

Labor Omnia Vincit

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



HELD AT WASHINGTON, D. C.
OCTOBER 2 TO 13, INCLUSIVE

1933



JUDD & DETWEILER, INC.
WASHINGTON, D. C.

OFFICERS

OF THE

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

1934

	<i>President</i>	
WILLIAM GREEN	- - - - -	Washington, D. C.
	<i>First Vice-President</i>	
FRANK DUFFY	- - - - -	Indianapolis, Ind.
	<i>Second Vice-President</i>	
T. A. RICKERT	- - - - -	Chicago, Ill.
	<i>Third Vice-President</i>	
MATTHEW WOLL	- - - - -	Washington, D. C.
	<i>Fourth Vice-President</i>	
JAMES WILSON	- - - - -	Cincinnati, Ohio
	<i>Fifth Vice-President</i>	
JOHN COEFIELD	- - - - -	Washington, D. C.
	<i>Sixth Vice-President</i>	
ARTHUR O. WHARTON	- - - - -	Washington, D. C.
	<i>Seventh Vice-President</i>	
JOSEPH N. WEBER	- - - - -	New York, N. Y.
	<i>Eighth Vice-President</i>	
G. M. BUGNIAZET	- - - - -	Washington, D. C.
	<i>Treasurer</i>	
MARTIN F. RYAN	- - - - -	Kansas City, Mo.
	<i>Secretary</i>	
FRANK MORRISON	- - - - -	Washington, D. C.

DELEGATES

TO THE

Fifty-third Annual Convention

ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES
Actors and Artistes of America, Associated	1	33	Frank Gillmore, 45 West 47th Street, New York, New York.
Air Line Pilots' Association.....	1	6	Edward G. Hamilton, 1610 16th Street, N. W. Washington, D. C.
Asbestos Workers, International Association of Heat and Frost Insulators and.....	1	20	Joseph A. Mullaney, 15 Benham Street, Elmhurst, L. I., New York.
Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America.....	3	53	A. A. Myrup, 2719 Best Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.
		53	J. Goldstone, 154 Beach 114th Street, Rockaway Beach, Long Island, New York.
		53	Peter Beisel, 153 Selma Avenue, Webster Grove, Missouri.
		64	James C. Shanessy, 1141 North Delaware Street, Indianapolis, Indiana.
Barbers' International Union, Journeymen	5	64	William C. Birthright, 1141 North Delaware Street, Indianapolis, Indiana.
		64	Charles T. Crane, 403 Labor Temple, 4th and Jefferson Streets, Portland, Oregon.
		64	Patrick H. Reagan, 509 Seward Street, Rochester, New York.
		64	Anthony Merlino, 97 Dyer Street, New Haven, Connecticut.
Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and Helpers, International Brotherhood of.....	2	25	Roy Horn, 2922 Washington Blvd., Chicago, Illinois.
		25	Wm. F. Kramer, 2922 Washington Blvd., Chicago, Illinois.
Boilermakers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America, International Brotherhood of.....	3	48	J. A. Franklin, 522 Brotherhood Block, Kansas City, Kansas.
		47	J. N. Davis, 522 Brotherhood Block, Kansas City, Kansas.
		47	William E. Walter, 637 North 25th Street, East St. Louis, Illinois.
Bookbinders, International Brotherhood of.....	3	36	John B. Haggerty, A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.
		36	J. B. Prewitt, A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.
		35	Miss Mary Meehan, 473 State House, Boston, Massachusetts.
Boot and Shoe Workers' Union.....	1	134	John J. Mars, 246 Summer Street, Boston, Massachusetts.
Brewery, Flour, Cereal and Soft Drink Workers of America, International Union of the United.....	3	54	Joseph Obergfell, 2347 Vine Street, Cincinnati, Ohio.
		53	Albert J. Kugler, 56 Glenwood Avenue, Jersey City, New Jersey.
		53	John Sullivan, 2268 Hampden Place, New York, New York.

(111)

ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES
Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union of America.....	5	92	William J. Bowen, 815 15th Street, N. W. Washington, D. C.
		92	Harry C. Bates, 815 15th Street, N. W. Washington, D. C.
		92	Walter V. Trice, 255 Haven Avenue, New York, New York
		91	R. J. Gray, 815 15th Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.
		91	John J. Gleeson, 815 15th Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.
Brick and Clay Workers of America, The United.....	1	1	Frank Kasten, Suite 6, Mary Building, 95th Street and Ashland Avenue, Chicago, Ill.
Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, International Association.....	3	34	P. J. Morrin, 1615 Syndicate Trust Building, St. Louis, Missouri.
		33	W. J. McCain, 1615 Syndicate Trust Building, St. Louis, Missouri.
		33	Wm. P. McGinn, 160 Wadsworth Avenue, New York, New York.
		45	Jerry J. Horan, 130 North Wells Street, Chicago, Illinois.
Building Service Employes' International Union.....	4	45	Oscar F. Nelson, 130 N. Wells Street, Chicago, Illinois.
		45	Charles F. Wills, 130 North Wells Street, Chicago, Illinois.
		45	William McFetridge, 130 North Wells Street, Chicago, Illinois.
		148	Martin Francis Ryan, 107 West Linwood Blvd., Kansas City, Missouri.
Carmen of America, Brotherhood Railway	4	148	John O. Holmgren, 11740 Wentworth Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.
		148	L. A. Beaudry, 1828 Desery Street, Montreal, Quebec, Canada.
		148	F. H. Knight, 107 West Linwood Blvd., Kansas City, Missouri.
		412	William L. Hutcheson, 222 East Michigan Street, Indianapolis, Indiana.
Carpenters and Joiners of America, United Brotherhood of.....	5	412	Frank Duffy, 222 E. Michigan Street, Indianapolis, Indiana.
		412	George H. Lakey, 222 E. Michigan Street, Indianapolis, Indiana.
		411	Thomas F. Flynn, 12 East Erie Street, Chicago, Illinois.
		411	Charles Hanson, 130 Madison Avenue, New York, New York.
		49	I. M. Ornburn, 604 Carpenters' Building, Washington, D. C.
Cigarmakers' International Union of America.....	2	49	G. W. Perkins, 720 N. Ridgeland Avenue, Oak Park, Illinois.
		72	Leo E. George, A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.
		72	Gilbert E. Hyatt, "Labor," 10 B Street, S. W., Washington, D. C.
Clerks, National Federation of Post Office	5	72	Thomas E. McCann, P. O. Clerk, Scranton, Pa.
		72	J. Cline House, P. O. Clerk, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.
		72	Irving W. Johnson, P. O. Clerk, Washington, D. C.
		200	George M. Harrison, 701 Brotherhood Building, Cincinnati, Ohio.
Clerks, Brotherhood of Railway.....	3	200	W. P. Fitzgerald, 219 Pea Street, N. E., Washington, D. C.
		200	H. J. Chapman, Care Knickerbocker Hotel, New York, N. Y.
		50	C. C. Coulter, Lock Drawer 248, Lafayette, Indiana.
Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union.....	2	31	Samuel Hershkowitz, 133 Second Avenue, New York, New York.
		30	Abraham Mendelowitz, 31 West 37th Street, New York, New York.
Conductors, Order of Sleeping Car.....	1	20	E. D. Opie, 1427 Chapin Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.

DELEGATES TO THE FIFTY-THIRD ANNUAL CONVENTION

ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES
Coopers' International Union of North America.....	1	7	Joseph Kuns, 715 North Eutaw Street, Baltimore, Maryland.
Draftsmen's Unions, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and.....	1	7	C. L. Rosemund, A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C. D. W. Tracy, 1200 15th Street, N. W., Washington, D. C. G. M. Bugniaset, 1200 15th Street, N. W., Washington, D. C. E. D. Bierets, 3208 Hayward Avenue, Baltimore, Maryland. Chas. M. Paulsen, 4919 North Cuyler Avenue, Chicago, Illinois. D. F. Cleary, 1123 North Shore Avenue, Chicago, Illinois. A. W. McIntyre, Citizens Building, Cleveland, Ohio.
Electrical Workers of America, International Brotherhood of.....	6	157	Frank Feeney, Room 1505, Fox Building, 1612 Market Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
Elevator Constructors, International Union of.....	3	34	John C. MacDonald, 321 Tremont Street, Room 10 Corner Broadway, Boston, Massachusetts. Thomas O'Brien, 159 North State Street, Chicago, Illinois. John Posschl, 1003 K Street, N. W., Washington, D. C. F. A. Fitzgerald, 1003 K Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.
Engineers, International Union of Operating.....	5	70	William E. Maloney, Room 716, 322 South LaSalle Street, Chicago, Illinois. William P. Walsh, 9215 Clifton Blvd., Cleveland, Ohio. C. C. Callan, 4508 14th Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.
Engravers, Friendly Society of.....	1	1	John Allison, 555 Washington Avenue, Nutley, New Jersey.
Engravers' Union of North America, International Photo.....	3	29	Edward J. Vols, Room 1110, 292 Madison Avenue, New York, New York. Henry F. Schmal, Tower Grove Bank Building, 3138 South Grand Blvd., St. Louis, Missouri. Matthew Woll, 1440 Broadway, New York, New York.
Fire Fighters, International Association of	4	45	Fred W. Baer, 207 A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C. George J. Richardson, 207 A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C. John Heins, 1861 Fallowfield Avenue, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.
Firemen and Oilers, International Brotherhood of.....	3	31	Vincent J. Kane, 1534 East 14th Street, Brooklyn, New York. John F. McNamara, 321 Tremont Street, Boston, Massachusetts. John Conway, 56 Longfellow Avenue, Newark, N. J. Robert J. Tormey, 2922 West Washington Blvd., Chicago, Illinois.
Foundry Employes, International Brotherhood of.....	1	5	Thomas Cameron, 312 South Douglas Avenue, Belleville, Illinois.
Fur Workers' Union of United States and Canada, International.....	1	5	Pietro Lucchi, 9 Jackson Avenue, Long Island City, New York. T. A. Rickert, 621 Bible House, New York, New York. J. L. Wines, 621 Bible House, New York, New York.
Garment Workers of America, United.....	5	79	A. Gordon, 702 Bromo Seltzer Tower Building, Baltimore, Maryland. A. Adamski, 547 Doat Street, Buffalo, New York. D. A. Houck, Room 403, Western Mutual Life Building, 321 West 3rd Street, Los Angeles, California.

ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES
Garment Workers' Union, International Ladies.....	4	63	David Dubinsky, 3 West 16th Street, New York, New York.
		63	I. Wasilevsky, 626 East 95th Street, Brooklyn, New York.
		62	Benjamin Kaplan, 3885 Sedgwick Avenue, Bronx, New York.
Glass Bottle Blowers' Association of the United States and Canada.....	2	62	Abraham W. Katovsky, 1766 East 12th Street, Cleveland, Ohio.
		30	James Maloney, 1010 Colonial Building, 1237 Market Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
Glass Cutters' League of America, Window	1	6	William W. Campbell, 157 Sherwood Avenue, Rochester, New York.
Glass Workers' Union, American Flint.....	1	36	Harry D. Nixon, 305-06 Continental Building, 11 East Gay Street, Columbus, Ohio.
Glove Workers' Union of America, International.....	1	5	M. J. Gillyoo, Rooms 200-10, The American Bank Building, Corner Huron Street and Jefferson Avenue, Toledo, Ohio.
		21	Mies Elisabeth Christman, Machinists Building, Washington, D. C.
Government Employes, American Federation of.....	2	21	E. Claude Babcock, 701-704 Ouray Building, 8th & G Streets, N. W., Washington, D. C.
		29	David R. Glass, 701-704 Ouray Building, 8th & G Streets, N. W., Washington, D. C.
Hatters of North America, United.....	3	28	Michael F. Greene, 418 Bible House, New York, New York.
		28	Martin Lawlor, 418 Bible House, New York, New York.
Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union of America, International.....	5	105	Miss Nellie H. Gallagher, 54 Lake Avenue, Danbury, Connecticut.
		104	Joseph V. Moreschi, 25 School Street, Quincy, Massachusetts.
		104	Joseph Marshall, 200 Guerrero Street, San Francisco, California.
		104	Herbert Rivers, Labor Temple, Kansas City, Missouri.
Hotel and Restaurant Employes and Beverage Dispensers' International Alliance.....	3	104	J. B. Etchison, 230 E. Ninth Street, Indianapolis, Indiana.
		76	John Garvey, 550 Surf Street, Chicago, Illinois.
		76	Edward Flore, 426 Woodbridge Avenue, Buffalo, New York.
Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, Amalgamated Association of.....	1	46	Robert B. Hesketh, 528 Walnut Street, Cincinnati, Ohio.
		75	Emanuel Koveleski, 90 State Street, Rochester, New York.
Jewelry Workers' Union, International.....	1	10	M. F. Tighe, 500 South Main Street, W. E., Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.
Lathers, International Union of Wood, Wire and Metal.....	3	27	Henry J. Moynihan, South Braintree, Massachusetts.
		27	William J. McSorley, 2605 Detroit Avenue, Cleveland, Ohio.
Laundry Workers' International Union.....	2	27	Charles J. Case, Room 302, Este Building, 128 East 7th Street, Cincinnati, Ohio.
		25	George T. Moore, 5807 Cornelia Street, Chicago, Illinois.
Leather Workers, United, International Union.....	1	25	Roy Burt, Box 11, Lansingburg Station, Troy, New York.
		8	Miss Anna J. Brown, 2940 16th Street, San Francisco, California.
Letter Carriers, National Association of.....	5	110	W. E. Bryan, 539 Bryan Place, Middleport, Ohio.
		110	Edward J. Gainor, A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.
		110	M. T. Finnan, A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.
		110	William J. Gorman, 2429 Cornelia Street, Brooklyn, New York.
		110	Charles D. Duffy, 332 South LaSalle Street, Chicago, Illinois.
		110	Luther E. Swartz, 325 Stahlman Building, Nashville, Tennessee.

ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES
Letter Carriers, National Federation of Rural.....	1	12	Walt D. Weise, % Lester W. Royer, Clayton, Ohio.
Lithographers' International Protective and Beneficial Association of the United States and Canada.....	2	26	Robert Bruck, 205 West 14th Street, New York, New York.
		26	Andrew J. Kennedy, 205 West 14th Street, New York, New York.
		117	Joseph P. Ryan, Room 1210, County Trust Building, 245 West 14th Street, New York, New York.
Longshoremen's Association, International	2	117	Emil Camada, Room 1210, 265 W. 14th Street, New York, New York.
		109	A. O. Wharton, Room 703, Machinists' Building, Washington, D. C.
		109	Dan Haggerty, 936 Capp Street, San Francisco, California.
		108	N. P. Alifas, Room 303 Machinists' Building, Washington, D. C.
Machinists, International Association of....	6	108	R. A. Henning, Room 222, 2395 University Avenue, St. Paul, Minnesota.
		108	Charles Fry, Machinists' Building, 113 South Ashland Blvd., Chicago Illinois.
		108	W. F. Robinson, Labor Temple, 11th and Marshall Streets, Richmond, Virginia.
		70	F. H. Fljozdal, 61 Putnam Avenue, Detroit, Michigan.
Maintenance of Way Employes, Brotherhood of.....	4	70	E. E. Milliman, 61 Putnam Avenue, Detroit, Michigan.
		69	F. C. Gasman, Room 17, Tower Grove Park Building, St. Louis, Missouri.
		69	A. F. Stout, 311 Labor Building, 10 B Street, S. W., Washington, D. C.
Marble, Slate and Stone Polishers, Rubbers and Sawyers, Tile and Marble Setters' Helpers and Terrazzo Helpers, International Association of.....	2	31	William McCarthy, Room 306, Bowen Building, 815 15th Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.
		31	Joseph A. McInerney, Room 306, Bowen Building, 815 15th Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.
Masters, Mates and Pilots of America, National Organization.....	1	25	John J. Scully, Room 1102, 15 Moore Street, New York, New York.
Master Mechanics and Foremen of Navy Yards and Naval Stations, National Association of.....	1	1	Harry Turner Morningstar, 4000 Cathedral Avenue, Washington, D. C.
Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, Amalgamated.....	3	37	Patrick E. Gorman, 829 Eastern Parkway, Louisville, Kentucky.
		37	Dennis Lane, 160 North LaSalle Street, Chicago, Illinois.
		37	Michael J. Kelly, 128 North Wells Street, Chicago, Illinois.
		44	John J. Hynes, 642 Transportation Building, Washington, D. C.
Metal Workers' International Association, Sheet.....	4	44	James W. Close, 642 Transportation Building, Washington, D. C.
		44	James J. Ryan, 642 Transportation Building, Washington, D. C.
		43	James T. Moriarty, 642 Transportation Building, Washington, D. C.
Mine Mill and Smelter Workers, International Union of.....	1	13	Thomas H. Brown, 910 Waukesha Street, Butte, Montana.
		375	John L. Lewis, 1114 Merchants Bank Building, Indianapolis, Indiana.
		375	Philip Murray, 1116 Merchants Bank Building, Indianapolis, Indiana.
		375	Thomas Kennedy, 1107 Merchants Bank Building, Indianapolis, Indiana.
		375	William Green, A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.
Mine Workers of America, United.....	8	375	John Boylan, 515 Miller Building, Scranton, Pennsylvania.
		375	M. Hartneady, 305 American Bank Building, Hazleton, Pennsylvania.
		375	Mart F. Brennan, 598 Dime Trust and Safe Deposit Company Building, Shamokin, Pennsylvania.
		375	P. T. Fagan, 408 Columbia Bank Building, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.

ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES
Molders' Union of North America, International.....	2	30	Lawrence O'Keefe, Edwards Building, 528-530 Walnut Street, Cincinnati, Ohio.
		30	Charles W. Wilkerson, Ebbitt Hotel, Washington, D. C.
		167	Jos. N. Weber, 1440 Broadway, New York, New York.
		167	Chas. L. Bagley, 403 Civic Center Building, Los Angeles, California.
Musicians, American Federation of.....	6	167	Edward Canavan, care, Local 802, A. F. of M., 210 East 86th Street, New York, New York.
		167	Chauncey A. Weaver, City Hall, Des Moines, Iowa.
		166	Adolph Hirschberg, 1517 North 33rd Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.
		166	John W. Parks, care, Local 147, A. F. of M., Dallas, Texas.
Oil, Field, Gas Well and Refinery Workers of America.....	1	3	Harvey C. Fremming, 1131 Locust Street, Long Beach, California.
Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America, Brotherhood of.....	5	119	L. P. Lindelof, Painters and Decorators' Building, Lafayette, Indiana.
		119	Clarence E. Swick, Painters and Decorators' Building, Lafayette, Indiana.
		119	Christian M. Madsen, 3209 Evergreen Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.
Paper Makers, International Brotherhood of.....	1	118	James F. Meehan, 54 Olive Avenue, Lawrence, Massachusetts.
		118	Harry Kaufman, 734 Canton Street, Elizabeth, New Jersey.
		23	Matthew J. Burns, 25 South Hawk Street, Albany, New York.
Pattern Makers' League of North America.....	1	70	James Wilson, 1007-1009 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 Third Avenue, New York, New York.
Piano and Organ Workers' Union of America, International.....	1	1	Frank Helle, 1112 Clarence Avenue, Oak Park, Illinois.
Plasterers' International Association of the United States and Canada, Operative.....	4	57	M. J. Colleran, 401 West 263rd Street, Riverdale, Bronx, New York.
		57	John E. Rooney, 5401 Greenwood Avenue, Cleveland, Ohio.
		56	T. A. Scully, 301-3 Castell Building, Middletown, Ohio.
		56	John H. Donlin, 5145 West 22nd Street, Cicero, Illinois.
		90	John Coefield, Machinists' Building, Washington, D. C.
Plumbers and Steam Fitters of the United States and Canada, United Association of.....	5	90	Thomas E. Burke, Machinists' Building, Washington, D. C.
		90	Chas. M. Rau, 408 South Leavitt Street, Chicago, Illinois.
		90	Chas. Anderson, 1901 Fifth Avenue, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.
		90	William Fallon, Orpheum Building, 583 Summit Avenue, Jersey City, New Jersey.
Polishers, Metal, International Union.....	1	14	W. W. Britton, 48-49 Blymyer Building, Cincinnati, Ohio.
Potters, National Brotherhood of Operative.....	2	23	James M. Duffy, Box 6, East Liverpool, Ohio.
Printers, Die Stampers and Engravers' Union of North America, International Plate.....	1	22	William Ashbaugh, 518 East Alley Street, East Liverpool, Ohio.
		10	James H. Windsor, 3501 13th Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.
Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union of North America, International.....	5	71	George L. Berry, Pressmen's Home, Tennessee.
		71	Edward F. McGrady, Commerce Building, Washington, D. C.
		71	Raymond J. Roche, 1017 9th Street, N. E., Washington, D. C.
		70	R. A. Dickson, 720 5th Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.
		70	J. Paul Smith, 1207 11th Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.

ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES
Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers of the United States and Canada, International Brotherhood of.....	2	25	John P. Burke, Fort Edward, New York.
		25	H. W. Sullivan, 88 Brandon Road, Worcester, Massachusetts.
	1	21	Fred W. Suito, Scampini Building, Barre, Vermont.
Railway Employes of America, Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric.....	5	143	W. D. Mahon, 266 East Vernor Highway, Detroit, Michigan.
		143	W. D. Robbins, 56-60 Bond Street, Toronto, Ontario, Canada.
		142	John C. Carey, 14 Floyd Street, Everett, Massachusetts.
		142	Fred Schultz, 1720 Strathmore Avenue, East Cleveland, Ohio.
Railway Mail Association.....	2	100	John A. McConnell, 1130 Industrial Trust Building, Providence, Rhode Island.
		100	W. M. Collins, 507 A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.
Roofers, Damp and Waterproof Workers' Association, United State, Tile and Composition.....	2	20	Henry W. Strickland, 507 A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.
		20	George W. Jones, 225 North Oak Park Avenue, Oak Park, Illinois.
Seamen's Union of America, International	2	20	J. M. Gavlak, 3901 Coleridge Road, Cleveland Heights, Ohio.
		30	Andrew Furuseth, 59 Clay Street, San Francisco, California.
Sheep Shearers' Union of North America.....	1	6	Victor A. Olander, 666 Lake Shore Drive, Chicago, Illinois.
		60	A. A. Evans, Box 1929, Butte, Montana.
Stage Employes and Moving Picture Machine Operators of the United States and Canada, International Alliance of Theatrical.....	4	60	William C. Elliott, Suite 2008, 1450 Broadway, New York, New York.
		60	Fred J. Dempsey, Suite 2008, 1450 Broadway, New York, New York.
		60	James F. Burke, 116 Broadway, Boston, Massachusetts.
Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Union of North America, International.....	2	60	William H. Clendenning, 3625 Winchester Avenue, Atlantic City, New Jersey.
		41	Chas. Sinnigen, 2645 East 28th Street, Kansas City, Missouri.
Stonemasons' Association of North America, Journeymen.....	2	41	Chas. A. Sumner, 2645 East 28th Street, Kansas City, Missouri.
		28	M. W. Mitchell, 8 East Market Street, Indianapolis, Indiana.
Stove Mounters' International Union.....	1	28	P. J. Cullen, Room 412, 180 West Adams Street, Chicago, Illinois.
		6	Edw. W. Kaiser, 1513 Hogan Street, St. Louis, Missouri.
Switchmen's Union of North America.....	2	32	James B. Connors, 3 Linwood Avenue, Buffalo, New York.
		31	T. C. Cashen, 3 Linwood Avenue, Buffalo, New York.
Tailors' Union of America, Journeymen.....	1	17	Gust Soderberg, 6753 Stony Island Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.
Teachers, American Federation of.....	2	35	Mrs. Florence Curtis Hanson, Room 526, 505 South Wabash Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.
		35	Miss Selma M. Borchardt, 1741 Park Road, N. W., Washington, D. C.
		119	Daniel J. Tobin, 222 East Michigan Street, Indianapolis, Indiana.
		119	Thomas L. Hughes, 222 East Michigan Street, Indianapolis, Indiana.
Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America, International Brotherhood of.....	6	119	John M. Gillespie, 222 East Michigan Street, Indianapolis, Indiana.
		119	L. G. Goudie, 220 South Ashland Blvd., Chicago, Illinois.
		119	John McLaughlin, 536 Bryant Street, San Francisco, California.
		118	J. J. McKenna, 265 West 14th Street, Room 1212, New York, New York.
Telegraphers, Order of Railroad.....	2	175	E. J. Manion, 3673 West Pine Blvd., St. Louis, Missouri.
		175	G. E. Leighty, Rhame, North Dakota.
Telegraphers' Union of North America, The Commercial.....	1	22	Frank B. Powers, 113 South Ashland Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois.

DELEGATES TO THE FIFTY-THIRD ANNUAL CONVENTION

ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES
Textile Workers of America, United.....	3	50 50 50	Thomas F. McMahon, Room 605, Bible House, Astor Place, New York, New York. John P. O'Connell, 120 Bayview Avenue, Salem, Massachusetts. Emil Rieve, 2721 North 5th Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.
Tobacco Workers' International Union.....	1	26 123 123	E. Lewis Evans, Rooms 50-53 Our Home Life Insurance Building, Louisville, Kentucky. Charles P. Howard, 2820 North Meridian Street, Indianapolis, Indiana. Frank Morrison, A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.
Typographical Union, International.....	6	123 123 123 123	William R. Trotter, Box 428, Indianapolis, Indiana. John Simons, 423 West 120th Street, New York, New York. Frank X. Martel, Labor Temple, Detroit, Michigan. Roy C. Cline, 3016 Pike Avenue, Birmingham, Alabama.
Upholsterers' International Union of North America.....	2	33 32	James H. Hatch, 230 East 38th Street, New York, New York. Edwin E. Graves, 142 Berkeley Street, Room 201, Boston, Massachusetts.
Wall Paper Crafts of North America, United.....	1	5	Alfred H. Billet, 108 South Richland Avenue, York, Pennsylvania.
Building Trades Department.....	1	1	M. J. McDonough, 505 A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.
Metal Trades Department.....	1	1	John P. Frey, Rooms 400-403 A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.
Railroad Employes Department.....	1	1	Bert M. Jewell, Room 402, 844 Rush Street, Chicago, Illinois.
Union Label Trades Department.....	1	1	John J. Manning, 202 A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.
Alabama State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Walter F. Schaffer, care, 1823½ 5th Avenue, North Birmingham, Alabama.
Arizona State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Albert Bunkle, care, Fox Theatre, Tucson, Arizona.
Arkansas State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Vic Wood, P. O. Box 180, Fort Smith, Arkansas.
California State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Paul Scharrenberg, 525 Market Street, San Francisco, California.
Colorado State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	C. B. Noxon, 323 American National Bank Building, Denver, Colorado.
Connecticut State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	John J. Egan, 59 Cannon Street, Bridgeport, Connecticut.
Georgia State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	John F. Scott, 673 Pryor Street, South West, Atlanta, Georgia.
Idaho State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	August Rosqvist, Labor Temple, 124 North Main Street, Pocatello, Idaho.
Illinois State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Reuben G. Soderstrom, United 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	J. C. Lewis, 428 Iowa Building, Des Moines, Iowa.
Kansas State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Earl Bond, 541 Minnesota Avenue, Kansas City, Kansas.
Kentucky State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Wm. E. Hulsbeck, 1721 Race Street, Cincinnati, Ohio.
Louisiana State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Lloyd Napier, 1541 Irvin Place, Shreveport, Louisiana.
Maryland-District of Columbia State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Joseph P. McCurdy, Emerson Tower, Baltimore, Maryland.
Massachusetts State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Robert J. Watt, 11 Beacon Street, Room 404, Boston, Massachusetts.
Michigan State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	D. F. Erskine, 1002 Hofmann Building, Detroit, Michigan.

ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES
Minnesota State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	E. G. Hall, 4124 Bryant Avenue, South, Minneapolis, Minnesota.
Mississippi State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	M. L. Ritchie, care, 637 26th Avenue, Meridian, Mississippi.
Missouri State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	C. W. Verink, care, W. O. Murphy, Labor Temple, Kansas City, Missouri.
Montana State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	James D. Graham, Room 17 Montana Building, Helena, Montana.
Nebraska State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Frank P. Lewis, care, W. G. Houghton, 3492 Meredith Avenue, Omaha, Nebraska.
New Jersey State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	James A. Walsh, 629 Maple Avenue, Teaneck, New Jersey.
New York State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	John M. O'Hanlon, 25 South Hawk Street, Albany, New York.
North Carolina State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	E. L. Sandefur, P. O. Box 20, Winston-Salem, North Carolina.
Ohio State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Thomas J. Donnelly, 321 Atlas Building, Columbus, Ohio.
Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	C. C. Boner, 633 Broad Street, Tamaqua, Pennsylvania.
Porto Rico Free Federation of Workingmen.....	1	1	Santiago Iglesias, 3175 Porter Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.
Rhode Island State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Herbert F. Slater, 124 Shore Drive, West Barrington, Rhode Island.
Texas State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Alfred L. Bailey, care, George H. Slater, Room 516, Littlefield Building, Austin, Texas.
Utah State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Geo. A. Yager, Labor Temple, Salt Lake City, Utah.
Virginia State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	J. Fred Cherry, 709 West 28th Street, Norfolk, Virginia.
West Virginia State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Dallas Cornell, P. O. Box 591, Clarksburg, West Virginia.
Wyoming State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Harry W. Fox, 909 Richardson Court, Cheyenne, Wyoming.
Akron, Ohio, Summit County Central Labor Union.....	1	1	John A. Shuff, 1688 Oakland Avenue, Akron, Ohio.
Alexandria, La., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	E. E. Flowern, 403 4th Street, Alexandria, Louisiana.
Alton, Ill., Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	A. Van Collie, care, Emil F. Peterson, 1824 Woodland Street, Alton, Illinois.
Altoona, Pa., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	George B. Rich, care, William Franklin, Room 28, Goldschmid Building, Eleventh Avenue and Twelfth Street, Altoona, Pennsylvania.
Anaheim, Calif., Orange County Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Geo. B. Vest, 1002 West Second Street, Santa Ana, California.
Anderson, Ind., Madison County Central Labor Council.....	1	1	Charles H. Hartley, care, Ray H. Shepherd, 1629 West Ninth Street, Anderson, Indiana.
Ann Arbor, Mich., Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	Redmond M. Burr, 320 South 5th Avenue, Ann Arbor, Michigan.
Appleton, Wis., Trades Council.....	1	1	Lawrence E. Wirtz, 1716 North Harriman Street, Appleton, Wisconsin.
Asheville, N. C. Central Labor Union.....	1	1	W. B. Plemmons, 100 Woodrow Avenue, Asheville, North Carolina.
Atlanta, Ga., Federation of Trades.....	1	1	W. D. Langley, 164 Rogers Street, N. E., Atlanta, Georgia.
Aurora, Ill., Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	Frank Allen, care, W. E. Stare, Labor Temple, 213-215 Main Street, Aurora, Illinois.
Austin, Tex., Trades Council.....	1	1	E. P. Ischey, 3401 Blanco Street, Austin, Texas.
Balboa, C. Z., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	A. M. Horle, care, J. H. Sealey, Box 318, Balboa Heights, Canal Zone, Panama.
Baltimore, Md., Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Charles Reviol, 2733 Guilford Avenue, Baltimore, Maryland.
Bartlesville, Okla., Central Trades Council.....	1	1	Floyd Blackman, 719 Armstrong Avenue, Bartlesville, Oklahoma.
Batavia, N. Y., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Clarence T. Johnson, 23 West Main Street, Batavia, New York.
Battle Creek, Mich., Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Harry M. Slout, 90 Highway, Battle Creek, Michigan.

ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES
Belmont County, O., Central Trades and Labor Assembly-----	1	1	George J. Barrett, 1017 Pearl Street, Martins Ferry, Ohio.
Benton Harbor and St. Joseph, Mich., Central Labor Union-----	1	1	Granville R. Cutler, care, Erick Kesterke, 718 Pine Street, St. Joseph, Michigan.
Billings, Mont., Yellowstone County Trades and Labor Assembly-----	1	1	Louis G. De Nayer, 326 Burlington Avenue, Billings, Montana.
Binghamton, N. Y. Central Labor Union--	1	1	Jeremiah Ryan, 78 State Street, Binghamton, New York.
Bloomington, Ill., Trades and Labor Assembly-----	1	1	Fred E. Shoup, 611 Walnut Street, Bloomington, Illinois.
Blue Island, Ill., Central Labor Union-----	1	1	Steve C. Sumner, 220 South Ashland Blvd., Chicago, Illinois.
Boston, Mass., Central Labor Union-----	1	1	William F. Dwyer, 987 Washington Street, Boston, Massachusetts.
Bridgeport, Conn., Central Labor Union--	1	1	James V. Fensore, 117 Vanguard Avenue, Bridgeport, Connecticut.
Brockton, Mass., Central Labor Union----	1	1	Frank Motta, Rialto Theatre, Brockton, Massachusetts.
Burlington, Iowa, Trades and Labor Assembly-----	1	1	Roy F. Standard, 1708 Division Street, Burlington, Iowa.
Butler, Pa., United Labor Council-----	1	1	Paul E. Smith, 216 Patterson Avenue, Butler, Pennsylvania.
Butte, Mont., Silver Bow Trades and Labor Council-----	1	1	Chas. Malloy, 132 W. Broadway Street, Butte, Montana.
Cambridge, Mass., Central Labor Union--	1	1	Herman Koster, 185 Hancock Street, Cambridge, Massachusetts.
Camden, N. J., Central Labor Union-----	1	1	John McCarroll, 606 North Maple Avenue, Merchantville, New Jersey.
Canton, O., Central Labor Union-----	1	1	Oliver M. Stublely, 709 Patterson Avenue, S. W., Canton, Ohio.
Cedar Rapids, Iowa, Federation of Labor--	1	1	Frank C. Jiruka, 1968 First Avenue, N. E., Cedar Rapids, Iowa.
Charleston, S. C., Central Labor Union----	1	1	L. W. Dadin, care, A. P. Owens, 65 Carolina Street, Charleston, South Carolina.
Charlotte, N. C., Central Labor Union----	1	1	W. H. Fowler, Route 7, Charlotte, North Carolina.
Chattanooga, Tenn., Trades and Labor Council-----	1	1	Arthur C. Kamin, Battery Heights, Chattanooga, Tennessee.
Chicago, Ill., Federation of Labor-----	1	1	Fred C. Dahms, 2435 Winona Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.
Chicago Heights, Ill., Trades and Labor Assembly-----	1	1	Fred Groth, 3029 East 92nd Street, Chicago, Illinois.
Cincinnati, O., Central Labor Council-----	1	1	Adolf Kummer, 1311 Walnut Street, Cincinnati, Ohio.
Clarksburg, W. Va., Central Labor Union--	1	1	Sam Corbin, 411 High Street, Clarksburg, West Virginia.
Cleveland, O., Federation of Labor-----	1	1	Henry W. Raisse, 1355 Central Avenue, Cleveland, Ohio.
Clinton, Ind., Vermillion County Central Labor Union-----	1	1	Tom White, 3000 North 11th Street, Terre Haute, Indiana.
Clinton, Iowa, Tri-City Labor Congress of Clinton and Lyons, Iowa, and Fulton, Illinois-----	1	1	Paul Nadelhofer, 301 North Second Street, Clinton, Iowa.
Colorado Springs, Colo., Federated Trades Council-----	1	1	Louis Ziman, care, G. L. Bassett, 409 East Willamette Street, Colorado Springs, Colorado.
Columbia, N. C., Federation of Trades----	1	1	Carroll L. Addy, New Brookland Street, Columbia, South Carolina.
Columbus, Ga., Central Labor Union-----	1	1	W. C. Jeffries, 428 Broadway, Columbus, Georgia.
Columbus, O., Federation of Labor-----	1	1	H. T. Hamilton, 8 East Chestnut Street, Columbus, Ohio.

ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES
Council Bluffs, Ia., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	A. H. La Heist, 2822 South Seventh Street, Council Bluffs, Iowa.
Cumberland, Md., Allegany County Trades Council.....	1	1	William A. Miller, 63 Baltimore Street, Baltimore, Maryland.
Dallas, Tex., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	C. E. Rupard, care, August W. Schulz, Labor Temple, Dallas, Texas.
Danbury, Conn., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Irving Lowm, 44 Highland Avenue, Bethel, Connecticut.
Danville, Ill., Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	Robert E. Burnett, 1510 North Gilbert Street, Danville, Illinois.
Danville, Va., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	T. A. Ferrell, care, J. E. Mustain, 822 Noble Avenue, Danville, Virginia.
Dayton, O., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Edgar W. Kern, 157 Bierce Avenue, Dayton, Ohio.
Daytona Beach, Fla., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	M. E. Forsyth, 708 South Beach Street, Daytona Beach, Florida.
Decatur, Ill., Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	G. L. Jackson, 1040 South 20th Street, Decatur, Illinois.
Des Moines, Ia., Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	D. O. Seaman, care, Gus Erickson, Labor Temple, 216 Locust Street, Des Moines, Iowa.
Detroit, Mich., Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Roger M. Kennedy, care, Mr. Frank X. Martel, Labor Temple, 274 East Vernor Highway, Detroit, Michigan.
Dubuque, Ia., Trades and Labor Congress.....	1	1	Thomas S. Smith, 2735 Windsor Avenue, Dubuque, Iowa.
Duluth, Minn., Federated Trades Assembly.....	1	1	W. C. Kitzman, Cascade Hotel, Duluth, Minnesota.
Easton, Pa., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Stewart A. Seifert, 1322 Washington Street, Easton, Pennsylvania.
East St. Louis, Ill., Central Trades and Labor Union.....	1	1	A. L. Wegener, care, F. C. Rauch, 1378 North Fortieth Street, East St. Louis, Illinois.
Eau Claire, Wis., Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	Frank Schlageter, 641 Grand Avenue, W. Eau Claire, Wisconsin.
Elmira, N. Y., Central Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	John E. Murphy, Mountainview Drive, Pine City, New York.
Elizabeth, N. J., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Golie B. Hagin, 1618 Orchard Terrace, Linden, New Jersey.
Erie, Pa., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Jas. B. Murray, 931 West 31st Street, Erie, Pennsylvania.
Evansville, Ind., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	L. E. DeWitt, 713 Monroe Avenue, Evansville, Indiana.
Fairmont, W. Va., Monongahela Valley Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	W. C. Davis, care, 311 Boydston Street, Fairmont, West Virginia.
Fall River, Mass., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	George H. Cottell, 365 Warren Street, Fall River, Mass.
Flint, Mich., Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Earl Langdon, 414 East Flint Park Boulevard, Flint, Michigan.
Fond du Lac, Wis., Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	William Rieder, 57 North Marr Street, Fond du Lac, Wisconsin.
Fort Smith, Ark., Central Trades Council.....	1	1	Chas. L. Knight, care, M. B. Purdon, 1322½ North E Street, Fort Smith, Arkansas.
Fort Wayne, Ind., Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Charles O. Smith, 1518 East Pontiac Street, Fort Wayne, Ind.
Fort Worth, Texas, Trades Assembly.....	1	1	A. L. Bailey, 928 Missouri Avenue, Fort Worth, Texas.
Galveston, Texas, Labor Council.....	1	1	M. H. Snow, 4904 Avenue R, Galveston, Texas.
Glens Falls, N. Y., Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	Ralph Guy, St. James Apartments, Warren Street, Glens Falls, New York.
Grand Forks, N. D., Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	Carl Jacobson, care, Jack Hammelsmith, Box 501, Grand Forks, North Dakota.

ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES
Grand Island, Nebraska, Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Roy M. Brewer, Box 255, Grand Island, Nebraska.
Grand Rapids, Mich., Federation of Labor.....	1	1	L. W. Leland, 151 $\frac{1}{2}$ Division Avenue, South, Grand Rapids, Michigan.
Great Falls, Mont., Cascade County Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	Bruce I. Steinmets, care, Chas. O. Heximer, 3115 Second Avenue, South, Great Falls, Montana.
Green Bay, Wis., Federated Trades Council.....	1	1	Richard O. Meister, 1273 Cherry Street, Green Bay, Wisconsin.
Greensboro, N. C., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	C. S. Trogdon, P. O. Box 666, Greensboro, North Carolina.
Hamilton, Ont., Canada, District and Labor Council.....	1	1	E. W. A. O'Dell, 20 Rutherford Avenue, Hamilton, Ontario, Canada.
Hamilton, Ohio, Cooperative Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	Milton Doll, Labor Temple, Hamilton, Ohio.
Hammond, Ind., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Edward Almy, 7109 Baring Avenue, Hammond, Indiana.
Hannibal, Mo., Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	L. F. Becker, 207 Olive Street, Hannibal, Missouri.
Harrisburg, Pa., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Lawrence J. Katz, Box 929, Harrisburg, Pa.
Hartford, Conn., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Harry L. Stagg, 856 Blue Hills Avenue, Hartford, Connecticut.
Hattiesburg, Miss., Central Trades and Labor Union.....	1	1	Henry W. DeWitt, P. O. Box 706, Hattiesburg, Mississippi.
Haverhill, Mass., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Edward M. Foley, Main Street, Paramount Theatre, Haverhill, Massachusetts.
Hazleton, Pa., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	William Schumach, 425 Berner Avenue, Hazleton, Pennsylvania.
Houston, Texas, Labor Council.....	1	1	Edward J. Miller, Majestic Theatre, Houston, Texas.
Huntington, W. Va., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	John A. Pfau, 1811 Kite Avenue, Huntington, West Virginia.
Hutchinson, Kans., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	William Dixon, 1008 West 4th Street, Hutchinson, Kansas.
Ilion, N. Y., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Robert Fechner, care, Harold Bear, R. F. D. 1, Herkimer, New York.
Indianapolis, Ind., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Adolph Frits, 208 Holiday Building, Indianapolis, Indiana.
Jackson, Mich., Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Earl Ramsey, 4503 Harding Road, Jackson, Michigan.
Jackson, Miss., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	J. A. Kuriger, 429 East Elias Brown, Jackson, Mississippi.
Jackson, Tenn., Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	Guy Merritt, P. O. Box 520, Jackson, Tennessee.
Jacksonville, Fla., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	John N. Spearing, 3119 Hubbard Street, Jacksonville, Florida.
Janesville, Wis., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Lawrence Sweeney, 542 South Jackson Street, Janesville, Wisconsin.
Jersey City, N. J., Central Labor Union of Hudson County.....	1	1	Anthony Boscarelli, 73 Newark Avenue, Jersey City, New Jersey.
Joliet, Ill., Central Trades and Labor Council of Will County.....	1	1	Anthony Augustino, 110 Manor Court, Joliet, Illinois.
Joplin, Mo., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	John W. H. Rogers, 110 $\frac{1}{2}$ West Sixth Street, Joplin, Missouri.
Kalamazoo, Mich., Federation of Labor.....	1	1	George Heath, 712 Clinton Street, Kalamazoo, Michigan.
Kankakee, Ill., Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Ferry Powers, 1457 East Oak Street, Kankakee, Illinois.
Kansas City, Kan., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	C. C. Brets, 2244 Orville Avenue, Kansas City, Kansas.
Kansas City, Mo., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Felix D. Snow, care, Max Dyer, Labor Temple, 14th and Woodland Streets, Kansas City, Missouri.
Kenosha, Wis., Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	John Sublisky, care, Gilbert Fechner, 3816 19th Avenue, Kenosha, Wisconsin.

ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES
Kensington, Ill., Calumet Joint Labor Council.....	1	1	Jeff. O. Johnson, 11014 Lowe Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.
Knoxville, Tenn., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Frank J. Torlay, 405 East Fourth Avenue, Knoxville, Tennessee.
Kokomo, Ind., Trades and Labor Council..	1	1	Fred C. Blacker, 1523 S. Armstrong Street, Kokomo, Indiana.
Lancaster, Pa., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Cecil Patterson, 635 Juliet Avenue, Lancaster, Pennsylvania.
Lansing, Mich., Federation of Labor.....	1	1	John P. Fitzgerald, care, Herman E. Chamberlain, 1224 North Walnut Street, Lansing, Michigan.
LaPorte, Ind., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Floyd Barnett, Lincoln Hotel, LaPorte, Indiana.
Lawton, Okla., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Wm. G. Zee, P. O. Box 387, Lawton, Oklahoma.
Lexington, Ky., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	R. L. Hulet, 616 Elmtree Lane, Lexington, Kentucky.
Lincoln, Neb., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	James P. McCauley, 2248 Holdrege Street, Lincoln, Nebraska.
Little Rock, Ark., Central Labor Union...	1	1	H. M. Thackrey, Bathurst Building, Little Rock, Arkansas.
Logansport, Ind., Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	Richard D. Redinger, Logansport, Indiana.
Los Angeles, Calif., Central Labor Council..	1	1	Lew G. C. Blix, 6472 Santa Monica Boulevard, Los Angeles, California.
Louisville, Ky., United Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	John Schneider, 639 East Chestnut Street, Louisville, Kentucky.
Lowell, Mass., Trades and Labor Council..	1	1	Sidney LeBow, care of Strand Theatre, Lowell, Massachusetts.
Macon, Ga., Federation of Trades.....	1	1	J. O. Morgan, care, Wm. A. McKenna, Box 436, Macon, Georgia.
Madison, Wis., Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Elmer Wigdahl, 2535 Kendall Avenue, Madison, Wisconsin.
Mansfield, O., Trades Council.....	1	1	J. R. Lutz, 14 Parkway Drive, Mansfield, Ohio.
Marietta, O., Trades and Labor Assembly..	1	1	Robert A. Skipton, 205½ Market Street, Marietta, Ohio.
Marion, Ill., Central Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	Robert Norman, Marion, Illinois.
Marion, O., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Ralph K. Ruppert, 181 Franconia Avenue, Marion, O.
Marshall, Texas, Central Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	James A. Cornwall, 112 North College Street, Marshall, Texas.
Memphis, Tenn., Trades and Labor Council	1	1	Sam D. Campbell, 504 Alexander Street, Memphis, Tennessee.
Meriden, Conn., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Charles H. Ledwith, care, R. J. Kirchner, 300 Hanover Street, Meriden, Connecticut.
Miami, Fla., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	B. P. Walker, 284 Southwest First Street, Miami, Florida.
Michigan City, Ind., Central Labor Union..	1	1	S. C. Blande, 209 Dupage Street, Michigan City, Indiana.
Middletown, O., Trades and Labor Council	1	1	Ramond Fabing, 1202 First Avenue, Middletown, Ohio.
Milwaukee, Wis., Federated Trades Council	1	1	James P. Sheehan, 536 West Juneau Avenue, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.
Minneapolis, Minn., Central Labor Union..	1	1	Roy Wier, 614 First Avenue, Minneapolis, Minnesota.
Minot, N. D., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	John S. Ceglowski, 713 Third Street, Northwest, Minot, North Dakota.
Missoula, Mont., Central Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	Samuel H. Rivin, 425 South Second Street, W. Missoula, Montana.
Mobile, Ala., Central Trades Council.....	1	1	Harry Q. Browne, care, J. C. Furr, 2102 Government Street, Mobile, Alabama.
Monroe, La., Central Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	Clyde C. Blanchard, Monroe, Louisiana.
Muskogee, Okla., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	William L. Milne, 326 Dayton Street, Muskogee, Oklahoma.

ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES
Muskegon, Mich., Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	Carlyle Williams, Muskegon, Michigan.
Nashville, Tenn., Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	Daniel Hornby, Nashville, Tennessee.
Newark, N. J., Essex Trades Council of Essex Co.....	1	1	Thomas V. Green, 703 Sanford Avenue, Newark, New Jersey.
New Bedford, Mass., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Walter England, 533 Summer Street, New Bedford, Mass.
New Britain, Conn., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	George Doerner, 82 Rocky Hill Avenue, New Britain, Connecticut.
New Brunswick, N. J., Trades and Labor Federation.....	1	1	Frank Blue, 307 Handy Street, New Brunswick, New Jersey.
New Castle, Pa., Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	Norman Freeborn, care, Trades Assembly Hall, North Mill Street, New Castle, Pennsylvania.
New Haven, Conn., Trades Council.....	1	1	Jerome Davis, 489 Ocean Avenue, West Haven, Connecticut.
New Kensington, Pa., Allegany Valley Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Frank Hughes, New Kensington, Pennsylvania.
New London, Conn., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	W. W. Lucas, 73 State Street, New London, Connecticut.
New Orleans, La., Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	James Dempsey, care, J. G. Muhs, 415 South Dupre Street, New Orleans, Louisiana.
Newport, Ky., Trades and Labor Assembly of Kenton and Campbell Counties.....	1	1	G. V. Weisenecker, 39 West McMichen Street, Cincinnati, Ohio.
Newport, R. I., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Edward Patrick, 48 Church Street, Newport, Rhode Island.
Newport News, Va., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	E. J. Shave, 219 Mallory Avenue, Hampton, Virginia.
New York, N. Y., Central Trades and Labor Council of Greater New York and vicinity.....	1	1	James C. Quinn, 265 West 14th Street, New York, New York.
Norfolk, Va., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	W. A. Purdia, 409 Raleigh Avenue, Norfolk, Virginia.
Norwalk, Conn., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Walter Blauvelt, Pond Street, Rowayton, Connecticut.
Norwich, Conn., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	James C. Sullivan, 84 School Street, Norwich, Connecticut.
Oklahoma City, Okla., Central Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	Joseph C. Campbell, 516 Baltimore Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.
Omaha, Neb., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	John J. McMahan, 3024 Evans Street, Omaha Nebraska.
Orlando, Fla., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Arthur Pope, Orlando, Florida.
Oshkosh, Wis., Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	James Hart, 107 Harney Street, Oshkosh, Wisconsin.
Ottawa, Ont., Can., Allied Trades and Labor Association.....	1	1	P. M. Draper, 172 McLaren Street, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.
Paducah, Ky., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Edwin S. Clay, 122 Broadway, Paducah, Kentucky.
Pawtucket, R. I., Central Trades and Labor Union.....	1	1	Fred W. Newcomb, 20 Florence Street, Pawtucket, Rhode Island.
Peoria, Ill., Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	John H. Wald, 1402 Second Avenue, Peoria, Illinois.
Pensacola, Fla., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Philip Ickler, Lillian, Alabama.
Perth Amboy, N. J., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Hans A. Lund, 127 State Street, Perth Amboy, New Jersey.
Phoenix, Ariz., Central Labor Council.....	1	1	L. W. Phillips, 1620 East Culver Street, Phoenix, Arizona.
Piqua, O., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Joel Hixon, 447 River Street, Piqua, Ohio.
Pittsburg, Kansas, United Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	Mikel J. McMullen, 612½ North Broadway, Pittsburg, Kansas.

ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES
Pittsburgh, Pa., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Ralph C. Freeman, 7362 Formosa Way, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.
Plainfield, N. J., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	George Cushing, 1076 Julia Street, Elizabeth, New Jersey.
Pontiac, Mich., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Wm. Oleson, Pontiac, Michigan.
Ponca City, Okla., Central Labor Union...	1	1	A. H. Erwin, Ponca City, Oklahoma.
Port Huron, Mich., Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	Floyd S. Van Conant, 1429 White Street, Port Huron, Michigan.
Portland, Maine, Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Frank H. Jackman, Box 5, Dry Mills, Maine.
Portsmouth, Ohio, Central Labor Council...	1	1	Berry L. Bellamy, Portsmouth, Ohio.
Portsmouth, Va., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	M. J. Hanley, 216 North Elm Avenue, Portsmouth, Virginia.
Pottsville, Pa., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	George H. Fey, 1956 Howard Avenue, Pottsville, Pennsylvania.
Princeton, Ind., Gibson County Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Otis Potter, Princeton, Indiana.
Providence, R. I., Central Federated Union	1	1	Sidney P. Clark, 9 Dartmouth Street, Providence, Rhode Island.
Racine, Wis., Trades and Labor Council...	1	1	Stephan Thomas, 400 Seventh Street, Racine, Wisconsin.
Reading, Pa., Federated Trades Council...	1	1	A. P. Bower, 705 Walnut Street, Reading, Pennsylvania.
Richmond, Ind., Central Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	Clarence Hawkins, 725 North 10th Street, Richmond, Indiana.
Richmond, Va., Central Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	W. D. Anderson, 1305 Nottoway Avenue, Richmond, Virginia.
Roanoke, Va., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Stafford M. Price, 2412 Maryland Avenue, Villa Heights, Va.
Rochester, N. Y., Central Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	Michael J. Mungovan, 334 University Avenue, Rochester, New York.
Rockford, Ill., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	William Yalden, 418 Longwood Street, Rockford, Illinois.
Rock Island, Ill., Tri-City Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Oscar Moody, 425 19th Avenue, Moline, Illinois.
St. Cloud, Minn., Central Labor Union...	1	1	Wm. T. Madigan, 1443 Seventh Avenue, N., St. Cloud, Minnesota.
St. Joseph, Mich., Twin City Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Granville R. Cutler, Apt. A, 211 East Main Street, Motor Block, Benton Harbor, Michigan.
St. Joseph, Mo., Central Labor Council.....	1	1	Warren S. Welsh, 610 North 11th Street, St. Joseph, Missouri.
St. Louis, Mo., Central Trades and Labor Union.....	1	1	W. M. Brandt, 1411 North Grand Boulevard, St. Louis, Missouri.
St. Paul, Minn., Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	J. H. McHugh, 883 Fremont Street, St. Paul, Minnesota.
St. Petersburg, Fla., Central Labor Union...	1	1	H. L. McFarlin, 4110 12th Avenue, South, St. Petersburg, Florida.
Salem, Mass., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Leo F. Barber, Lynn, Massachusetts.
Salisbury, N. C., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	C. J. Ritchie, Box 132, Salisbury, North Carolina.
San Bernardino, Cal., Central Labor Council.....	1	1	Harry E. Reynolds, 2878 Mountain View Avenue, San Bernardino, California.
San Diego, Cal., Federated Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	E. H. Dowell, 621 Sixth Avenue, Labor Temple, San Diego, California.
Sandusky, O., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	George J. Ladd, 212 Reese Street, Sandusky, Ohio.
San Francisco, Cal., Labor Council.....	1	1	John A. O'Connell, 2940 Sixteenth Street, San Francisco, California.
San Juan, P. R., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Prudencio Rivera Martinez, care Department of Labor, San Juan, Porto Rico.

ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES
San Pedro, Cal., Central Labor Council of San Pedro and Wilmington.....	1	1	A. H. Peterson, care, A. M. Gruber, 351 9th Street, San Pedro, California.
Santa Barbara, Cal., Central Labor Council.....	1	1	George Dalton, Santa Barbara, California.
Sarasota, Fla., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Jas. A. Scobie, Box 1475, Sarasota, Florida.
Schenectady, N. Y., Trades Assembly.....	1	1	Harry A. Engle, 525 Liberty Street, Schenectady, New York.
Scranton, Pa., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Lawrence J. Campbell, 1209 Evelyn Street, Scranton, Pennsylvania.
Sharon, Pa., United Labor League.....	1	1	Howard L. Boyd, Cohasset Drive, R. R. 2, Sharon, Pennsylvania.
Sheboygan, Wis., Labor Council.....	1	1	Orrin Kuether, 920 North Eleventh Street, Sheboygan, Wisconsin.
Shreveport, La., Central Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	Tom W. Holmes, 4261 St. Vincent Avenue, Shreveport, Louisiana.
Sioux City, Iowa, Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	J. R. Marksbury, 1621 Hamilton Street, Sioux City, Iowa.
Sioux Falls, S. D., Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	C. W. Akin, 1012 West Twenty-Second Street, Sioux Falls, South Dakota.
South Bend, Ind., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Lee McGuire, care, Labor Hall, 103 West La Salle Avenue, South Bend, Indiana.
South Chicago, Ill., Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	Frank Doyle, 7325 Coles Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.
Springfield, Ill., Federation of Labor.....	1	1	R. E. Woodmansee, 223½ South Sixth Street, Springfield, Illinois.
Springfield, Mass., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	John F. Gatelee, Springfield, Massachusetts.
Springfield, Mo., Central Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	Jess Tuckness, 707 G Street, S. E., Springfield, Missouri.
Springfield, Ohio, Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	Peter Gaughan, Labor Temple, or 133 West North Street, Springfield, Ohio.
Stamford, Conn., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Nicolas Trumboli, 82 Maple Avenue, Stamford, Connecticut.
Stevens Point, Wis., Federated Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	Arthur Warning, Wausau, Wis.
Stockton, Cal., Central Labor Council of San Joaquin County.....	1	1	Alfred Meyer, 840 North Center Street, Stockton, California.
Superior, Wis., Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Ralph Pink, Superior, Wisconsin.
Syracuse, N. Y., Central Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	William Cushing, 129 West Adams Street, Syracuse, New York.
Tampa, Fla., Central Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	William E. Sullivan, P. O. Box 1904, Tampa, Florida.
Terre Haute, Ind., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Roy Musgrave, Terre Haute, Indiana.
Texarkana, Tex., Central Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	Burman Hooker, 514 Prince Street, Texarkana, Arkansas.
Topeka, Kansas, Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Fred W. Rausch, 912 East Steeet, Topeka, Kansas.
Toronto, Ont., Can., District Labor Council.....	1	1	William E. Covert, 257 Brock Avenue, Toronto, Ontario, Canada.
Trenton, N. J., Mercer County Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Louis P. Marcicante, Bearley Avenue and Lawrence Road, Trenton, New Jersey.
Troy, N. Y. Federation of Labor.....	1	1	James Lemke, Troy, New York.
Tucson, Ariz., Central Trades Council.....	1	1	Spiro E. Kontas, P. O. Box 149, Tucson, Arizona.
Tulsa, Okla., Federation of Labor.....	1	1	W. B. Petty, 411 Tuloma Building, Tulsa, Oklahoma.
Tyler, Tex., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	F. L. McKiel, 702 South Kennedy Street, Tyler, Texas.

ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES
Uniontown, Pa., Trades and Labor Council	1	1	W. H. Bierer, Uniontown, Pennsylvania.
Urbana and Champaign, Ill., Twin City Federation of Labor.....	1	1	J. E. Pruett, 720 Foley Street, Champaign, Illinois.
Utica, N. Y., Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	Michael Walsh, Labor Temple, Utica, New York.
Vallejo, Calif., Central Labor Council.....	1	1	John Geraghty, 218 York Street, Vallejo, California.
Vincennes, Indiana, Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Frank Sparrow, Vincennes, Indiana.
Washington, D. C., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	James J. Noonan, 137 C Street, Southeast, Washington, D. C.
Washington, Pa., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Everett W. Seal, 10 Ridge Avenue, Washington, Pennsylvania.
Waterbury, Conn., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	James F. Corrigan, 59 Wildemere Avenue, Waterbury, Connecticut.
Waterloo, Ia., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	James A. Seese, 536 Home Park Boulevard, Waterloo, Iowa.
West Palm Beach, Fla., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	E. F. Wedekind, 326 Gardina Street, West Palm Beach, Florida.
Wheeling, W. Va., Ohio Valley Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	Henry R. Fitton, 3764 Tallman Avenue, Bellaire, Ohio.
Wichita, Kansas, Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	F. E. Welsh, 546 North Madison Street, Wichita, Kansas.
Wilkes-Barre, Pa., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	John B. Mitchell, 546 Westmoreland Street, Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania.
Wilmington, Del., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	John C. Saylor, 700 W. Twenty-second Street, Wilmington, Delaware.
Winston-Salem, N. C., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	H. R. Foust, Winston-Salem, North Carolina.
Woonsocket, R. I., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Arthur J. Tessier, 45 Gaulten Avenue, Woonsocket, Rhode Island.
Worcester, Mass., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	John E. Hauser, 7 Kingsbury Street, Worcester, Massachusetts.
York, Pa., Federation of Trades Unions.....	1	1	Edwin G. Hess, 24 South Oxford Street, York, Pennsylvania.
Youngstown, O., United Labor Congress.....	1	1	Wm. E. Hartman, Youngstown, Ohio.
Aeronautical Workers, Federal Labor Union No. 18286, Buffalo, N. Y.....	1	1	Chauncey J. Cook, 118 Ivanhos Road, Buffalo, New York.
Automobile and Vehicle Workers' Union No. 18065, New York, N. Y.....	1	1	Arthur E. Mack, 350 West 52d Street, New York, New York.
Automobile Workers, United, Federal Labor Union No. 18464, Philadelphia, Pa.....	1	1	William G. Walsh, care, Walter Faulkner, 2215 North 16th Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.
Automobile Workers, United, Federal Labor Union No. 18386, St. Louis, Mo.....	1	1	George Seaton Darner, care Room 1411 North Grand Boulevard, St. Louis, Missouri.
Automobile Workers (United) Federal Labor Union No. 18525, Racine, Wis.....	1	1	Chester A. Millis, 400 7th Street, Racine, Wisconsin.
Bakelite, Licanite and Phenolic Workers' Federal Labor Union No. 18195, Scranton, Pa.....	1	1	Hubert J. Gormley, 623 Birch Street, Scranton, Pennsylvania.
Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants' Union No. 12646, New York, N. Y.....	1	3	Ernest Bohm, 3 West Sixteenth Street, New York, New York.
City and County Public Service Employees' Union No. 17212, Atlanta, Georgia.....	1	1	Louie P. Marquardt, 908 Juniper Street, Northeast, Atlanta, Georgia.
Cleaners, Dyers and Pressers' Union No. 17742, Chicago, Ill.....	1	2	B. A. Albert, 629 South Ashland Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois.

ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Cleaners, Dyers and Pressers' Union No. 17806, Newark, N. J.-----	1	1	M. A. Klein, 3 Belmont Avenue, Newark, New Jersey.
Cleaners, Dyers and Pressers' Union (Retail), No. 17934, St. Louis, Mo.-----	1	1	James T. Latham, Room 315, 4 North Eighth Street, St. Louis, Missouri.
Cleaners, Dyers and Pressers' Union No. 17960, San Francisco, Calif.-----	1	1	George Ward, 374 Irvington Street, Daly City, California.
Cleaners, Dyers, Spotters and Pressers' Union No. 18233, Philadelphia, Pa.-----	1	1	Reuben Suny, 5907 Spruce Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.
Creamery Workers' Union No. 18396, Omaha, Nebraska-----	1	1	James Whiting, 3720 N. 18th Street, Omaha, Nebraska.
Doll Workers' Union No. 18247, Trenton, N. J.-----	1	1	Edward Lacken, care, Miss Marie Roberts, 171 Randall Avenue, Trenton, New Jersey.
Enamelers' Union No. 17240, Louisville, Ky.-----	1	1	Michel Joseph, 1828 Shady Lane, Louisville, Kentucky.
Enamel Workers' Union No. 18261, Chattanooga, Tenn.-----	1	1	T. R. Cuthbert, 3611 South Terrace Street, Chattanooga, Tennessee.
Federal Labor Union No. 18235, Okmulgee, Okla.-----	1	1	Wm. Rea, care, Peter Schmidt, Room 26, Roberts Building, Okmulgee, Oklahoma.
Federal Labor Union No. 18272, Warren, Ohio.-----	1	1	Frank J. Perunko, 1174 Oak Street, S. W., Warren, Ohio.
Federal Labor Union No. 18480, Lancaster, Ohio.-----	1	1	John Sholts, R. F. D., Lancaster, Ohio.
Freight Handlers and Station Employees' Union No. 17769, Kansas City, Kans.-----	1	1	George Barnes, 1954 North Fourth Street, Kansas City, Kansas.
Gas Workers' Union No. 18007, Chicago, Ill.-----	1	6	Patrick Gallagher, 7700 South Laflin Street, Chicago, Illinois.
Gas Workers' Union No. 18393, Malden, Mass.-----	1	1	Joseph Leighton, 581 Fulton Street, Medford, Massachusetts.
Metal Stamping Assemblers' Union No. 18357, St. Louis, Mo.-----	1	1	Karl Lore, 5092 Waterman Avenue, St. Louis, Missouri.
Neckwear Makers' Union No. 18417, United, Philadelphia, Pa.-----	1	1	Joseph Schwartz, care, 880 North 6th Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.
Newspaper Writers' Union No. 16662, Boston, Mass.-----	1	1	Michael J. Flynn, Box 1646, Boston, Massachusetts.
Newspaper Writers' Union No. 17886, Chicago, Illinois.-----	1	1	Morris Seskind, 1440 South Kolin Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.
Oyster and Shrimp Pickers, Canners and Packers' Union No. 18508, Bayou La Batre, Alabama.-----	1	1	J. Edward Taite, Bayou La Batre, Alabama.
Porters, Sleeping Car, No. 18068, New York, N. Y.-----	1	1	A. Philip Randolph, 207 West 140th Street, New York, N. Y.
Porters, Sleeping Car, No. 18077, Kansas City, Mo.-----	1	1	S. Watson, 2412 Campbell Street, Kansas City, Missouri.
Radio and Television Workers, Federal Labor Union No. 18368, Philadelphia, Pa.-----	1	1	James B. Carey, 121 State Street, Glassboro, New Jersey.
Rope Splicers and Repairmen's Union No. 16857, Chicago, Ill.-----	1	1	Robert McElligott, 5513 Cortez Street, Chicago, Illinois.
Rubber Workers, United, Federal Labor Union No. 18282, Akron, Ohio.-----	1	1	Clark C. Culver, 888 Ada Street, Akron, Ohio.
Rubber Workers, United, Federal Labor Union No. 18319, Akron, Ohio.-----	1	1	F. L. Phillips, 606 South Main Street, Akron, Ohio.
Rubber Workers, United, Federal Labor Union No. 18321, Akron, Ohio.-----	1	1	D. A. Little, 169 Paris Avenue, Akron, Ohio.
Rubber Workers, United, Federal Labor Union No. 18323, Akron, Ohio.-----	1	1	John W. Minger, 26 North Fir Street, Akron, Ohio.

ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES
Rubber Workers, United, Federal Labor Union No. 18363, Chicopee, Mass.....	1	1	Thomas Burns, 9 Wolcott Street, Holyoke, Massachusetts.
State Administrative Employees' Association, Wisconsin, No. 18213, Madison, Wis.....	1	4	A. S. Zander, Westmoreland, Madison, Wisconsin.
State Employees' Union No. 17659, Richmond, Virginia.....	1	1	Frank Kruck, 18e Auburn Avenue, Richmond, Virginia.
Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 11597, Indianapolis, Ind.....	1	1	Edward A. Lynch, 1107 Merchants Bank Building, Indianapolis, Indiana.
Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 11773, Washington, D. C.....	1	3	Edward J. Tracy, A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.
Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Association No. 13188, San Francisco, Calif.....	1	1	Anthony L. Noriega, 230 Jones Street, San Francisco, California.
Stenographers, Typists, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 14268, Kansas City, Mo.....	1	1	Miss Marion Burns, Room 402, Carmen's Building, 105 West Linwood Boulevard, Kansas City, Missouri.
Textile Examiners and Finishers' Union No. 18205, New York, N. Y.....	1	3	Louis Lufrano, 41 Union Square, New York, New York
Theatre Ushers' Union No. 15293, New York, N. Y.....	1	1	Morris Tigel, 14 Floral Court, Brighton Beach, Brooklyn, New York.
Theatre Ushers' Union No. 18234, Detroit, Mich.....	1	1	Richard Hill, Room 506, Briggs Hotel, Detroit, Michigan.
Theatrical Agents and Managers' Union No. 18032, Association of, New York, N. Y.....	1	1	Theodore Mitchell, 246 West 44th Street, New York, New York
Theatrical Wardrobe Attendants' Union No. 16770, New York, N. Y.....	1	3	Mrs. Augusta Ocker, 156 W. 44th Street, New York, New York
Ushers, Doormen and Ticket Takers' Union No. 18464, Omaha, Nebraska.....	1	1	Howard A. Jackson, 6720 North 34th Street, Omaha, Nebraska.
British Trades Union Congress.....	2	1	James Rowan, 11 Macaulay Road, Clapham Common, London, S. W. 4, England.
Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.....	1	1	J. A. Hall, Miners' Offices, Barnsley, England.
National Women's Trade Union League of America.....	1	1	Fred J. White, Calgary, Alberta, Canada.
			Elisabeth Christman, 306 Machinists Building, Washington, D. C.

