gyves be put on them. So much for that part of it.

If you have the proceedings of the fourth day I ask you to pick it up and follow me as I try to analyze the bill. It is the text of the anti-injunction bill endorsed and amended by the Boston convention and the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor. There is no mistake about what that title means and what it says. Now, then, Section 1:

"That no court of the United States as herein defined shall have jurisdiction to issue any restraining order or temporary or permanent injunction in a case involving or growing out of a labor dispute, except in strict conformity with the provisions of this Act; nor shall any such restraining order or temporary or permanent injunction be issued contrary to the public policy declared in this Act."

Now, then, Section 2:

"In the interpretation of this Act and in determining the jurisdiction and authority of the courts of the United States, as such jurisdiction and authority are herein defined and limited, the public policy of the United States is hereby declared as follows:"

Now you see that no injunction can be issued except in strict conformity with this Act, and that in determining the jurisdiction of the court and what the court may do you have got to do that. That is the basis. Then comes the declaration of public policy. The declaration of policy is taken out of another bill, or substantially so, drafted in Washington last winter at the instance of Senator Shipstead, Mr. W. S. Martin of Seattle, and two gentlemen associated with him. These two gentlemen do not want their identity disclosed, for reasons sufficient for them and must be respected by men who know. I will not read all this declaration, because it is sufficient to say that it takes in the substance of the Thirteenth Amendment and makes it the declaration of policy. And then, having done that, it goes on to deal with the yellow dog contract and forbids the use of the yellow

low dog contract and says that neither common law nor equity law has the power to enforce it. That is what it says here.

Now, then, comes Section 4, which puts into language a policy in general terms that you have been working for and fighting for all these years and that you believed you got when you got the Clayton Act. And finally it says: "Nor shall any of the acts described in this section be considered or held to be unlawful."

And then comes Section 5:

"No court of the United States shall have jurisdiction to issue a restraining order or temporary or permanent injunction upon the ground that any of the persons in a labor dispute constitute and are engaged in an unlawful combination or conspiracy because of the doing in concert of the acts enumerated in Section 4 of this Act."

Again the thing we want, again the thing we fought for or have been thinking we fought for.

And then comes Section 6, which simply repeats a maxim at law that in order to have any guilt attached to a man you must prove that he had guilty knowledge before or after the fact. There is nothing new in that, but it is a good thing. All of these sections are good and all of these sections are the things we want. The unfortunate thing is that they absolutely must be read as if each one of them had attached to it the language, "unless inconsistent with Section 7." Section 7 says in part:

"No court of the United States shall have jurisdiction to issue a temporary or permanent injunction in any case involving or growing out of a labor dispute as herein defined, except after hearing the testimony of witnesses in open court; (with opportunity for cross examination) in support of the allegations of the complaint made under oath, and testimony in opposition thereto, if offered and except after finding of all the following facts by the court, to the effect, etc."

Now, then, comes the question of when an injunction can be issued, because here is an absolutely specific command to the equity court, here is a specific authorization given. The specific inevitably supersedes the general unless it can be shown that they are not inconsistent with each other. So your Sections

3, 4, 5 and 6 must be read in the light of what if now to be quoted. If you cannot make them consistent with Section 7, that section governs, and I care not where you go for advice in terms, in construction you will find that that is the canon that must be followed. The specific overrules the general if they are antagonistic.

Here are the conditions upon which it may be issued: "That unlawful acts have been committed and will be continued unless restrained." Now, that doesn't apply. This first section cannot enjoin you from doing the things you have got a general permission to do, because they have said these things are not unlawful; but remember, my friends, that equity power is not to restrain unlawful acts; it is to restrain lawful acts, acts that are otherwise lawful, but which will destroy property. Property has got two protections, the protection given to it by law and the Saxon system of jurisprudence. Then it has in addition to that the protection where there is no remedy at law but property is endangered.

Before I go on I want to tell you what this first section means. It means that equity under this law may be used to enforce law. If Congress authorizes this law it authorizes the court to sweep aside the whole system of Saxon jurisprudence and to sweep aside the jury. It changes the conditions so that instead of the accuser having to prove the accused guilty, the accused must prove himself guiltless. And to take away the Saxon jurisprudence and the law of jury—what does that mean? It destroys the very fundamentals of our government.

And second, "That substantial and irreparable injury to complainant's property will follow, and that complainant has no adequate remedy at law." That is exactly what is said in the judicial code. But your code gave to the court the right to act and how to act. That is how it reads here, and there is no amendment to that.

In the decision in the Hatters' Case, still more so in the Truax Case, absolutely without any qualification in the Truax Case, again without any qualification in the Duplex

Case, and finally in the Stone Cutters' Case, the right to carry on business whether in interstate commerce or not is a property right.

There is no definition in this bill as to what property is. Originally until the passage of the Sherman Act it had to be individual, tangible and transferable. It had to be a thing individually owned, tangible and transferable. It has been so extended in definition that it now includes activities. It forbids you to combine together. Now, why this kind of a thing should be put into law is incomprehensible to me. Here you undertake not only to tolerate, because you have to, you undertake to beg that the shackles be put on. You authorize the thing to be done, you beg for it.

Now that is not the worst of it. The other bill, based upon the Thirteenth Amendment, the basis upon which the bill is based is taken and put in here and that, too, has got to be construed in the very meaning and light of Section 7. So that you get the essence of the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution and make it subject to, subservient to the equity power.

Now let me call your attention to what the Supreme Court has said. Here is what the Supreme Court said about the Thirteenth Amendment, and it did that in *Bailey vs. Alabama*, and the man who wrote the decision is the present Chief Justice Hughes, but remember that Congress has got the power to pass laws enforcing the Thirteenth Amendment. Section 2 of the Thirteenth Amendment says that Congress shall have the right to pass laws enforcing the Thirteenth Amendment. This document I have in my hand is Senate Document No. 327, containing this bill and the legal reasons why it should be adopted, and the lawyers that wrote this quoted this much from the decision of the *Alabama Case*, and because of Section 7 the result is that Congress enacts a construction of the Thirteenth Amendment which would make it subservient to equity.

Now, what is the Thirteenth Amendment? It provides that:

"Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States or any place subject to their jurisdiction."

"The language of the Thirteenth Amendment was not new. While immediate concern was with African slavery, the amendment was not limited to that. It was the charter of universal freedom for all persons of whatever race, color or state under the flag. 'Involuntary servitude' had a larger meaning than slavery. The plain intention was to abolish slavery of whatever name or form, to render impossible any state of bondage, to make labor free by prohibiting that control by which the personal service of one man is disposed of or coerced for another's benefit."

What is the essence of involuntary servitude? Now if that isn't exactly what the injunction does, coerces you to obey a legal, really, a nonsensical contract. Now there is a remedy for this, and the remedy won't hurt anybody. It will help labor, and I stand here for the purpose of moving now, if I may be permitted to do it, that Section 7, Section 8 and Section 10 be stricken out on this bill. It is under Sections 7 and 8 that injunctions are issued, it is in Section 10 that definitions are made. Section 9 is of another character. It deals with what seems to come out of some quarrel, about what some judge has done to some man, but it is really for the protection of the freedom of a man who criticizes a judge out of his presence.

The second section of Section 9 strikes out all of the injunctions inconsistent with this Act, so that it won't interfere with anybody but is inconsistent with this Act, and the injunctions issued in accordance with this Act and the injunctions that have been issued in the past. There isn't one single one of them that has forbidden, and there isn't a lawyer in the United States Senate that will tell you that any of them will be forbidden—speaking to you as a lawyer—not one. When one senator went to them and said, "What injunctions that have been issued in the past will be prohibited by this law?" he was told, "None that I know of."

What you are bound to do or what you ought to do is to pass here a resolution saying that you want to abolish injunctions in labor disputes and that you think this bill will do it if Sections 7, 8 and 10 are stricken out, and then hand that to the Judiciary Committee. That leaves everybody free, every judge, every senator, every congressman, to pass upon it according to his judgment. If you keep those sections in you will tie up the judgment of everybody who wants to be your friend and it will take a giant of a man to get up there and analyze this bill as it should be analyzed, when in so doing he will be accused of being unfaithful to you and hostile to labor.

You will put that kind of a man into a position that nearly all the saviours of humanity have been put, either killed, put in prison or crucified in some way. There are senators who are studying this question now, there are senators to whom I have submitted this analysis and they tell me that they agree with me. I cannot give their names because I am not authorized to do so.

This is my thirty-seventh convention of the American Federation of Labor, accredited regularly as a delegate. I attended one convention before when I was not a delegate, so that this is my thirty-eighth convention as a matter of fact. I have lost only three conventions in all that long time. I don't know that there are any of you here that can put your hand on your heart and say that, "In my opinion and in my judgment Andrew Furuseth is not sincere." Nor do I think there are many of you who could say that his judgment is wrong on this very, very serious question.

I could remind you of some things I protested against and you disregarded my protests. You have reversed yourselves in this convention on half a dozen things of that kind. Now in this convention, friends, you have begged, pleaded, scolded, you have done everything that helpless men can do in the interests of the men you represent. You protested against reduction in wages and you protested to the men who reduced them and to the public. How can the public reach you to save you?

How much will the man who has made up his mind care about your protests? You are in exactly the same position the people of France were in the time of Louis XIV who said, "I am the state, and you do as I tell you." When Charles I of England wanted to be the state the people said, "No, you won't do anything of the kind," and there followed some blood letting in England, and amongst the blood that was let was that of Charles I.

I am not standing here advocating any violence, but if the men who have all the rights that free men have under the Constitution of the United States they have the right to refuse to labor until the employer has talked it over and adjusted their grievances. You haven't got this right any more and you are not asking for it here.