Number of Unions	Name	Number of Delegates	Number of Votes
97	National and International.....	250	21,031
4	Departments.....	4	4
34	State Bodies.....	34	34
255	Central Labor Unions.....	255	255
49	Trade and Federal Labor Unions.....	49	65
3	Fraternal Organizations.....	4	3
442		596	21,362

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. *1915	1913 George W. Perkins. *1917
To British Trades Union Congress		
1895 Samuel Gompers.	1908 Andrew Furuseth.	1921 Wm. J. Spencer.
1896 P. J. McGuire.	James J. Creamer.	James J. Forrester.
J. W. Sullivan.	John P. Frey.	Benjamin Schlesinger.
Adolph Strasser.	B. A. Larger.	E. J. McGivern.
1897 Martin Fox.	1910 W. B. Wilson.	1923 Peter Shaughnessy.
Geo. E. McNeill.	T. V. O'Connor.	Anthony J. Chlopek.
1898 James Duncan.	Wm. B. Macfarlane.	1924 Peter J. Brady.
Harry Lloyd.	Daniel J. Tobin.	Edward J. Gainor.
1899 James O'Connell.	George L. Berry.	A. Adamski.
Thomas F. Tracy.	John H. Walker.	Edw. J. Evans.
J. M. Hunter.	1913 Chas. L. Baine.	†Frank Farrington.
1900 Sidney J. Kent.	Louis Kemper.	1926 Wm. L. Hutcheson.
Daniel J. Keefe.	*1914 W. D. Mahon.	John Coefield.
1901 Eugene F. O'Rourke.	Matthew Woll.	Michael Casey.
1902 Patrick Dolan.	***1915 W. D. Mahon.	1928 Michael F. Greene.
Henry Blackmore.	Matthew Woll.	William B. Fitzgerald.
1903 Max S. Hayes.	1916 W. D. Mahon.	William J. Rooney.
Martin Lawlor.	Matthew Woll.	William P. Clarke.
W. D. Ryan.	1917 John Golden.	John J. Manning.
1904 D. D. Driscoll.	James Lord.	Thomas E. Maloy.
John A. Moffitt.	1918 J. A. Franklin.	Joseph P. Ryan.
1905 James Wood.	Wm. J. Bowen.	Joseph V. Moreochi.
Frank K. Foster.	†Wm. L. Hutcheson.	Joseph A. Franklin.
1906 James Wilson.	1919 John J. Hynes.	E. E. Milliman.
1907 John T. Dempsey.	1920 Timothy Healy.	1933 Thomas E. Burke.
W. E. Klapetsky.	Mrs. Sarah Conboy.	Christian M. Madsen.

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.	J. H. Thomas.
James Mawdsley.	H. Skinner.	James Walker.
1896 Sam Woods.	A. H. Gill.	E. L. Poulton.
John Mallinson.	J. R. Clynes.	H. Smith.
Edward Harford.	W. Brace.	R. B. Walker.
1897 J. Havelock Wilson.	Ben. Turner.	1923 W. C. Robinson.
William Inskip.	1911 G. H. Roberts.	C. T. Cramp.
William Thorne.	J. Crinion.	A. B. Swales.
1898 James Haslam.	1912 J. A. Seddon.	Ben Smith.
Alexander Wilkie.	R. Smillie.	A. A. Purcell.
1900 John Weir.	1913 I. H. Gwynne.	J. Bromley.
Pete Curran.	T. Greenall.	G. Hicks.
1901 Frank Chandler.	**1914	1927 Arthur Fugh.
Ben Tillet.	C. G. Ammon.	W. Sherwood.
1902 M. Arrandale.	E. Bevin.	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.	A. A. H. Findlay.
James Wignall.	F. Hall.	A. Shaw.
1905 William Mosse.	***1915 Miss Margaret Bondfield	1931 F. Wolstencroft.
David Gilmour.	S. Finney.	J. Beard.
1906 Allen Geo.	1919 Miss Margaret Bondfield	W. Holmes.
J. N. Bell.		Charles Dukes.
		James Rowan.
		J. A. Hall.

List of Delegates and Fraternal Delegates—Continued

To Canadian Trades and Labor Congress

1898 Thomas I. Kidd.	1910 John J. Manning.	1922 William E. Hulsbeck.
1899 James H. Sullivan.	1911 Wm. J. Tracy.	1923 Walter N. Reddick.
1900 W. D. Mahon.	1912 John T. Smith.	1924 Walter W. Britton.
1901 John R. O'Brien.	1913 Wm. J. McSorley.	1925 James Duncan.
1902 D. D. Driscoll.	1914 M. M. Donoghue.	1926 James B. Connors.
1903 John Coleman.	1915 H. J. Conway.	1927 Thos. J. McQuade.
1904 John H. Richards.	1916 Harry P. Corcoran.	1928 Joseph W. Morton.
1905 Frank Feeney.	1917 Emanuel Koveleski.	1929 John D. Haggerty.
1906 Thomas A. Rickert.	1918 Stuart H. Hayward.	1930 Adolph Kummer.
1907 Robert S. Maloney.	1919 Sam Griggs.	1931 Charles J. Case.
1908 Hugh Frayne.	1920 W. G. Shea.	1932 Frank B. Power.
1909 Jerome Jones.	1921 John O'Hara.	1933 James C. Quinn.

From Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.

1898 David A. Carey.	1910 R. P. Pettipiece.	1922 Ernest Robinson.
1899 David A. Carey.	1911 Wm. Glockling.	1923 James A. Sullivan.
1900 David A. Carey.	1912 John W. Bruce.	1924 John Colbert.
1901 P. M. Draper.	1913 Gus Franco.	1925 Donald Dear.
1902 John H. Kennedy.	1914 R. A. Rigg.	1926 Richard Lynch.
1903 James Simpson.	1915 Fred Bancroft.	1927 Alfred Farmilo.
1904 John A. Flett.	1916 Thomas A. Stevenson.	1928 Wm. Varley.
1905 William V. Todd.	1917 Wm. Lodge.	1929 James A. Whitebone.
1906 Samuel L. Landers.	1918 Thos. Moore.	1930 William E. Stephenson.
1907 W. R. Trotter.	1919 J. M. Walsh.	1931 Colin McDonald.
1908 P. M. Draper.	1920 J. A. McClellan.	1932 W. V. Turnbull.
1909 F. Bancroft.	1921 M. U. F. Bush.	1933 Fred J. White.

From German Federation of Labor

1924 Peter Grassman.

From Mexican Federation of Labor.

1924 { Jose W. Kelly. Roberto Haberman.	1925 { Canuto A. Vargas. Roberto Haberman.	1926 { Ricardo Trevino. Jose F. Guterres. 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, Calif.	October 3-14.
1928	New Orleans, La.	November 19-28.
1929	Toronto, Ont., Can.	October 7-18.
1930	Boston, Mass.	October 6-17.
1931	Vancouver, B. C., Canada	October 5-16.
1932	Cincinnati, Ohio	Nov. 21-Dec. 2.
1933	Washington, D. C.	October 2-13.

CONSTITUTION

OF THE

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

1933

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 encour-

age 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 changes 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, Populist, 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 repre-

sents 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 Treasurer shall collect the interest on all such certificates, interest-bearing securities, or other deposits 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 others.

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 \$8.00 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 of 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 Interna-

tional 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 aid 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 ex-

pended 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 of 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, or 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 offi-

cer 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 Fed-

eration 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-third Annual Convention OF THE American Federation of Labor 1933

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

FIRST DAY—Monday Morning Session

Washington, D. C., October 2, 1933.

Pursuant to the law, the Fifty-third Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor was called to order at 10:00 o'clock, in the ball room of the Willard Hotel, by Richard A. Dickson, President of the Washington Central Labor Union.

During the half hour preceding the opening of the convention an orchestra, made up of members of Musicians' Local Union No. 161, entertained the delegates and visitors.

Chairman Dickson: Delegates and friends—I want to present to you at this time His Grace, the Auxiliary Bishop of Baltimore, the Right Reverend John J. McNamara, who has been kind enough to come to offer the invocation this morning. Please rise.

INVOCATION

(Rt. Rev. John J. McNamara, Auxiliary Bishop of Baltimore)

Oh God, Who didst sanctify labor in the Person of Thy Divine Son, "Who whereas He was rich, for our sakes became poor," direct and make fruitful the deliberations of this convention. Illumine the minds and hearts of the delegates here assembled that they may speak and act with knowledge and wis-

dom. Grant that through their efforts labor may receive the recognition which is its due, and that desire for gain among men may be subordinated to the principles of justice and charity, the foundations of peace and progress. Hasten, we beseech Thee, the return of better days to the people of our nation and of the world and grant us Thy Blessing, which we ask in the name of Christ our Lord. Amen.

Following the invocation the orchestra played America.

MR. R. A. DICKSON

(President, Washington Central Labor Union)

Mr. President, Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, Honored Guests and Delegates to this Fifty-third Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor.

It is my privilege, and one that I enjoy and honor very much, to welcome you to your nation's Capital and to your convention. I have heard that it is customary for the temporary Chairman, of the convention, to acquaint you with the history and the background of the city in which you are meeting. I am going to divert from that practice, because of the absolute necessity of encouraging and inspiring you leaders of the labor movement, at this particular

period, and convey to you a brief message as to the feeling of those that you are here representing.

It is in you that we have placed our faith, confident that your ability to help bring about relief to those of us that are so patiently awaiting it will be exercised to its fullest capacity. It is manifest from the number of you that are in attendance that you are cognizant of the importance attached to this occasion. It is likewise quite manifest that you have come here, fully prepared to meet the important problems that you know are going to confront you during the next two weeks.

Since the last convention of the American Federation of Labor, as you know, the nation has entered into an organized effort to bring about recovery and relief.

Labor, wherever it is organized, has proven its willingness to assume its full share of the responsibility of that program. It is exceedingly regrettable that this cannot be said for all the employers of labor. It is likewise regrettable that there are some employes who, either through their own volition or lack of courage, have steadfastly remained in the same identical category that they were in prior to the enactment of the law that provides for their freedom from industrial slavery. This type of employe must be educated in realizing that the National Industrial Recovery Act was created for his or her particular benefit. This will be done in time by careful and peaceful persuasion on the part of local officials who are in daily contact with these employes. But, the employe who has been coerced and deliberately prevented and influenced against joining in our movement, must be liberated by your efforts.

We have been patient, we will continue to be patient, we still retain the same confidence in your leadership that we always have had, we will continue that confidence not only because it is justified but because we are aware of the fact that you have done your utmost to lead us out of the darkness of despair into the light that we are now beginning

to see and which means for us happiness, peace and contentment.

We know that your responsibilities to your membership have multiplied greatly during these days of depression. We know also that it was required of you to meet and solve the problems of the people that you represent and simultaneously it was expected of you to keep down the unrest, if any existed, within your subordinate Unions.

Too often, the misapprehension that the International Officials are responsible for the inability of local Unions to function properly is prevalent in the minds of some of our members. This thought, doubtlessly is actuated by the person who thinks that the impossible can be accomplished. We of the conservative group believe that it behooves every local official, when things are not progressing satisfactorily, to line up solidly behind their International officials and safeguard them against unfair and unjust criticism. We further believe that it is the function and the duty of every local official to convince his membership that in the success of their International Officers lies their own success. If this will be done we are certain that we will have abolished, in a large measure, the unnecessary unrest that erroneously crops up within our local unions during troublesome times.

We do not expect from our International officials that they can secure for us sufficient relief to insure our permanent happiness with a stroke of the pen. We realize, of course, that we are emerging from an old and antiquated era into a new one that holds out for us greater opportunities and hope. Consequently therefore, I repeat, that we will remain patient, so that you will have sufficient opportunity to study what lies before us. When you are ready and prepared to proceed we will proceed with you as a unit.

The Washington Central Labor Union has prepared for you an elaborate entertainment program that I most certainly hope you will enjoy to the fullest extent. It has been a pleasure for us to have arranged this program and I

do want to extend to your guests, who I understand will be properly identified, just as cordial a welcome to participate in the entertainment features of the convention that I extend to you.

It is hoped by the people that I have the honor to represent that your deliberations will be successful. You have a difficult task before you but when you have completed it we know we all will feel the immediate benefit of it. You know, the eyes of the entire world are watching the outcome of this convention. The individual member of organized labor is calm and confident and the rank and file is comfortably certain that you are all capable of meeting the issue successfully. I wish you all the luck there is and with it—Godspeed.

In the District of Columbia we have what is known as a Board of Commissioners that takes care of the operation of our city. The Chairman of that Board of Commissioners has kindly consented to welcome you to the District of Columbia, and I present to you now the Honorable Luther H. Reichelderfer, President of the Board of Commissioners of the District of Columbia.

MR. LUTHER H. REICHELDERFER
(President, Board of Commissioners,
District of Columbia)

Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen of the convention—In the very beginning, let me assure you I am not going to take much of your time. Nearly all of my life I have been a doctor of medicine and I have attended medical conventions and I remember suffering on a great many occasions while some mayor told us how glad he was to have us around and took half an hour to do it.

I have been introduced to you as a Commissioner of the District of Columbia. It may occur to you to wonder just what sort of individual a Commissioner is and what he is intended for and what he does. Just a word, because Washington has a little different set-up than any other city in which you may meet from time to time, and you have a very direct interest in this city, as I shall try to point out to you very briefly.

We have, as your Chairman says, no mayor of Washington. We have a Board of three Commissioners, of whom I happen to be for the time being one. Our affairs here in Washington are conducted, or directed, our laws are passed, our financial appropriations are

made by the Federal Congress of your choosing—please note that, of your choosing. We have no vote here in the District of Columbia. Our affairs are administered by the Federal Congress, which gives a great deal of its time to the administration of the affairs of the national capital. This, of course, is a Federal city, and we take it that it is appropriate that it should be. For instance, we have on the platform here this morning Senator King, who is Chairman of the District of Columbia Committee of the Senate. He gives unstintedly of his time to the interests and matters of welfare of the District of Columbia, and you understand that the time he gives is no political asset to him, it is a liability. How in the world he has the patience to give the time he does has always been a wonder to me, but nevertheless, we in Washington have the benefit of that kind of assistance and direction from officers of the Federal Government.

From what I have said you see how this city really is a Federal city, how it is your national capital. When you meet in a city some mayor may come up and tell you more or less as a graceful gesture of welcome to regard the city as yours, but I say to you this city is yours, governed by representatives of your own choosing. You pay a certain percentage of the cost of the Federal Government, and I think I am not exaggerating when I say this is your city, and we who live here hope you will always regard it in that light.

And so, Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, I hope that your stay here as individuals will be in every way satisfactory and interesting and I hope that your business efforts, which are to consider matters of such great importance to all of us in these troublesome times, will be in every way most successful and satisfactory to you.

Chairman Dickson: Thank you, Commissioner Reichelderfer. It is awfully nice of you to have come down here to be with us and I know the delegates appreciate the words of encouragement you have offered.

After listening to Commissioner Reichelderfer it is hardly necessary to tell you who Senator King is. Senator King is Chairman of the Senate Committee of the District of Columbia and he also has been gracious enough to come down here and say a few words to you with reference to the operation of our Government and to offer you a word of encouragement. I present to you now Honorable William H. King, United States Senator from Utah and Chairman of the District of Columbia Committee, United States Senate.

HONORABLE WILLIAM H. KING

(United States Senator, Utah, and Chairman of the District of Columbia Committee, United States Senate)

Mr. Chairman, President Green, ladies and gentlemen,—I presume that I have been asked to meet with you for a short time this morning, first, because I happen for the time being to be Chairman of the committee referred to by the preceding speaker. Secondly, because I had the honor, after I had been admitted to the bar, and I think it was my first case, to defend the miners of the state of Utah when they were upon a strike. I believed that their cause was just, I saw the importance of organization upon the part of labor, and I drew the first organization papers of and for a labor union that were prepared in the state that I have the honor in part to represent in the Senate, and upon a number of occasions it was my pleasure to defend Union labor when I felt that injustice was being perpetrated against it.

I think our meeting here this morning has commenced under auspicious conditions. We listened to an eloquent and fervent appeal to God for guidance, for direction, for the welfare and happiness not only of our nation, but of the world. Labor appreciates the solidarity not only of labor, but it realizes the fact that we are all children of one common Father, and in the ranks of labor have been found and are found today the truest friends of world peace and world solidarity.

I have listened with great interest to the admirable address of your temporary Chairman, and he indicated the fact that your deliberations here today would affect not only the peace of our own country, but indeed would affect the peace of the whole world, all of which indicates that the eyes of the world are upon this capital, upon this convention, upon the Congress of the United States, and upon our great leader, Franklin D. Roosevelt.

You may remember reading in that essay of Matthew Arnold, when speaking of Sophocles, he said that he saw life steadily and he saw it as a whole. Today, in your deliberations you must see life steadily, not fitfully, you must see it as a whole, not in a fragmentary or a fractional way. You are concerned not only for labor, you are concerned for capital, you are concerned for the multitudes of people out of employment, you are concerned for the consumer. You are to help lay the foundations of that peace and happiness and prosperity which, God willing, we will soon enjoy.

The American Federation of Labor, in the dark hours of our country's history, has been patriotic and earnest in defending the flag, the Constitution and the rights of all. I remember a few

years ago when I happened to be in Russia, meeting some of the great leaders there and they were denouncing the American Federation of Labor, and the object of their vituperations was largely the great leader of the organization who has passed to his reward—Samuel Gompers.

May I depart for a moment for a personal allusion. I had the honor to know that great man and to associate with him frequently, as well as with my friend Frank Morrison, who has the face of a saint and the heart of a true humanitarian. During the World War Samuel Gompers stood shoulder to shoulder with that intrepid leader, Woodrow Wilson, and the forces of labor, marshalled behind those two great leaders, did their part in winning the conflict which meant so much for democracy and for the peace of the world.

We cast our eyes across the sea and we see trouble, Fascism, Hitlerism, and in Russia we see labor enslaved and chained and democracy in most parts of the world assailed and the competency of the people to govern themselves challenged by those who would rise to power upon the stepping stones of the prostrate form of labor.

In America democracy has been and is challenged. There must be no Fascism here, no Hitlerism, there must be no Bolshevism, there must be a pregnant, mighty, dynamic democracy, founded upon the concept of the rights of all, of a splendid, superb individualism integrated and cooperating with all the forces of our great organization.

The prosperity that we are hoping and praying for under the leadership of Mr. Roosevelt will be greatly contributed to by your labors. There can be no prosperity without the happiness and prosperity of labor, and today, in your deliberations, I know that you will see life not fitfully, you will see not only labor or the laboring classes, so-called, but you will see our entire nation, our entire political and corporate structure, and your deliberations will have in mind the welfare and the happiness and the peace of the people of the United States, which shall be a contributing factor to the happiness and peace of the world.

I wish for you, not desiring to prolong my remarks because I know you have important labors, success in your deliberations. I know that you will have wisdom. I know that the spirit of peace and the spirit of justice invoked by the eloquent Bishop will rest upon you and in your hearts and that you will approach with solemnity the responsibilities which are before you.

Chairman Dickson: Thank you, Senator King. We are awfully glad you

have come here and we know the delegates appreciate very much everything you have said to them.

I want to present to you now the President of the Washington Chamber of Commerce. He is just one of us who are leading the National Recovery forces in the District of Columbia. General Littlepage has been good enough to come down here and speak to us this morning. I present to you now General Thomas P. Littlepage, President of the Washington Chamber of Commerce.

HONORABLE THOMAS P. LITTLEPAGE

(President, Washington Chamber of Commerce)

Mr. Chairman and members of the convention—You need no welcome to this great city, as you have been told, but on behalf of the Washington Chamber of Commerce I merely want to say that if Mr. Dickson and his delegation do not treat you right, come right around and see us and we will look into it. This is your capital. We have no keys and no gate, because this city belongs to you just as much as it belongs to us. I am especially pleased to stand on this platform with President William Green, whom I have known many years. In the more than one-third of a century that I have been in this city I have seen men come and go, both in official and private capacity, but I will now say in his presence what I have had occasion to say behind his back many times, that I have never known a man who came to this capital and who more quickly became a confidant because of his honesty, who had the good will of all political leaders upon every occasion and upon every question than your distinguished President. I know that it must please you to know what we here in Washington know, that his word is good.

Now, my friends, seeing this Government and the seat of this Government brings you closer in a way to the Government, and when you read history you must know that the most stupendous undertaking that has ever fallen to mankind is that of government. When you read of the revolutions, the panics, the pestilences, the rise and fall of nations, and the heads of kings and queens rolling off in pools of blood, with our own nation, with all its resources and greatness, having had a war on an average of every thirty years of its existence, it must show to you that the business of government, with the diversified interests which are involved, is a most stupendous undertaking.

But those things of which I have spoken are not the remedies and I do not propose to know all of those remedies. When you realize that the Government, with all of the resources that it has, met the year of July 1, 1933, with a national debt of \$22,500,000,000, which doesn't mean much in abstract figures, except I tell you that in five dollar bills it would go more than fifteen times around the world, and with those five dollar bills pasted end to end and tied to the dome of the Capitol, it would make a kite tail 186,000 miles beyond the moon, and upon that we have to pay interest, and with a minimum of 12,000,000 people unemployed, which is a big figure, but standing shoulder to shoulder would make a row of people from the Atlantic to the Pacific and on out to the Hawaiian Islands and hundreds of miles beyond. While we can translate those things to some extent into concrete figures, it transcends the power of the human mind to translate the sufferings of the human race, the lack of morale and the lack of faith that that situation causes. And there, my friends, is the rub. Rulers may come and rulers may go, but as long as the people have faith that in the government they establish there will be justice and fairness, that government will endure that long and no longer.

Now, my friends, an interesting audience like this is most attractive to talk to, but I shall close with just one or two observations. In these days and these times one test of a real American is to stand by his Government, to stand by the President of the United States and his Government while it is trying to work out these problems, because they are stupendous. There are diversified interests that must be harmonized. Selfishness will never pass from the face of the earth, but it must be under control. And if it is true that Government exists for the benefit of the people, must it not also be true that every institution under the Government, both public and private, must have the public interests primarily at heart? If I should adopt a slogan, which I am not competent to do—and you have heard them all over America and you have seen them in the histories—if I had to adopt one for any government I should say in the language of the old school book: "Happy must be that state whose rulers heedeth more the murmurs of the poor than the flatteries of the great."

Chairman Dickson: Thank you, Mr. Littlepage. I know the delegates appreciate very much the words of kindness you have offered.

It is hardly necessary, delegates, to present to you the President of the

American Federation of Labor. I want to say to President Green that his convention is about ready to be organized, and it affords me extreme pleasure to present to you now your President—William Green, of the American Federation of Labor.

PRESIDENT WILLIAM GREEN

Mr. Chairman, Bishop McNamara, Senator King, honored guests, officers and delegates in attendance at the Fifty-third Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor—I accept the gavel handed me this morning by the temporary chairman with a sense of deep responsibility. I am sure we all appreciate the fact that this great congress of labor has assembled at a most historic and critical period in the history of our beloved nation. And so when I think that at this moment I am called upon in my humble capacity to preside over a convention representative of almost five million working men and women, assembled in the capital city for the purpose of dealing constructively with the economic and social problems which touch the lives of the workers, I am indeed compelled to feel bowed down with a deep sense of our obligation. And as I look into your earnest faces and as I have been privileged to meet and greet you as you have arrived in the capital city, I am impressed with the fact that you share with me that feeling of deep, conscientious responsibility.

Here you have come, men and women, from all sections of the nation, representing these millions of workers and fresh from contacts with them. You are in a position to translate into concrete expression here the hopes and aspirations of these toilers, and that will be the final outcome of this convention expressed in declarations of policies, in resolutions deliberately adopted, the concrete translation of the hopes, the opinions and the aspirations of the working men and women of our nation. And we will be false to our duty, false to our trust, we will dishonor our commission if we allow any selfish purpose to interfere with an honest expression of the hopes and wishes of the toiling masses.

It is proper and appropriate that we should meet in the capital city on this occasion, for here decisions are made, momentous decisions in the adoption and application of industrial codes of fair practice which affect, oh so vitally, the well-being and the happiness of the working men and women of the nation. When we met in the Fifty-second Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor last year, we could not with prophetic vision see all that would transpire within one

year. But now, as we look back over the last few months, we realize that indeed we have been passing through an unusual historic period. A great adventure has taken place. A great experiment in economic and social planning has been launched, and in the midst of it just now, assembled as we are in this great city, our thoughts, our attentions, our hopes and our desires will be centered upon these problems that have grown out of the adoption and application of the National Recovery Act.

We are still yearning and hoping for the enjoyment of that better day, that better life that must come to the working men and women of the nation. For almost four years millions of idle working men and women have patiently borne the burden of deprivation and distress. Dependent upon these millions, more than thirteen of them, are other millions of women and children and they have suffered much, they have waited patiently for the turn of the tide. And so, my friends, inspired by the hopes that have come from the declaration of the New Deal, these workers will not now be denied the realization of that better day and that better time.

It is to be expected that out of an economic and political change such as has taken place, new problems would arise to vex us. Could anything else be expected? Reflect for just a moment. For four years, as I have said, the workers have exhibited a courage, a devotion and a patience that challenged the admiration of every true American citizen. We have gone through this period of unemployment, and those who have suffered most have served best. I have heard many say that it was difficult to understand how the working men of the nation could so patiently bear the burden of distress. My answer is that those workers are disciplined, they are reasonable, they possess judgment, they are devoted to America and to American institutions. There are no more loyal, devoted, patriotic citizens in our great Republic than the men and women who have suffered most during this period of intense depression.

Now the tide has turned. They believe that the old deal has gone. They accept the meaning of the New Deal liberally, as a change, as a new outlook, as a new policy, something new for labor. And so we see on every hand workers of the nation endeavoring through concerted action to bring into their lives and into their homes and their communities the real principles, the real benefits of the New Deal that has been so emphatically and so enthusiastically announced.

We have been proceeding upon that theory. As a result of it, operating

under the Industrial Recovery Act since last June, industrial codes of fair practice have been formulated and applied to most of the major industries of the nation. We have been working and cooperating in every possible way. We have given of our time and our service—I mean the representatives of labor—in order to make the program a complete success, and while we have been engaged in developing and applying these industrial codes of fair practice to the major industries of the nation, we have been conscious of the fact that it has all been carried on in the midst of great confusion. There has been speedy organization, speedy administration, and no time for the exercise of wise counsel and mature deliberation. Is there any reasonable minded man or woman who would not understand, passing through such a period, that mistakes would be made and have been made? And as a result of these mistakes we find it necessary to call upon the administrators of the Industrial Recovery Act and upon those in charge of its enforcement to bring about a revision of many of these major codes of industrial fair practice, so that labor truly and surely may enjoy the benefits of the New Deal. And even as we have been passing through this period, men connected with the administration of the Industrial Recovery Act, inspired by a desire to overcome unemployment as rapidly as possible, have pushed it forward vigorously and perhaps without mature deliberation. However, out of it have come decided tangible benefits, even though labor has been disappointed in the development of some codes of fair practice. Nevertheless, the fact remains that progress has been made in creating work opportunities for millions of the unemployed. At least, my friends, it is mighty refreshing to observe that we have passed definitely from the stage of innocuous quietude and inaction to a stage of action, action, and action all the time.

From March to August of this year 2,800,000 persons were placed back at work in all industries. Of that number 150,000 found new work in the agricultural industries. But in spite of this there are still 11,000,000 persons out of work. We hope that when the figures for September are compiled they will show as substantial an advance in overcoming unemployment as was shown during the month of August.

The return of these workers has increased the total buying power about 25 per cent since March 1, but because living costs have increased rapidly, the total amount of this buying power cannot be manifested in the consumption of manufactured products. When the rise in living costs is accounted

for, the total increase in buying power will approximate 17 per cent.