The chairman of this committee made a most eloquent plea about what we ought to do for ourselves. I agree with everything he said, but he forgot to tell you, or he didn't think to tell you, I don't know which, that in order to do the thing that you want to do to get the five-day week and the six-hour day, you must be able to say to the employer, "Please sit down and listen to us or we will not work for you," just like the men who fought for political freedom and political equality said, "We will not furnish you the means to carry on the government, we will not appropriate any money or allow you to levy any taxes until you listen to our grievances and redress them."

Now you haven't the power to influence the employer. You cannot strike without coming before the equity court. Very few men are willing to go to prison, they let John do it or Joe or somebody else. You cannot do it because you interfere with business. It wasn't the stone that was being interfered with in the Stone Cutters' Case, it was the sales price of the stone. It wasn't the printing press that was being interfered with in the Duplex Case, it was the sales price of the printing press. The trouble was not that they would handle the stone or the press and hurt them, the trouble was that they wouldn't handle them at all.

By adopting this as a definition of property they do with us now as they did in the early days of the Government by defining a man who was a slave as not being a man at all and did not come under the rights given even by the Declaration of Independence. It was only after men began to think seriously and deeply that that was a false position, that there grew up the protests against slavery, and it resulted in a war which lasted for four years and it resulted in the Emancipation Proclamation. And here, God pity us! we are about to endorse the thing that men shed their blood to do away with! For the sake of, not yourselves, but for the sake of the women and children, for the sake of what your sons will have to suffer in the future for your neglect, think seriously and vote in favor of striking out the one thing in this bill that authorizes injunctions to be issued in labor disputes.

Vice-president Woll, Chairman of the Committee: May I first ask Delegate Furuseth a question or two?

Delegate Furuseth: As many as you like.

Chairman Woll: Do you favor the so-called Martin Bill?

Delegate Furuseth: The Martin Bill is not now before you.

Chairman Woll: Do you favor the predication of the Martin Bill?

Delegate Furuseth: Yes, I do favor the use of the Thirteenth Amendment to stop the violation of human liberty in the United States.

Chairman Woll: Is Mr. Martin a lawyer?

Delegate Furuseth: Yes.

Chairman Woll: First of all, it should be understood that the committee in making the recommendation it submitted, and the Executive Council in dealing with this subject and endeavoring to prepare legislation which might bring the remedy which we all seek for, are in full accord with the conditions described by the delegate preceding me, and likewise we make the appeal for the women and children, as has been made by him. The committee at least does not want to be placed in the position that it is seeking to present a remedy

against a thing set out by Delegate Furuseth, and we join with him in the appeal he made to the convention.

The question arises, however, which is the best way of accomplishing that result. Is it the method that he proposes or is it the method that is set out in the bill proposed by the Executive Council? And in addition to that you will note that the committee reports that this subject matter is in the hands of the Executive Council because of its perplexing nature and character. The Council ought not to be confined to any specific provisions, but that power should be vested in it to make such changes as time or occasion or further enlightenment on the subject may bring to it. The delegate would make the proposal of the Executive Council rigid and limited and restrict the authority it should have. So much for the committee's report.

The delegate opened his statement by saying that the bill contained in the Executive Council's report had its origin in the minds of lawyers. It is true. The special committee of the American Federation of Labor or the American Federation of Labor itself did not formulate the basis upon this bill is introduced. It arose out of the original Shipstead Bill, submitted to Congress by the delegate just preceding me, and as a result of the hearings on that bill, finding that it would be impossible to enact it into law, and that it would not be enacted into law if we could, those favorable on the Judiciary Committee called us into conference and prepared a bill. And the men who favored the formula upon which it was based are such men as the following: Senator George W. Norris, Senator John J. Blaine, Senator Thomas J. Walsh, Senator William E. Borah, Senator Carraway, Senator Ashhurst and Senator Clarence C. Gill, and yet he would have you believe that lawyers only are concerned! These men who are considered friends of labor in the Senate and not merely lawyers. That is why my question.

This so-called Martin Bill is not before us. There is nothing to stop the delegate submitting that bill to the convention so that it might be analyzed.

Conceived by whom? Drafted by whom? A lawyer, and yet we are advised that we are not to trust lawyers. And he says that lawyers whose names he cannot tell us drafted the bill he deems perfect.

Delegate Furuseth started out by advising you that there wasn't much contained in this bill. Later on he changed his mind. Let me read what he has to say about the first six sections which he now finds are all right, but what did he say a year ago?

"Now, what are you doing in this bill? You are saying in the first six sections that you shall have a right to do this, that or the other thing. That is superfluous because those rights are given by the Constitution of the United States, but in Section 7 you authorize the issuance of injunctions to prevent the violation of law."

A year ago these provisions were superfluous, now there are times when they are essential, and the danger, as he sees it, is that Sections 7, 8 and 10 may limit that which is contained in the preceding six sections. Certainly when we receive this conflicting advice we have a right to question the validity of advice given one year hence. The first six sections are all right, a year ago they were all wrong. And why is it they were wrong a year ago and right today? The original bill introduced by Delegate Furuseth, which was the original Shipstead Bill, was based on what hypothesis? It was based on property, tangible property, but Delegate Furuseth has since found out that there is no power in the Federal Government to define what is property, that that power is in the hands of the state. The Martin Bill to which he refers—what is that predicated upon? Property? No, it is not, it is predicated upon rights of the individuals and the constitutional prohibition against involuntary servitude, not property. And yet when he gets to Section 7, Sub-section B, he would stress property in there. Let me ask, would the Martin Bill interfere or in any way interpret the word "property?" While this bill may have weaknesses, that bill was a total failure.

The committee, the Executive Council, yes, they accepted the theory, the doctrine, the philosophy that restrictions

upon equity courts dealing with labor should be predicated on the Thirteenth Amendment. And let me be also just and fair to the minority committee of the Judiciary. While the bill may not have specifically mentioned the Thirteenth Amendment, a careful reading of the minority committee's report indicates clearly that it predicated its bill and its report on the Thirteenth Amendment and that it is not a new conception.

I don't know that much more ought to be said, except the strange constructions Mr. Furuseth places upon language. I wish that he would have analyzed fully Sections 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6. The very fact that he endorses them and urges your approval of them at this time, although he did not do so a year ago, is the best indication that they are valuable, that they will accomplish results and they are what we desire. His only point today is that Sections 7, 8 and 10, in his conception, restrict the rights as outlined in Section 4. But the delegate overlooks this fact, and I have no objection and the committee's report permits of that, indeed invites it, that he might refer these questions to the Executive Council for further study, because this is about the most complex and perplexing study that man could conceive of and deal with.

I would not have this convention express itself merely upon the say so of Delegate Furuseth. The bill in the first section reads:

"That no court of the United States, as herein defined, shall have jurisdiction to issue any restraining order or temporary or permanent injunction in a case involving or growing out of a labor dispute, except in strict conformity with the provisions of this Act; nor shall any such restraining order or temporary or permanent injunction be issued contrary to the public policy declared in this Act."

He agrees to that, he says that is all right. Now what does that language mean? It contemplates a possible situation in which an injunction may issue. It contemplates the issuance of an injunction that may not interfere as set out and as we may conceive of them today, but as they might arise some time in the future. And in that instance what does Section 7 do? It indicates

where an injunction may lie, and these further restrictions are placed upon the equity court. In my mind it opens wide the door rather than limiting and restricting the power of the court in the issuance of injunctions, and if he agrees that the first part is satisfactory, and Sections 7 and 8 place a further restriction upon the court and place a further restriction as to the manner and character or extent of injunction decrees that might issue. To remove those sections would only open the door wider and surely Delegate Furuseth does not wish that.

What does Section 10 deal with? It is purely a paragraph defining terms—what is a labor case, what are employers and employees. And it defines certain acts upon which the Clayton Act has been misconstrued and misapplied. It was to take further power away from the court in interpreting language that Section 10 was incorporated. He asks what is a case? Lawyers and courts have differed on that and varying and conflicting decisions have been reached. The next is "persons shall be held." Read over your injunction cases and see what interpretation the courts have placed on the words "person" or "personal." It was to take away the power from the courts to misinterpret language.

What is a labor dispute? Read again your decisions and see how courts may vary on what they consider a labor dispute. He would strengthen the power of the equity court unconsciously. I am perfectly willing that the Executive Council give these matters attention and let them call in Mr. Martin and the two other unknown persons and see what their interpretation might be. I have before me the Martin Bill and I have before me the opinion of Mr. Martin himself. I am sure if they were presented to the convention the plea of Andy Furuseth would not be as appealing and as alluring as he might think they are. I don't give way to him in trying to limit the power of the equity court, not only in injunction cases but in other cases as well. I don't agree with him entirely as to the power of equity as far as England is concerned. I think I know something about the de-

velopment of chancery courts. The question is, which is the proper remedy and which is the most effective means to accomplish a proper result?

The last convention and the preceding one very wisely left this in the hands of the Executive Council. Investigations have been made and more will be made and we want the assistance of every one capable of rendering assistance to us to get the right kind of a bill. But because I entertain a certain idea and ask you to endorse it and to condemn any one else who may differ with me is, I think, entirely wrong with a subject of so grave a nature as this. It is better that we have these things aired out in Council and secure the best possible direction and advice, not air them in a convention.

Can you wonder that Delegate Furuseth cannot receive an answer from any senator in Washington? We have this great division among ourselves on matters which we should be united openly while we cannot agree inwardly. Endorse the Council's report, let the Council study all the ideas and ideals of Andy Furuseth—they may adopt some—but do not let us create the impression that the Executive Council knows nothing about it but that all wisdom resides in one.

Delegate Furuseth: Do you as a lawyer dispute the statement made by me that the five sections of the statement or amendment to the law supercedes the general provisions?

Chairman Woll: I say, of course, a general statement and that specific sections are under it, and the specific sections take precedence of the general statement. On the other hand, let me ask the delegate, when these specific statements of rights of workers individually and collectively are concerned, do you say that injunctions can be issued to restrain what are called legal acts?

Delegate Furuseth: Absolutely yes, because of Section 7.

President Green: That is your judgment.

Delegate Furuseth: Yes, that is my judgment.

Vice-president Wilson: Would it be possible for this convention to determine now whether or not we are to have a session this evening or to remain in continuous session until the work is completed?

President Green: I think we can complete the work of the convention in a reasonably short length of time.

Vice-president Wilson: Then I move that we remain in continuous session until the business of the convention is completed.

The motion was seconded and carried.

Delegate Olander, Seamen: I stand here in rather an apologetic frame of mind, recognizing that the delegates are anxious to complete the work, that many of them must be impatient with the insistence with which we seek to work out the details of such a difficult subject as that of an anti-injunction bill.

There is no question to which I, for one, have given more attention than this subject. I think I can say for the committee as a whole that no matter has come before them to which they gave more thoughtful consideration than this. The suggestion that might be aroused in the minds of some of the listeners that the committee has been lax in giving thought to this or are incapable of passing judgment upon any phase of this matter urges me to enter the debate and to say a few very blunt words.

The question that Delegate Furuseth asked the chairman of the committee in relation to specific and general provisions is not original with him. It comes out of a discussion, out of several discussions that I had with my good friend Furuseth with reference to this and to the Martin Bill. Let me say that I have a lot of respect for the Martin Bill and hope that it will continue to be a matter of study. During that discussion in relation to the very proposition that he presented here, that of the legal maxims presented in Section 7, I asked whether he was undertaking to say that these general conditions in these legal maxims overcame the specific provisions in Section 4. Well, of course the only thing he could do after that was to try to turn the argument around

and hold that these maxims in Section 7 were the specific provisions and that the very specific things in Section 4 to which he himself gives approval were general.

Now I submit that we can't be guided by reasoning of that kind. In the discussion of Section 7, as he began the discussion he said, "Let me read it," but he didn't read it, he read only a small portion of it. He made no explanation of what Section 8 and Section 9 consisted of. Those things are of no consequence. A much stronger argument, from his point of view, is to appeal to your hearts and your sympathies as to what may come to the women and the children of the future. Well, I would say that those who have real concern over what may come to the women and children of the future will restrain their emotions for the moment and apply their reasoning power to this sort of situation. He has presented to you reference to the Bailey vs. Alabama case. That very case has provisions in it that destroy what he said with reference to the specific and the general in relation to Section 7, because that decision contains this language, and I think I can quote it to you word for word:

"That which the State cannot do directly it cannot do indirectly."

I will leave you to reason that out for yourselves, because I don't want to take up too much time about it. I want to devote my attention primarily to that one question of Section 7, for this reason: that that is one of the points that I myself have been puzzled about. Frankly, I don't regard any of the language in this bill as final, and I join heartily in the recommendation of the committee warning against tying the Executive Council's hands in the matter of making changes, and I believe they ought to give consideration to any suggestion that comes from any delegate on a matter so important as this.

But to return to the question of these legal maxims in Section 2 and their influence upon the very specific provisions in other portions of the bill, and particularly in relation to the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution. In that document, which is so valuable in the thought of Delegate Furuseth and which

I, too, regard as immensely useful and from which he read, there are two paragraphs which, if he himself agree with the reasoning with reference to the Martin Bill in that document, settles this whole question as to these maxims in Section 7. Here is the statement:

"Therefore any labor condition which is tantamount to involuntary servitude is within the prohibition of the Thirteenth Amendment, and subject to direct prohibition by Congress under Section 2 of that Amendment."

And now listen:

"All other legal principles, axioms, and maxims, all legal, moral, or ethical considerations, and all former inconsistent provisions of the United States Constitution or the first 12 amendments must yield obedience to this higher command—neither slavery nor involuntary servitude shall longer exist."

When I recalled that language it went far to settle any doubt that there might be remaining in my mind as to those particular sections. Just why he touches Section 10, which deals merely with definitions as to persons and cases, is beyond me. The maxims he refers to are very general in their nature and therefore must be limited by anything specific in the Act which relate to them, and particularly under this reasoning in the document which he himself has produced here, but which he evidently has failed to study as carefully as he might, settling that whole matter, that the Thirteenth Amendment as referred to by the new provision in the declaration of public policy supersedes anything rather than subordinates itself to anything contained in these general maxims. The reasoning and the logic of that is so clear that I don't see how any one who has given this subject any thought can escape it.

It is that sort of examination we ought to make, that we must make of this sort of question if we are to do justice to the men, women and children of today, to the men, women and children of tomorrow. We have no right to stand and appeal merely to emotion, with something of a sneer in our voice

that almost questions, if not the integrity, then the intelligence of every man who fails to agree with us.

This is a matter for discussion. The discussion ought to go on in our movement. The Executive Council ought to be left free to take advantage of any suggestion that may come their way. That, I think, is our duty to the women and children of tomorrow.

Delegate Furuseth: Will you yield to a question?

Delegate Olander: Yes.

Delegate Furuseth: Section 2 of the Thirteenth Amendment gives to Congress the right to construe the amendment and to pass laws to protect it and enforce it—isn't that so?

Delegate Olander: Yes, and may I say to the convention, it is evident that the delegate's mind is so thoroughly set on his own view of this proposition that he did not even listen to the reading of the statement I quoted from the very document he proposed a moment ago. Section 2 is referred to therein. I advise that he, as soon as he gets the time, take that document that he produced here and give it the study it deserves. He has evidently failed to do so up to the present.

Delegate Tobin: I want to say that if you are going to stay in session you will have to make some arrangements. I don't want to interrupt the discussion, it is very interesting, but you will have nobody here tomorrow. I think if you are going to have a night session you ought to decide it now.

President Green: That matter has been decided.

Delegate Tobin: I think the whole discussion on this subject of the injunction is this: As I understand it, it is not all we should get and all that we need, but it is the best that can possibly come, in the opinion of the Executive Council, at the present time. I think that is the division between the chairman of the committee and Brother Furuseth. It is not all we should get or all that we are entitled to—absolute freedom from the injunction, but it is the best that we can hope to get, in the opinion of progressive Senators and

others in Washington, and I know of no reason why this convention should not adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Howard, Typographical Union: I do not feel constrained to make any apology to the delegates in this convention for having consumed too much time in the discussion of questions. In the conventions of the American Federation of Labor which I have attended no question has provoked more discussion than this question of injunction legislation, and I might say, in connection with no question has there been more bombast and less clear thinking and clear talking.

I represent an organization that has been affected by injunctions, and I am interested in this subject and interested in doing the right thing in dealing with it. The injunctions that we talk about are injunctions that are issued in connection with disputes between employers and employees. I realize it would be difficult, if not impossible, to add anything to what has already been said upon that subject, and I find in the legislation that is proposed, if I read it aright, that it is for the purpose of dealing with disputes of that nature.

But I believe the delegates in this convention should know, and I believe it is important that they be told that there are injunctions granted against labor unions and the officials of labor unions that are even more dangerous, if you please, than the injunctions which have received all of the attention. We have suffered to some extent from injunctions granted by Federal judges against our members on strike, against our members who have been locked out. We have been affected to some extent by injunctions which might easily require that the members of our union handle a product of non-union workers, and our interest is as great and exactly the same as the interest of every other labor union upon that phase of the question.

But I would have you know there is a disposition upon the part of our Federal judges in the United States to issue injunctions against officers of unions in the performance of their administrative duties in handling their internal affairs.

I say to you that while the first class of injunction is injurious, and we have suffered from it, we are continuing to suffer from it, and that the question will not be settled until it is settled right, an injunction of that kind has a tendency to drive together the members of a labor union rather than divide them and separate them and perhaps provide more embarrassment and result in a greater disaster than the injunction to which I have referred.

In the organization which I represent an injunction was rendered by the Federal Court and we were prevented from amending our constitution if you please, and we were prevented from amending that constitution after an overwhelming majority of the members, in a referendum vote, had adopted those amendments. And what was the purpose of those amendments? The purpose of those amendments was to place every member of the organization upon a basis of equality, and they so stated. And why would a Federal court listen to the prayer of an individual or a small minority upon an issue of that kind?

I will tell you the extent to which the argument in that case went: that the right to vote in a voluntary association was a property right, if you please, and that if a member had been granted the right to cast two votes you could not take one of them away from him and put him on an equality with all the other members of the organization. I know what is in the minds of a lot of you who have not had the experience. You say, why don't you deal with minorities that will do that? I will tell you what the answer is. If injunctions of this nature continue to issue from the Federal judges, how are you going to deal with them? A lot of organizations have granted to their members vital rights, and we have assumed in advance that when a man or woman became a member of a trade union, a member of a voluntary association, one of the liabilities accepted was that the laws might be amended so long as they were amended in conformity with the constitution and laws of that organization. How many delegates in this convention know that that theory of law as it has been applied has been overthrown and reversed by

a Federal court, if you please? What would happen if you attempted to deal with it in the way that each and every one of you would suggest and in the way that I should like to deal with it? And that is to say that when a member of a trade union, a voluntary association, so far forgets his obligation to the organization that he would go into a court before he has exhausted his remedies within the organization and apply for an injunction of this kind, that he should be expelled. But you only erect cause for another case when you visit that remedy upon him, and then you are going to have the judge decide whether or not you are right and whether or not you are depriving him of some property right when you expel him.

And in addition to this, after the injunction has been granted, which prevents amendments adopted by an overwhelming majority from becoming effective, what do we find? We find lawyers representing this small minority of members going before a Federal judge upon what he terms an ancillary bill of complaint, and I don't know what that means, except that I am inclined to believe that ancillary means additional, and if you can make one additional bill of complaint you can continue to make them. And what was asked in this ancillary bill? I will say that it goes to the foundation of every trade union, the demands that were made in that ancillary bill. The very first one is that the minority can come in and demand a charter without the constituted authorities exercising their discretion in granting or refusing that charter. How would you like to have an injunction of that kind in your union? How many of the lodges and other voluntary associations of the country know that a Federal judge has granted an injunction whereby it is admitted in open court that the procedure was proper and in accord with the constitution, but the amendments cannot be enforced?

I don't know whether this bill provides for a condition of that kind. I believe the time has arrived when the delegates to this convention should know of the danger, and if there is no provision in this bill which deals with injunctions of that nature in voluntary

associations, I believe some provision should be made. I am not in disagreement with the other members of the Committee on Resolutions upon this bill. I am frank to tell you that I don't even consider that I am an authority upon a question of this kind, but I do believe that it is important that you should understand that there are injunctions which are even more dangerous to our trade unions than the injunctions granted to employers in case of a strike or lockout, and I believe the Executive Council should have the widest latitude in consideration of legislation of this kind. We want relief. We must have relief, we must have it one way or another, but when we secure that relief we must know that it is full and complete relief from the injunction evil that has endangered our organization.

President Green: Are you ready to vote? Delegate Furuseth has offered an amendment to the committee's report to strike out Sections 7, 8 and 10 of the bill, to strike out all authority for granting injunctions.

Vice-President Woll: I move you that the question of striking out these sections be referred to the Executive Council for study and such action as it deems advisable.

The motion was seconded and carried.

The motion to adopt the committee's report was carried.

Delegate Olander: Mr. President, I think this ought to be made clear in reference to that last reference that was made. That is entirely in harmony with the committee's report, and as one member of the committee having some pride in that report, I want to make it clear that the chairman of the committee, in making the motion to refer, did not in any way depart from the committee's recommendation.

**Demanding Enforcement of Civil Liberties in Accordance With Constitutional Guarantees.**

Resolution No. 27—By Delegate Florence Curtis Hanson, American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, It was recognized by the founders of our American institutions that no government, even though it be republican in form, is a free govern-

ment if its citizens have not the right to assemble peaceably and the privilege of speaking freely, writing or printing their opinions, even though such opinions may be offensive to a majority of their fellow citizens; that any government, no matter what its form, is a despotism if the executive officers may, at their pleasure and without warrant or authority under the law, arrest or imprison a citizen or enter his home and seize his goods, and that no person accused of offenses against the law may be condemned or punished otherwise than by the judgment of a jury after a fair and open trial, wherein he may be represented by counsel and meet his accusers face to face; and

WHEREAS, To preserve these rights of the citizens, Bills of Rights have been placed by the people in our Federal and State Constitutions; and

WHEREAS, Our executive and judicial officers, State and National, have been openly and flagrantly ignoring and violating the provisions of our Constitution which were intended to guarantee these rights, by the issuance of injunctions forbidding free speech and peaceable assemblage and other lawful activities; by imprisoning men and women in contempt proceedings without semblance of the kind of trial contemplated by the constitution; by forcibly and without warrant of law entering the homes and seizing the property of peaceable and law-abiding citizens; by clubbing and unlawfully dispersing persons engaged in peaceable meetings in public places; by arresting and imprisoning "pickets" who are in no wise breaking any law or creating any disturbance; and by the administration of the "third degree" to persons accused of crimes; and

WHEREAS, Our legislative assemblies have on numerous occasions enacted statutes intended to limit freedom of thought and speech in direct violation of our constitution, now; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor that we reiterate our firm faith and belief in the rights of the individual as set forth in the Bills of Rights of our Federal and State constitutions and our conviction that free government cannot be maintained unless these rights are preserved; that it is the first duty of the officers of the law themselves to obey the constitution and the laws, and that lawlessness on the part of such officials has a direct tendency to encourage lawlessness in others; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we use every effort to secure further legislation curbing the power of judges to issue arbitrary writs of injunction restraining lawful activities of the people and limiting the power of judges to imprison for contempt, without jury trials, to defiance of the authority of the court in the actual presence of the court; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we denounce all attempts by police authorities to suppress free speech and peaceable assemblage, and demand the prosecution of all officers so abusing their power. We further condemn all legislation intended to limit the freedom of the press or of the individual to express freely their opinions, and urge the repeal of any such statutes now in force.

The committee recommends adoption of Resolution No. 27.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### Income Tax

Resolution No. 33.—By Delegate Florence Curtis Hanson of the American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, Taxes on real property are largely inflexible, unchanging and with little relation to the returns on capital invested as, for example, in the case of farm owners who are assessed on the taxable value of their land without regard to what they realize on it; and

WHEREAS, Such taxes have reached the limit of what can justly be exacted which makes it difficult to secure proper support for many public activities, notably the schools, which are suffering from insufficient revenue; and

WHEREAS, The burden of taxation on this form of property is becoming in many states an economic menace as well as an intolerable burden on homeowners and many forms of business; and

WHEREAS, Sixteen states have recognized in the income tax a means of increasing revenues as well as a more equitable tax, and that four states have set aside certain definite sums or proportions of the revenues derived from this source to be used for education needs, and that Massachusetts and Delaware have devoted the entire proceeds for this purpose, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor approve in principle a tax on incomes for the benefit of states, levied in like manner as the Federal Income Tax, to be so graduated that it will be levied in increasing percentages on progressively larger incomes.

Your committee is of the opinion that the reasoning in the preamble of Resolution No. 33 is not entirely accurate in that it does not distinguish between real property actually used for home, farm and business purposes and land held idle for purely speculative purposes. We therefore recommend that

the resolution be amended to read as follows, and that as thus amended the resolution be adopted:

WHEREAS, Sixteen states have recognized in the income tax a means of providing necessary increases in public revenues, especially for the support of public schools; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor approve in principle a tax on incomes for the benefit of states, levied by the states in like manner as the Federal Income Tax, to be so graduated that it will be levied in increasing percentages on progressively larger incomes.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

**Providing for Saturday Half-Holiday for Employes of the Panama Canal.**

Resolution No. 35 — By Delegate Charles F. Wahl of the Balboa, C. Z., Central Labor Union.

WHEREAS, An Act was passed by the 71st Congress of the United States and approved on March 3, 1931, providing that on and after the effective date of the Act four hours exclusive of time for luncheon should constitute a day's work on Saturdays throughout the year, with pay or earnings for the day the same as on other days when full time is worked, for all civil employes of the Federal Government and the District of Columbia, exclusive of employes of the postal service, employes of the Panama Canal on the Isthmus and employes of the Interior Department in the field, whether on the hourly, per diem, per annum, piece work or other basis; and further providing that if the service of such employes could not be spared on Saturday that they might be given equivalent time off on some other day of the week, and providing further that the provisions of the Act should not deprive employes of any leave or holiday with pay to which they were entitled under existing laws; and

WHEREAS, The 71st Congress approved a law similar in character to provide for the employes of the Postal Service; and

WHEREAS, The President of the United States on May 18, 1931, issued an executive order in which the provisions of the Act of March 3, 1931, were applied to a considerable extent to the employes of the field service of the Department of the Interior; and

WHEREAS, The employes of the Panama Canal on the Isthmus of Panama are now the only employes of the government who are not profiting by this shorter work week legislation; and

WHEREAS, There is no logical reason why employes of the Panama Canal on the Isthmus of Panama should not be accorded equal treatment in this respect with other employes of the United States Government; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled go on record as approving the application of the Saturday half-holiday or shorter work week provisions contained in the Act of March 3, 1931, to employes of the Panama Canal on the Isthmus of Panama; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to endeavor to have the Congress of the United States enact legislation which will extend the privilege of the Saturday Half-Holiday or shorter work week to employes of the Panama Canal on the Isthmus of Panama.

The Committee recommends the adoption of Resolution No. 35.

\* The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

**Protesting Policy of Quartermaster's Department, U. S. Army of Displacing American Seamen with Filipinos.**

Resolution No. 45—By Delegate Edward McLaughlin of the California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Notwithstanding severe unemployment among American seamen, the Quartermasters' Department of the United States Army has continued to give preference of employment to Filipinos; and

WHEREAS, According to a letter (dated February 17, 1931), signed by Brigadier-General A. E. Williams, Assistant to the Quartermaster General, Filipinos are employed because "native American seamen are unreliable and in-temperate"; and

WHEREAS, This alibi, justifying the employment of cheap and docile Asiatics, is being copied by an increasing number of private ship operators with the result that American seamen swell the ranks of the unemployed, while Filipinos hold down the jobs on American ships; the official report of the United States Commissioner of Navigation showing that 8,709 Filipinos shipped and reshipped for service on American merchant vessels during the last fiscal year—not including the Filipinos employed on army transports; and

WHEREAS, A protest to the Secretary of War, by the California State Federation of Labor, has brought no results except a repetition of extenuations, and a statement that "it is not

likely the number of Filipinos seeking to better their conditions in the United States will at any time adversely affect the interests of American labor"; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, By the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, that we emphatically protest to President Hoover against the conditions outlined herein and demand that citizens of the United States be given employment on army transports.

The Committee recommends adoption of Resolution No. 45.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

**Proposing Legislation Requiring the Printing of Producers' Names on Containers of All Food Products Sold in the United States.**

Resolution No. 48—By Delegate Edward McLaughlin of the California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Several cases have come to the recent attention of the Central Labor Councils in California in which firms on the "We Don't Patronize" list are supplying food products to the chain stores, making it practically impossible to recognize unsanitary, unhealthful and unfair products; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, By the American Federation of Labor in Fifty-first Annual Convention assembled at Vancouver, B. C., that steps be taken by the Executive Council to secure legislation to provide for the printing of the producer's or manufacturer's name on the containers of all food products sold in the United States.

The Committee recommends that Resolution No. 48 be referred to the Executive Council with instructions to investigate the subject matter and to take such action in relation thereto as the Council may deem proper.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

**Proposing That Stone Used in Federal Building Projects to Relieve Unemployment Be Prepared in Localities Where Buildings Are Erected**

Resolution No. 55—By Delegates M. W. Mitchell and P. J. Cullen, Journeymen Stone Cutters' Association of North America.

WHEREAS, The wave of unemployment is becoming evermore general and permanent without the faintest hope of relief for the multitudes of jobless workers; and

WHEREAS, At the present time both the House of Representatives and the Senate of the United States have appropriated millions of dollars out of the public treasury in order to overcome the present economic crisis; and

WHEREAS, The intent of such appropriations is to give work to the biggest number of unemployed workers, the benefit of getting a job and relieving them from the fear of becoming public charges or criminals; and

WHEREAS, In the said appropriations is included a building program of Post Offices, Custom Houses, Hospitals, etc., in which natural stone is largely to be used; and

WHEREAS, One of the causes of unemployment among the workers connected with the stone industry is the concentration of the same in a few places where the stone is quarried, fabricated, dressed and carved by men working in most cases under unfair conditions; and

WHEREAS, The money for the contemplated building program shall ultimately be paid by all the American workers; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor petition and ask all persons vested with authority in letting out contracts for Federal work that it be distributed more evenly so that it will relieve hundreds of skilled mechanics in different parts of the country and relieve them from the fear of an endless period of unemployment and untold suffering. The following criterion could be adopted by those in authority to awarding all Federal projects in the future; that all stone used in Federal buildings should be fabricated, dressed, cut and carved in the locality where the contemplated building is to be erected. And that the working hours shall not exceed eight hours per day and five days a week for all men working on Federal projects; and further, be it

**RESOLVED**, That a copy of this resolution shall be sent to all persons in authority connected with awarding of all Federal projects.

The Committee recommends that Resolution No. 55 be amended by striking out the words "in Washington" in the last two paragraphs and that the resolution as thus amended be adopted.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

**To Endeavor to Have Oil and Gas Corporations Employ Union Labor in Construction Work**

Resolution No. 56—By Delegates L. P. Lindelof, Clarence E. Swick, James P. Meehan, H. Kaufman, Joseph P. Hunter and Christian M. Madsen, Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America.

WHEREAS, Many oil and gas corporations doing business throughout the United States are contributing to the disastrous conditions existing by employing unskilled labor at low wages to take the place of practical journeymen; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention instruct the incoming Executive Board to use every effort to get these corporations to use Union Labor for the construction and maintenance of their buildings.

The committee recommends adoption of Resolution No. 56.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

**To Secure National Cleared Radio Channel for WCFL**

Resolution No. 59—By Delegates H. H. Broach, D. F. Cleary, Charles M. Paulsen, E. Bieretz, E. Preiss and G. M. Bugniazet, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers.

WHEREAS, The President of the United States has said: "The question of monopoly in radio communication must be squarely met. It is not conceivable that the American people will allow this new-born system of communication to fall exclusively into the power of any individual, group, or combination. Great as the development of radio distribution has been we are probably only at the threshold of development of one of the most important human discoveries bearing on education, amusement, culture and business communication.

"It cannot be thought that any single person or group shall ever have the right to determine what communication may be made to the American people. We cannot allow any single person or group to place themselves in a position where they can censor the material which shall be broadcast to the public.

"Radio communication is not to be considered as merely a business carried on for private gain, for private advertisement, or for entertainment of the curious. It is a public concern impressed with the public trust and to be considered primarily from the standpoint of public interest to the

same extent and upon the basis of the same general principles as our other public utilities"; and

WHEREAS, Under the authority delegated to it, the Federal Radio Commission has licensed and allocated the overwhelming majority of the ninety available "wave lengths" which include the forty "cleared wave lengths or channels" to private corporations; and

WHEREAS, Evidence of the tendency of the Federal Radio Commission to allocate the most desirable wave lengths with unlimited time and super-power to private corporations and groups in disregard of the public interest, necessity, and convenience, is demonstrated by the fact that the forty "cleared radio broadcasting channels" established by the Federal Radio Commission have been allocated as follows (some for part time only):

(1) To corporations formed for the specific purpose of operating a broadcasting station, twelve channels.

(2) To corporations manufacturing radio equipment and supplies, seven channels.

(3) To corporations dealing in merchandise of various kinds, ten channels.

(4) To corporations publishing newspapers, eleven channels.

(5) To public utility corporations, three channels.

(6) To insurance corporations, five channels.

WHEREAS, It is charged that a great Radio Trust alone has been granted six or seven national cleared channels by the Federal Radio Commission, as well as chain-station rights which permit it to broadcast its program over the entire United States, and it has been granted the aforesaid six or seven channels for unlimited use, with tremendous power of from twenty-five thousand to fifty thousand watts, while the station of organized labor, Station WCFL, located in the center of the United States at Chicago, Illinois, has been limited in time and to one thousand five hundred watts; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention hereby petition the Congress of the United States to appoint a joint committee of Senators and Representatives to investigate the Federal Radio Commission's allocations of channels, wave lengths, and radio facilities, and to inquire into the administration and interpretation of the radio laws of the United States by the Federal Radio Commission and recommend to the Congress of the United States appropriate legislation whereby organized labor will receive its proper share of the radio channels, wave lengths, and facilities equal to that of any other firm, company, corporation or organization.

The Committee recommends adoption of Resolution No. 59.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Nockels, Chicago Federation of Labor: Since coming to this convention a great many delegates have asked questions in regard to granting full time to Station WCFL and a 50,000-watt power. In order to conserve the time of the convention I have made up a statement which I wish to have in the record, without reading.

President Green: Bring it forward and it will be included in the record.

The statement is as follows:

#### **Facts About WCFL Full Time Grants**

Press accounts on September 22, 1931, about WCFL being granted full time on 970 kilocycles, were so worded as to convey to the public the impression that WCFL had won an unqualified victory, a notion that is far from the real truth. What WCFL did receive, can only be regarded as a provisional relief in the matter of time, leaving the all important features of a cleared channel, and increased power, questions that remain to be settled through action by either the Federal Radio Commission or the Congress that created it.

Even the question of the time grant is qualified, for though granted simultaneous use of the 970 kilocycle band with station KJR of Seattle, recently acquired by the National Broadcasting Company, WCFL can only maintain this position by sufferance of the N. B. C. which controls this fifth zone band, while WCFL is located in the fourth zone division, hence, objection filed on that score or any other of a dozen plausible excuses would compel the Radio Commission to order a discontinuance of WCFL time grant and a resumption of the limited time schedule on which WCFL operated so long.

The American Federation of Labor has again and again informed the public in general and Congress and the Federal Radio Commission in particular that WCFL, "The Voice of Labor," had been assigned to a frequency of 970 kilocycles, limited to daylight hours, which decree necessitated signing off at sun-down at Seattle, Washington, where KJR of the fifth zone, to whom this channel was assigned, was located, while WCFL was in the fourth radio zone, nor was this the only handicap imposed on WCFL, which was restricted to a 15-kw. power grant, which permitted Radio Trust Stations, like KDKA of Pittsburgh, in particular, operating on 980-kc. to drown out with its 50-kw. the weaker 15-kw. station WCFL.

Not only has labor through its legislative representatives lodged its complaints with the Federal Radio Commission against this system of partiality, but it also voiced its determination not to permit radio broadcasting to be placed into the hands of a special privileged group, without exhausting every resource at its command to prevent such a surrender of the people's right to

the air, as was indicated by the reallocation made by the Federal Radio Commission, November 11, 1928, which virtually created a monopoly, dictatorship and censorship of the air by stations assigned super power grants that enabled them at will to drown out all stations on adjacent frequencies.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was unanimously carried.

#### **Mooney Case**

Resolution No. 60—By Delegate J. W. Buzzell, Los Angeles Central Labor Council.

WHEREAS, It has come to the attention of the labor movement that a committee in San Francisco, known as the Tom Mooney Molders' Defense Committee, is circularizing the labor movement of America, for funds, to be used by that committee in its campaign to secure a pardon for Thomas J. Mooney; and

WHEREAS, The Mooney and Billings cases are primarily a California problem; and

WHEREAS, This committee, the Tom Mooney Molders' Defense Committee, owes no responsibility to the Labor movement; and

WHEREAS, It has been practically impossible to secure an accounting of the funds already collected from the members of organized labor in these cases; and

WHEREAS, The San Francisco Labor Council and the California State Federation of Labor, have adopted the following resolution, thereby assuming the responsibility of passing upon all collections of money on behalf of these cases:

"WHEREAS, The Mooney and Billings cases and convictions for murder growing out of the Preparedness Parade, at San Francisco, California, July 22, 1916, after fifteen years of controversy, sensational developments and endeavors to secure pardons and vindication for these defendants, are still pending before the Governor and the people of California, with no immediate prospects of a satisfactory solution of the legal problems involved; and

"WHEREAS, Popular prejudice against Mooney and Billings has been aggravated by what we deem legalistic and unsound opinions of the majority of the judges of the California Supreme Court, and in no less degree by the impassioned and ill-advised propaganda issued in the name of Tom Mooney, his various defense committees and others claiming to be his partisans; and

"WHEREAS, It is clear that the question of vindication of Mooney and Billings is essentially a California problem, and that the organized labor movement of California owes a duty to take a part

in the solution of that problem; it is also clear that organized labor, as represented by responsible labor bodies and officials, at no time has sanctioned or approved appeals made in behalf of these men advocating general strikes boycotts of California products, or denunciations of governments, institutions and individuals; and

"WHEREAS, In view of most recent developments, at the hearings in the Billings case before the members of the State Supreme Court, and from the report of the Wickersham Commission, it is made obvious and plain that complete and full vindication and pardons for these two men are not likely to be had under our law and pardoning procedure as now constituted and circumscribed, and that therefore it will be necessary to start and conduct a general movement to make the necessary changes in the laws of California affecting these and similar cases; and

"WHEREAS, Notwithstanding all the confusion, mistakes and wrongs endured in connection with these cases, there appears, nevertheless, a grave duty on the part of all Californians, irrespective of political, economic or social conditions or creed, to do all within their power to render full justice to these men; therefore, be it

"RESOLVED, First, That we reiterate our belief in the innocence of Thomas J. Mooney and Warren K. Billings of the crime for which they have been convicted and suffered imprisonment.

"Second, That we shall continue by all honorable and lawful means to secure their vindication and restoration to liberty, and hereby renew our application to the Governor of California for an immediate and unconditional pardon of Thomas J. Mooney.

"Third, That we shall support and endeavor to have enacted such changes in the criminal law and procedure of this state, including the administration of pardons, as will remedy the defects and omissions brought to light through the circumstances and revelations of these cases.

"Fourth, That we deem the Executive Council of the California State Federation of Labor to be the properly qualified representatives of the organized labor movement of California to carry out the intent and purposes of this resolution.

"Fifth, That to prevent indiscriminate appeals and collection of funds from labor unions of California for the carrying out of the intent and purposes of this resolution, which are contained in the preceding four resolves, we recommend that every such financial appeal first receive the sanction of the Executive Council of the California State Federation of Labor"; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in its 51st Annual Con-

vention, that the President and Secretary be instructed to communicate with all national and international unions, state federations of labor, and central labor bodies, advising them that no appeal for funds on behalf of the Mooney-Billings cases receive any consideration unless such appeal bears the approval of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor.

#### Requesting Financial Assistance for Mooney Defense

Resolution No. 65—By Delegate Samuel E. Snyder, St. Louis, Mo., Central Trades and Labor Union.

WHEREAS, Thomas J. Mooney, a member in good standing of the International Molders' Union for twenty-nine years, now serving a life sentence in San Quentin Prison in the State of California, has but one hope of regaining his full freedom and that is through a pardon; and

WHEREAS, The present situation in the Mooney and Billings cases is unparalleled in the court history of American jurisprudence as all of the witnesses for the prosecution have either confessed to having committed perjury, or have been definitely exposed and wholly unworthy of belief; and

WHEREAS, Judge Griffin, the trial judge, has denounced the methods employed to convict Mooney as "one of the dirtiest jobs ever put over", saying "I resent the fact that my court was used for such a contemptible piece of work," a special commission of inquiry, appointed by President Wilson in 1918 to investigate the case, reported that Mooney's conviction was obtained on perjured testimony; Jury Foreman McNevin and every living member of the jury since the trial have signed appeals for a pardon based upon their firm belief in Mooney's innocence; the Wickersham report has stated "such a state of law that keeps innocent men in prison is shocking to one's sense of justice"; and

WHEREAS, The Governor of the State of California has the power and authority to open the gates of San Quentin Prison and restore to full liberty our brother unionist, Tom Mooney; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor brand as a public disgrace the continued imprisonment of our brother, Tom Mooney, and demand in the name of justice and liberty that this innocent man be granted a full and unconditional pardon; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled in Vancouver, B. C., this 5th day of October, 1931, does hereby petition the

Hon. James Rolph, Jr., Governor of the State of California, to immediately grant Tom Mooney a full and unconditional pardon; and that he initiate measures to amend the law and hereby bring about a pardon for Warren K. Billings; and be it further

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor, in order to assist materially in defraying legal expenses and preparing appeal for pardon of Mooney, hereby donate the sum of One Thousand Dollars, the same to be forwarded to the Tom Mooney Molders' Defense Committee, P. O. Box 1475, San Francisco, California; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we send copies of this resolution to the American Federation of Labor Convention, October 5, 1931.

Endorsed by the International Molders' Conference Board of St. Louis and Vicinity, International Molders' Locals No. 10 and No. 59, and the Metal Trades Council of St. Louis and Vicinity.

(Signed)

CHAS. BLOME, Pres. No. 59.  
WM. STEPHENSON, Pres. No. 10.

RESOLVED, That the Central Trades and Labor Union of St. Louis, Missouri, in regular meeting assembled August 9, 1931, endorse this resolution and send copies of same to the American Federation of Labor convention which meets in Vancouver, B. C., October 5, 1931.

(The resolution was endorsed.)

(Signed)

CHAS. BLOME,  
CHAS. PETSCH,  
JOE MORAN,  
MARTIN A. DILLMON,  
E. EBENHOH.

Delegates, C.T.L.U.

The committee recommends that Resolution No. 60 be amended by striking out the words "California State Federation of Labor" in the last line of the concluding paragraph and inserting in lieu thereof the words Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, and that the resolution as thus amended be adopted.

The committee further recommends that Resolution No. 65 be non-concurred in.

Delegate Snyder, St. Louis Central Trades and Labor Union: I wish to make it clear that I think it was the intent of the drafters of Resolution No. 65—and I simply acted as their messenger in bringing it here from the St. Louis central body—to provide some material

assistance to those who are seeking to defend Mooney and Billings. It seems to me that there are some provisions to take care of that in the future, if I understood the report of the committee correctly, or at least that there would be no such contributions made until such time as they were approved by the California State Federation of Labor, and as the person carrying that message here from the St. Louis central body, it is very acceptable to me.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### Protesting Reductions in Rates of Pay for Gas Burners in Navy Yards

Resolution No. 68—By Delegates J. A. Franklin, William E. Walter, J. N. Davis, Harry Nacey, International Brotherhood of Boilermakers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America.

WHEREAS, The Secretary of the Navy, under date of September 26th, 1930, amended the schedule of wages for the calendar year 1930, by the addition of the ratings of operator, gas plant and gas cutter or burner, with rates of pay ten cents per hour below the established rate in said schedule of wages; and

WHEREAS, The Secretary of the Navy had previously issued an order continuing the schedule of wages for the year 1931 and this order creating these new ratings has had the effect of reducing the wages paid for such work, and which was not contemplated by the agreement to continue the 1930 schedule of wages for the year 1931; and

WHEREAS, This character of work of burning metal is severe and destructive to the physical condition of those engaged in it for periods of time; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention, goes on record and instructs its officers to protest the continuation of these rates as a violation of the agreement entered into with the President of the United States as of November, 1929, and to insist upon the restoration of the previous or old rates for this work.

The Committee recommends adoption of Resolution No. 68.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

The committee recommends that Resolution No. 80 be amended as follows: In the fourth paragraph after the

word, "practices", insert the words, "except as necessary to permit purchases of supplies for use in the governmental service in foreign countries and for government ships when in foreign ports;" and in the last paragraph insert the words, "when possible", after the word "produced". The resolution as amended reads:

**Supplies Used in Departments of U. S. Government Should Be Made in America Under Proper Labor Standards.**

Resolution No. 80—By Delegates James A. Taylor of the Washington State Federation of Labor, and C. M. Rynerson of the Oregon State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The laws governing purchase of supplies for Federal departments of government virtually compel the government to let contracts to the lowest bidders; and

WHEREAS, Under these conditions low wage employers often secure such contracts, thereby lowering our work and living standards; and

WHEREAS, Under the present system of letting contracts for government supplies, said supplies are often produced abroad and sold by citizens of other nations to our government, adding to our own unemployment problem; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention go on record as being opposed to such laws and practices, except as necessary to permit purchases of supplies for use in governmental service in foreign countries and for government ships when in foreign ports; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That we work to the end that the supplies needed in our departments of government be produced, when possible, in America under conditions that will give our workmen the opportunity to receive high wages and uphold the standards of life and living to which the American Federation of Labor stands committed.

Your committee recommends that the resolution as thus amended be adopted.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

**Peter J. Brady**

Resolution No. 81—By Delegates Matthew Woll and E. J. Volz, International Photo-Engravers' Union; Samuel E. Snyder, delegate St. Louis Central Labor Union.

WHEREAS, The sudden death of Peter Brady has taken from the American labor movement a loyal trade unionist whose personality and engaging manner had endeared him to hosts of friends all over our country both in high positions and among those who faithfully while inconspicuously performed the necessary work of the world; and

WHEREAS, The life and achievements of Peter Brady in a very definite way typify the opportunities which this country offers to all diligent and resourceful individuals. Coming to this country through the portals of Castle Garden he was early thrown upon his own resources. As a newsboy he learned much of human nature and early realized the value of education for further achievement. By his own efforts he secured training in the craft that most appealed to his capacities—photo-engraving—and as a skilled craftsman advanced in his craft. His gift for friendship and his sincere interest in mankind identified him with the union of his craft and opened for him a field of wider usefulness, both in the political and the business fields; and

WHEREAS, Throughout his constantly developing career and wider opportunities Peter Brady consistently endeavored to advance the cause of trade unionism; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor express our appreciation of the lovable qualities and sterling character of our friend and fellow worker, Peter Brady, and our greater sorrow for the catastrophe that removed him from our midst. His generous and lovable qualities will be treasured in our memories for years to come. We express our appreciation of his constructive services to the trade union movement. We pay our tribute to him as one who loved his fellow men.

The committee recommends that Resolution No. 81 be adopted by a rising vote, during which the delegates remain standing in silence for a brief period in tribute to the memory of our brother, Peter J. Brady.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Volz, Photo-Engravers: Mr. Chairman, may I with your permission and with the permission of the delegates, having been a life long friend and associate of Peter Brady, having known him and having been possibly more intimately acquainted with him than any person connected with the labor movement, give a short resume of his life, his activities, his accomplishments, and his achievements in the trade union movement, of his lovable character and of his untimely death?

President Green: Proceed.

Delegate Volz read the following:

**IN MEMORIAM—PETER J. BRADY**

**The Master has Summoned to Rest a Great Leader—A Rare Builder—A Distinguished Citizen—A Staunch Trade Unionist—A Dependable Friend.**

On Monday, September 21st of the present year, shortly after noon, Peter J. Brady, former Vice-president of the International Photo-En-

gravers' Union of North America, and a repeated delegate to the conventions of the American Federation of Labor, answered the last call—that call that comes to all men and to which all must respond. The end was tragic and shocking to his family, and to his host of friends and associates in all walks of life to whom he had endeared himself. By his passing, organized labor in general, the Photo-Engravers' Union and the printing crafts in particular, suffered an irreparable loss.

Strange are the ways of Providence. The call came unexpectedly as he soared between Heaven and Earth.

The climax and end was as he himself would have wished it, for no man in life combined work and play to a greater extent, or carried them to further extremes; he verily made the former the servant of the latter. He died while engaged in both, on his way from New York (via airplane, of which he was a devotee and sponsor), to Detroit where he was to attend and address the Convention of the American Legion as good-will ambassador and representative of the American Federation of Labor.

Born in Ireland 50 years ago (March 1, 1881), he was brought to America by his parents when still of school age, and, as he was wont to say, with nothing but "a Bible, a four-leaf clover, and an indestructible faith in God." He received a parochial and public school education in New York City, which city he made his home during life.

He was early indentured in the photo-engraving business, subsequently becoming a journeyman member of New York Photo-Engravers' Union No. 1, of the International Photo-Engravers' Union of N. A., and almost immediately became active in organization matters, holding numerous appointments and offices in which he readily developed a keen sense of leadership and builder.

After serving for a number of years on various committees of the Local Union, he was elected its President and served with credit in that capacity from 1911 to 1915 inclusive.

At the New York Convention of the International Photo-Engravers' Union, held in 1908, he was elected a Vice-president and continued as such until the Washington Convention in 1928, during which period he was repeatedly a delegate to the American Federation of Labor, which he represented in an investigation of labor conditions in Porto Rico in 1920, and was its fraternal delegate to the British Trades Union Congress at the Convention held in London, England, in 1924.

During the foregoing period he was also Secretary of the New York City Allied Printing Trades Council, helped to form, and was the first Secretary of the Central Union Label Council of that city, and was subsequently elected President of the New

York State Allied Printing Trades Council, in which capacity he served for 10 years, from 1914 to 1924, and, at the time of his death, held the honorary designation of President Emeritus of that body.

While Secretary of the Local Allied Printing Trades Council, and in carrying out the duties of that office, he became politically active, and was tendered his first political appointment—that of Supervisor of City Records of the City of New York, and thus became a member of the Mayor's Cabinet in the Hylan administration, from which he subsequently resigned to assume the presidency of the Federation Bank when that institution was launched.

While holding political office he continued his activities in labor circles and his connections with the Printing Trades Council, the Central Trades and Labor Council of Greater New York and vicinity, as well as the New York State Federation of Labor of which latter body he was for eight years chairman of the Committee on Education.

In 1913, he was selected by the Governor of New York State to study the educational methods and resources of that commonwealth, and helped to bring into existence continuation day schools for employed minors, and teacher-scholarships for skilled mechanics and artisans to train these minors in their respective vocations. He remained active in educational circles ever after.

In recognition of his work in promoting educational opportunities for apprentices, the Board of Education of the City of New York, immediately following his death, decided to name the Central Printing Trades School, about to be erected in that city "The Peter J. Brady Printing Trades School," which school will stand as a lasting monument to his work in the educational field.

As Chairman of a joint Committee of New York State and City Labor bodies, he was instrumental in organizing and bringing into being in 1923 the Federation Bank of New York, later changed to "The Federation Bank and Trust Company," one of his outstanding achievements, the success of which is well-known and established in financial and business as well as labor circles. He became the first President of this Institution, and served as such until his untimely end.

With the coming of the aeroplane into general use he became one of its staunchest adherents and enthusiasts. He traversed the continent frequently by this method in carrying out his various missions.

His interest in and knowledge of aviation and airways brought to him membership in the Federal Reserve, with rank of Major, from which he was later promoted to Colonel. He was also made a member of the New York State Commission on Aviation by Governor Franklin D. Roosevelt, and

chairman of the Aviation Commission and Airports of Greater New York City by Mayor James J. Walker, who but recently appointed him Deputy Commissioner of Docks in charge of Aviation, Airports and Terminals for the City and Port of New York.

On September 24th, his earthly remains were laid to rest in a vault in Calvary Cemetery, Queen's County, Long Island, banked mountainous high with floral tributes from his thousands of friends and associates, while above circled a squadron of naval airplanes, a final tribute from his comrades of the Reserve Corps, who came from Floyd Bennett Airfield—which project he had championed and helped to promote. These had been stationed over the Mortuary Chapel where his remains had lain in state and where thousands had come to pay their last homage at the flower-banked bier. They also acted as an escort over the streets through which the funeral cortege passed between cordons of police, and where additional thousands of admirers, high and low, rich and poor, lined the way to the Church of St. Agnes, sanctuary for the faithful, where a Solemn Requiem High Mass for the repose of his soul was celebrated and the last benedictions given.

Among the honorary pall-bearers and mourners were many of the most prominent men and women of the city, state and nation from all walks of life, in hosts too numerous to mention—all intent upon paying their last respects to one who had kept the faith, and whose high achievements and honors had never weakened or sundered any of the many friendships made from childhood to death's parting hour.

He is survived by his widow, Mrs. Rose Brady, nee O'Brien, with whom he was preparing and planning to celebrate their 25th wedding anniversary, which would have taken place during the month of October of the present year, and who received myriads of telegrams and messages of condolence. He is also survived by two sisters and a brother, the latter, like himself, being a photo-engraver and a member of the New York Union.

Steeped with the virility of humble parentage, no human interest was unknown to him, or foreign to his sympathies. His was a lovable character, human with all its frailties, endowed with a genial, happy nature, a pleasing personality, and a sympathetic and companionable understanding which breathed brotherly love and good fellowship in all with whom he came into contact.

His was a life full of accomplishments, a credit to the nation, and of lasting benefit to the trade union movement of this country. He gave without stint, and with devotion to every cause which he espoused and to the uplift of his fellow man.

The works of his life will hold securely for him a cherished place in the memory and records of the organized wage-earners of America, and in this Federation of Labor, whose credentials he carried, and in whose work he was engaged as he passed on to that Great Beyond.

His earthly work is done. May his soul rest in Peace.

The motion to adopt the committee's report was carried by unanimous vote, and in accordance with the motion the delegates arose and remained standing for a short period in silent tribute to their departed friend.

#### **Proposing Special Committee to Consider Interests of Labor Press**

Resolution No. 83—By Delegate I. M. Ornburn, Cigar Makers' International Union.

WHEREAS, The weekly labor press is today an indispensable part of the organized labor movement, without which there cannot be a proper distribution of information or a proper presentation of the ideals and principles of the trade union movement; and

WHEREAS, The industrial depression has already made serious inroads upon the weekly labor press and promises to make still further inroads, due to the fact that great portions of local movements are impoverished through unemployment; and

WHEREAS, It will be a calamity to the trade union movement and to human progress if a weakening of this vital fighting arm of our movement is permitted to suffer in this crisis; and

WHEREAS, The strength of the weekly labor press is today more than ever a vital concern of our whole movement and by no means merely the concern of those individuals and local bodies that have been courageous enough to launch such publications; be it, therefore

RESOLVED, That the President of the American Federation of Labor is hereby directed to appoint a special committee of five, of which he shall be a member, to study the situation surrounding the weekly labor press and news services and to make recommendations to the Executive Council, these recommendations to be placed before the Executive Council prior to its winter quarterly meeting; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be authorized to give effect to the recommendations of the special committee so that the labor press may be strengthened.

The committee recommends adoption of Resolution No. 83.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### **Hod Carriers Request Investigation of Membership of Federal Labor Unions**

Resolution No. 87—By Delegates J. V. Moreschi, J. B. Etchison, J. Marshall, H. Rivers, C. E. Berg, A. C. D'Andrea, representing the International Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union of America.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has, for the purpose of promoting organization, authorized and empowered its Executive Council to issue charters to Federal Unions and to determine the jurisdiction of such Federal Unions so as to prevent conflict with National and international Unions and their local unions; and

WHEREAS, The dues of many such Federal Unions are lower than the dues of most National and International Unions; and

WHEREAS, Some members of National and International unions are seeking membership in, and are being accepted into membership by some Federal unions, only to withdraw or drop out of their proper trade organization; and

WHEREAS, This is in direct conflict with the laws and policy of the American Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By this Convention that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor direct each American Federation of Labor organizer to investigate the membership of each Federal union chartered by this Federation and order all such Federal unions to transfer to the respective National or International unions all members that should belong therein.

In relation to Resolution No. 87 your committee desires to point out that the work of investigating the entire membership of all local unions operating under direct charter from the American Federation of Labor, for the purpose of ascertaining if there be in any such local union any member or members who might properly be under the jurisdiction of a national or international union, would be a task of much greater magnitude than would be warranted by any result that might be obtained. The jurisdictions of all affiliated unions are defined under the laws of the American Federation of Labor. In the case of local unions under direct charter from the American Federation of Labor the Executive Council has power to direct any such local to relinquish jurisdiction over any member who properly belongs in any national or international union. The Council can enforce its decisions in such cases where claim of such jurisdiction is made. Under such circumstances it is a relatively easy and simple matter for the officials of any national or international union to bring to the attention of the Executive Council any case in which a directly chartered local is exceeding its jurisdiction. That procedure should be followed in all such matters. The Executive Council will undoubtedly act in accord with the laws of the American Federation of Labor in all such cases. Your committee recommends the adoption of this report of the committee in lieu of Resolution No. 87.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### Resolution of Thanks

Resolution No. 91—By Committee on Resolutions.

WHEREAS, The most hearty welcome which the fifty-first annual convention of the American

Federation of Labor has received from the Vancouver, New Westminster and District Trades and Labor Council, the City of Vancouver and the Province of British Columbia, and the painstaking consideration shown for the comfort and convenience of the convention, have been most pleasing and gratifying; and

WHEREAS, The trade unionists of Vancouver and vicinity have been tireless throughout the sessions of our convention in providing for comfort and entertainment of the delegates, their wives and guests, and this most cordial and generous hospitality has added greatly to the pleasure and to the effectiveness of the convention; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the convention, on behalf of the delegates and officers and their wives and other members of their families accompanying them, and also on behalf of all guests and visitors, tender most hearty thanks to the trade unionists and other citizens of Vancouver and the Province of British Columbia and to the following:

ALDERMAN JOHN BENNETT (Acting Mayor of Vancouver),

HON. W. A. MACKENZIE (Minister of Labor and Mines),

REEVE W. A. PRITCHARD of Burnaby,

REV. CANON A. H. SOVEREIGN, Bishop-Elect of Yukon,

Entertainment Committee through Percy Bengough, Chairman,

Members of Musicians' Local Union 145; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we express our appreciation to the Clergy of Vancouver and vicinity, for the spirit of goodwill and cordiality which prompted them to extend the freedom of their pulpits to a large number of delegates and officers of the Federation, and that we also extend our thanks to the press for the courteous and generous manner in which they have given publicity to the proceedings of the Convention.

The resolution was adopted by unanimous vote.

Vice-president Woll: This completes the report of the committee on Resolutions, which is signed:

MATTHEW WOLL, Chairman,

GEORGE W. PERKINS,

A. A. MYRUP,

J. A. FRANKLIN,

JOHN L. LEWIS,

E. W. A. O'DELL,

THOMAS L. HUGHES,

JOHN POSSEHL,

P. J. MORRIN,

J. L. WINES,

CHARLES P. HOWARD,

CLARENCE E. SWICK,

M. J. COLLIERAN,

W. V. PRICE,

JOHN P. FREY,

HARVEY A. HARSHAM,

VICTOR A. OLANDER, Secretary,

Committee on Resolutions.

Vice-president Woll: I move that the report of the committee as acted upon by the convention be adopted as a whole.

The motion was seconded and carried, and the committee discharged with the thanks of the convention.

#### REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS

Vice-president Woll, for the committee, submitted the following report:

The following subjects were referred to your committee:

Pan-American Relations, Executive Council's Report, page 147.

Special Report, Executive Council's Report, page 147.

Requesting Intervention, Executive Council's Report, page 147.

Sixth Congress, Executive Council's Report, page 147.

Resolution No. 77, upon which we report as follows:

##### **Pan-American Relations**

Latin-American countries, largely producers of raw materials, have been acutely affected by the world-wide fall of prices and financial difficulties. Revolution and political unrest have added to economic depression. In some countries the labor movement and its leaders have been wiped out. The labor movement in many countries has been the instrumentality which has sought to secure for the common people those political rights, economic and civil liberties that are necessary for the advancement of the well-being of the workers and for raising the general standards of living.

In this situation we commend the responsible officials of the Pan-American Federation of Labor for their wisdom in proceeding slowly. Individual countries must first restore the normal agencies for progress before it is possible for a co-ordinated movement to function constructively and effectively.

We note, with approval, the circulation throughout Latin-American countries of a report explaining the principles and policies of trade unionism. We believe that such educational methods and exchange of counsel will be a constructive force in the development of national labor movements. The majority of Latin-American workers have yet to make the transition from agricultural work to industrial employment and from the spirit and practices of an effort to establish freedom to the utilization of the opportunities and responsibilities of practical freedom.

The Pan-American Federation is dedicated to the advancement of social justice and economic and political freedom of the workers of our two

continents. While the Pan-American Federation of Labor can give its moral support to workers struggling against oppression and injustice, it must act with appreciation and respect for the sovereignty and responsibility of each nation. Within the limits of the voluntary co-operation expressed by our movement, support and encouragement have been given to movements for political freedom.

We commend the officers of the American Federation of Labor for their procedure with reference to requests for civil intervention in political struggles in specific countries. While our sympathies are with every movement for human freedom, we recognize that civil intervention is inseparable for political intervention. We furthermore approve a policy of non-intervention in the internal affairs of Latin-American countries by the Government of the United States.

With regard to the holding of the Sixth Congress of the Pan-American Federation of Labor, we recommend that when the labor movements of the various countries indicate their preparedness to participate in this meeting, the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor arrange for a delegation to represent the American Federation of Labor.

We believe that the Pan-American Federation of Labor has a constructive service to render to the workers of the New World and recommend that this work be continued as extensively as possible.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

##### **Proposing Effort to Have United States Station Unofficial Observers in the International Labor Office at Geneva**

Resolution No. 77—By Delegate William P. Clarke of the American Flint Glass Workers' Union of North America.

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be authorized to enter into negotiations with President Hoover and such other representatives of our government as may be necessary to the end that the Government of the United States may have unofficial observers stationed in the International Labor Office at Geneva.

While your committee is fully aware of the increasing interdependence in the interests of all countries and that the United States is vitally concerned with trends and policies in all countries, we appreciate that many conditions and factors must be considered in connection with the appointment of an unofficial observer to the sessions of the International Labor Organization. We are

fully appreciative of the need of having the information gathered at that office representative of conditions in the United States and also of the fact that the United States has participated indirectly in various commissions and undertakings of the International Labor Office.

We therefore recommend that this proposal be referred to the Executive Council for thorough investigation of policies and decision and take such action as it deems advisable.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Vice-President Woll: This completes the report of the committee, which is respectfully submitted and signed:

GEORGE W. PERKINS, Chairman,  
 JAMES WILSON,  
 ANDREW FURUSETH,  
 MARTIN LAWLOR,  
 D. J. TOBIN,  
 GEORGE L. BERRY,  
 W. D. MAHON,  
 J. A. FRANKLIN,  
 J. J. HYNES,  
 WM. L. HUTCHESON,  
 JOHN COEFIELD,  
 EDWARD J. GAINOR,  
 ALBERT ADAMSKI,  
 MICHAEL GREENE,  
 BENJAMIN SCHLESINGER,  
 WILLIAM P. CLARKE,  
 WM. J. BOWEN,  
 JOHN J. MANNING,  
 THOMAS MALOY,  
 JOSEPH V. MORESCHI,  
 JOSEPH P. RYAN,  
 MATTHEW WOLL, Secretary,

Committee on International Labor Relations

On motion of Vice-president Woll, the report of the Committee on International Labor Relations was adopted as a whole.

President Green: We have now reached the conclusion of our work and the end of our convention. The committees and the convention have carefully considered and acted upon the report of the Executive Council and upon all resolutions introduced in this convention. May the Chair announce that all standing committees are now

discharged with the very sincere thanks of the convention.

I know that we must all be inspired by our attendance at this convention, by the work of the convention, and by the action of the convention. Certainly it has been a wonderful opportunity to develop a finer outlook and a broader vision and a clearer comprehension of the aims and purposes of the organized labor movement.

At the same time we are conscious of the fact that when we adjourn and return to our homes it is to face difficult problems and most serious situations. But the trade union movement is equal to the task. It is the hope, after all, of the masses of the people. They will be inspired by the reports that emanated from this convention. They look to us to speak for them and to protest for them, to translate and interpret their ideals, their hopes and their aspirations.

We shall not only speak for the organized workers whom we have the honor to directly represent, but we shall speak for those who are voiceless, the millions of workers unorganized. So let us go forth, mobilizing all our resources, mobilizing our courage, mobilizing our strength, increasing our faith in the aims and purposes of this great organized labor movement. Let us keep it a living, vital, aggressive force. Let it be first in our consideration, its interests, its work, its perpetuation transcending every other thought.

Men and women, we have a great work to perform. Let us go out and do it in the spirit of trade unionism. I express to the officers and delegates in attendance at this convention my deep appreciation of the very wonderful service you have rendered, the splendid work you have performed, and the loyalty and devotion which you have shown to our trade union movement. And now, in this dramatic fashion, I declare the Fifty-first Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor adjourned sine die.

The adjournment was adjourned sine die at 6:45 o'clock p.m., Thursday, October 15, 1931.

*Frank Morrison.*

Secretary,  
 American Federation of Labor.

*Ed. R. Bayley*

Assistant Secretary of Convention.

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