All this increase in buying power is due to re-employment, not to the increase in buying power of the individual worker, for the average monthly income of the individual worker was increased only 6.9 per cent since March, while the cost of living has increased 7.1 per cent. This is according to the figures of the National Industrial Conference Board.

These figures on buying power are based on reports covering fifteen industries from the Department of Labor and other Government agencies. They cover wage earners in mines, factories, railroads, trade, utilities, and certain service industries. Buying power in all industries has increased by about \$310,000,000 a month, or \$3,720,000,000 a year.

Now with that achievement has come another outstanding achievement. I refer to the fact that in practically every industrial code of fair practice there is incorporated a section providing for the abolition of child labor in the mills, mines and factories of the nation. So that in the operation of the National Recovery Act thus far we are making the children free, and that has been a set objective of the American Federation of Labor for more than a half century. I hope, I trust, and I believe that when we are through, when the codes of fair practice are finally applied in every industry, we will have succeeded in bringing about the abolition of child labor in every industry in the nation.

But we must proceed. Labor fully realizes that the hours of labor and the minimum rates of pay established in these industrial codes are unsatisfactory. The maximum hours of labor are too high and the minimum rates of pay are too low. I mean this is the case if we hope to attain and realize the real objective of the Industrial Recovery Act. Labor realized long ago that unemployment could be overcome only through one or both of two approaches, the application of one or both of two methods. First, we could overcome unemployment to a degree by creating new work opportunities, and these new work opportunities could be created through the appropriation of huge sums by the Federal Government to be utilized in the furtherance of public projects. Labor contended for liberal appropriations of Government funds for the purpose of carrying on a building construction program, the building of roads and of dams, the widening and deepening of the harbors and rivers of the country, and Congress appropriated \$3,300,000,000 to be used for the purpose of launching and carrying forward these new work projects.

Then labor contended that the only other method that could be employed was to reduce the hours of labor and the number of days worked per week, so that the amount of work available could be equitably distributed among all who were able, willing and ready to work. Those who framed the Industrial Recovery Act, the administration itself, accepted this philosophy, because that is the basis of the Industrial Recovery Act—overcoming unemployment by launching a building program, a public works program, and shortening the hours of labor, increasing wages so as to find new work and new work opportunities for millions who are unemployed.

But in our judgment, our mature judgment, our honest judgment, the hours of labor in many of these codes are so long that in operation they will not absorb a single new worker into industry. They fall short of the mark. Three million workers have been taken back, with 11,000,000 still idle, and most all of the major codes are now completed and are being applied. This should not be regarded as a criticism. It is merely an acknowledgment of the facts, and so it behooves labor to press upon those in charge of the administration of the Act the necessity of revising these codes at the earliest opportunity, so that the hours of labor will be reduced to a point where these 11,000,000 will be taken back into industry, and if possible, before winter comes.

We are convinced that the 8-hour day and the 48-hour week and the 50-hour week have gone. The experience of the last four years has shown that through the introduction of mechanical devices you cannot find work for all who are ready and willing to work on the basis of the 48 and 50-hour week. And yet in spite of these overwhelming facts, many of the codes carry the 40-hour, the 48-hour and even the 54-hour work week. Can labor remain quiet, can it fail to measure up to the situation? No, it cannot do that. It must press with all the vigor it possesses upon the administration the necessity of reducing the hours of work to the point where men and women willing and ready to work shall be accorded an opportunity to do so.

I am going to voice my personal opinion, and it is an opinion arrived at after careful and mature deliberation. I will express it enthusiastically here. It is my opinion that unemployment will not be overcome, that the eleven millions of workers who are begging and pleading for an opportunity to work cannot get back to work until we face this issue boldly and uncompromisingly and establish in these industrial codes of fair practice the 6-hour day and the 5-day week.

Running parallel to that is the necessity of increasing the rates of pay,

both for the unskilled and the skilled, so that buying power shall not alone keep pace with the increase in the price of commodities, but so that it shall outrun and keep ahead and be beyond the increase in living costs. If that does not take place then we must find that the steady flow of manufactured goods from the point of production to the point of consumption is stopped, interfered with, and ultimately we will reach the point where the goods produced are either on the manufacturers' shelves or in the merchants' warehouses, but not being bought and used by the consumers of the nation.

So there is involved in this question a revision of the hours of labor and a revision of the rates of pay. I believe those who are administering the Act are sincerely and earnestly desirous of accomplishing that purpose, but in all big undertakings such as this and in the midst of confusion when we embark upon a great adventure, we must realize that mistakes will be made and that we must all exercise that patience that is so characteristic of the working men and women of the nation. We must have faith—faith in the New Deal, faith in the principles of this Act, faith in those who are honestly and liberally administering it, and most important of all, faith in that great, fearless leader—the President of the United States.

Now for a moment may I refer to the rising tide of interest manifested by the workers of the nation in organization. I am glad I have been permitted to live in this day. We are witnessing a sight that even the old, tried veterans of our movement never saw before. From every city and every town and every hamlet, from the Canadian border line to the Gulf of Mexico and from historic Boston to the Golden Gate, the workers are marching, organizing, keeping step, coming with us into the great American Federation of Labor.

There are some of our critics who have said that we are taking advantage of an unusual situation, the National Recovery Act, to bring them in. That is not the case. They are coming in because they realize that there is a new day and a new deal. The door of opportunity has been thrown open to them. They have been held back by persecution, by the threat of discharge, by the company union and the yellow dog contract, and now they reason that somehow or other that is all gone and they are coming in, and nothing is going to stop them from coming in. It is the duty of this convention, and I know it will discharge that duty manfully and magnificently, to sound the clarion call sincerely and enthusiastically, so that the workers of the nation may hear the invitation to come on and stand with us, and the full force and power and economic strength of the American

Federation of Labor will be thrown around every worker who dares to step out and join our ranks.

I want to speak briefly about some problems that disturb us, that inspire feelings of concern and, perhaps, sometimes feelings of apprehension. We will reaffirm in this convention, I am sure, the principles and policies of the American Federation of Labor and we will add to those principles and policies declarations upon new problems and new subjects that have developed out of this great experiment and this wonderful adventure. But the one great problem that we must consider is the perfecting of our great organization. We must place it upon a sound, constructive, solid basis—I mean such a basis as will enable it to meet and deal with the new problems which have arisen. Do we not feel that the addition of a million and a half to two million new members has brought with it grave responsibilities? They must be trained, they must be disciplined, and they must be brought into our ranks, assimilated and made to understand they are a part of us. I realize our problem there, the problem of education, for we want to keep them as loyal, devoted members of our great trade union movement. That will be a problem of planning how we can develop these men and women, bring them in, give them to understand that they have a place here and that it is not enough merely to identify themselves with our movement, but that more is required than that—an understanding of our trade union philosophy, its policies and principles, and the part that each of them must play in the furtherance of our great aims and purposes.

Then we have these other problems to deal with to which I will not refer in detail, because time will not permit. But we must go forward, carrying out our program in support of social justice legislation, so that we can deal in a permanent way with these problems that come up.

Then we think of the Government employees, those who have suffered much because of the application of economy measures. They have made their contribution now and we think the time is at hand when the wages they are entitled to and which were taken from them through the enactment of these economy measures must be speedily restored, when furloughs should stop, when dismissals should end, when the problem of buying power among the Government workers should be considered as one of the important problems of the Government. And so I know this convention will take a strong position in defense of and in support of the Government employees who have suffered most, and we will not stop in our efforts until we bring about a res-

toration of the rates of pay and the rights and privileges taken from these workers through the enactment of economy measures.

Now I am going to express my opinion again. I am of the opinion that the time has arrived when the success of the Industrial Recovery Act requires unionization, the complete unionization of all the workers in every trade and in every calling in every city and town of the nation. I believe firmly that if the employers of the nation are to be organized under the operation of the Industrial Recovery Act, so that unfair trade practices so far as applied to business and commercial activities can be eliminated, if it is the purpose and objective of this Act to protect employers against competition that arises from a minority in the industry, if those in administration of the National Recovery Act are to say to the minority who insist upon the pursuance of a policy that will bring demoralization to business and commercial activity, that they shall no longer continue that policy, if business is to be organized so that it can regulate sales and so that it can allocate business, then why should not labor be permitted to organize completely in order to protect itself against the unfair competition arising from a minority of non-union workers? They talk about industry suffering because of the immoral action of unscrupulous employers and business men. They say that the majority cannot pay decent wages or maintain decent hours under the old order because a minority insists in selling under cost, in pursuing unfair trade practices and in tearing down the business structure.

Well, just change your point of view. Look at the worker, the Union establishing decent standards, decent wages, decent hours through the exercise of its economic strength, and on the other hand are those who are kept from coming in and joining with us because the employer insists on carrying out some foolish philosophy or because he threatens them with discharge if they come in, or because he forces them either directly or indirectly to join a company union. I hold that is unfair practice to the working men of the nation, and the only way it can be eliminated is through the complete unionization of the workers of the nation standing together, protecting themselves against the unfair trade practices engaged in by a minority.

We are going to press for the enactment of our social justice legislation program, which includes unemployment insurance, the adoption of the child labor amendment to the Constitution of the United States, adequate scientific retirement legislation for the Government employees, a dismissal wage, pro-

tection for those who are discriminated against when they reach forty or forty-five years of age, and for a further extension of our child labor legislation in the states and on the part of the Federal Government.

There is another subject that is bothering us considerably. It is a question that is now occupying the attention of thinking representatives of labor. It disturbs them greatly. I refer to this new movement, this new development in favor of unrestrained and unregulated inflation of the currency. Labor knows that this is a problem that affects us very vitally, because we know that when dollars are cheapened commodity prices rise, but wages stand still, and until they can assure labor that we will get more of these cheap dollars for the day's work we perform, so that it will conform with the increase in commodity prices, it is my judgment that labor will stand unflinchingly against inflation. We have not forgotten how our workers in other nations across the sea suffered because it required on some occasions an amount of money that would fill a bushel basket in order to buy just an ordinary commodity, and we do not want to go through that, because, as I have said, the record shows that wages remained static, stationary, while commodity prices went up.

I do not mean that we will not favor credit expansion, the development of a wise financial policy that will tend to increase the volume of money in circulation, so that business can be carried on in a proper and businesslike way. But, my friends, when the worker earns a dollar he wants to be sure that that dollar is a real dollar and that it does not represent to him a reduction in buying power.

I have covered the matters I had on my mind just for the moment. There are many others I have not referred to that will come before this convention before it is over, and you men and women in this great parliament of labor will meet the issues bravely and settle them right, as you have always done in past conventions. But in it all, wise counsel must prevail. These questions must be settled in a dispassionate way. Nothing extraneous must enter in to influence our judgment, but when we think and when we speak and when we act we must see the shadow of those millions of workers back in the shops and the factories casting itself over our deliberations, and to them we must respond in a wholehearted, patriotic way, because if we help them we are paid. If we fail, they fail.

I am sure there will be much discussion of the National Recovery Act and its application. I am sure we will

be able to show where men and women have been ruthlessly discharged because they dared to join our Union, and we will be able to show where the hours of labor have been increased rather than decreased and where wages have been reduced rather than increased. All of that will be brought out in the discussion that will take place on the floor of this convention. But when we discuss those things let us bear in mind that this nation, under the leadership of a great inspired President, has embarked upon a great adventure. We, the men and women of labor, must stand behind our great leader. I have been sorry to observe, as you have been, that many of the employers of labor have shown a spirit of opposition to this whole program, and the reason why the hours of labor in many of these codes are so long and the wages so low is because many of them have come here bargaining, bargaining, driving, insisting upon the establishment of hours of labor at the highest possible point. They do not seem to have caught the spirit of the National Recovery Act, and so they have gone home boasting in some instances, as it were, that "We drove the better bargain."

But the men of labor have supported the whole program patiently, and it is my opinion that the President himself will rely upon the hosts of labor to see this thing satisfactorily through, and I believe in the end that righteousness and justice will prevail. At any rate, we have crossed the Rubicon, there is no turning back, we cannot change, we must see it through, and if it goes through successfully it will be because the hosts of labor have been patient and have stood manfully behind the President while he has worked out our problems.

Now may I say to our great radio audience, many men and women whom I know are listening in, that here assembled in the city of Washington, in the large hall of The Willard Hotel, is an audience that completely fills the hall to overflowing. They are thinking of you and your problems back home, and it is you and your problems that will occupy the attention of these men and women. I know your eyes are turned to Washington, you are awaiting the outcome of this convention, and I sincerely hope when the proceedings are over you will be able to place upon our work your earnest and sincere benediction.

And now let us carry on in this great Fifty-third Convention of the American Federation of Labor. Just think of it! Fifty-three congresses of labor and the labor movement a stronger, a more vital, a more influential force in the affairs of the nation than ever before. We have refused to be swayed from

our path and our policy by any strange philosophy. We have refused to listen to the appeals of those who have asked us to accept a substitution for our great trade union philosophy, and I know that we will still refuse and we will stand here fairly and squarely upon the principles that have made our movement great. We will carry on in that same militant, earnest spirit until men and women are made free, homes are made prosperous, and every idle man and woman given an opportunity to earn a decent living.

I thank you.

I now have the very great honor of declaring this Fifty-third annual convention of the American Federation of Labor legally assembled and open for the transaction of business.

During the proceedings of the convention we will be honored by the presence of distinguished representatives of the Government and distinguished citizens. We extended a number of invitations to these distinguished people to meet with us, to greet you and bring to you a message. All of them have accepted our invitations, so that during the proceedings of the convention we will be honored by the presence of these distinguished people.

We have on the platform our fraternal delegates from Great Britain and the fraternal delegate from Canada, representing the workers of Great Britain, millions of them there, and the workers of Canada. In due course of time I will be pleased to present them to you, and they, I know, will bring to you a message that will be instructive, educational and inspiring.

The Committee on Local Arrangements has provided entertainment both for the delegates and for the visitors, and, as I understand, especially for all the ladies in attendance at the convention, so that no one will be overlooked. I deemed it appropriate to make this announcement just now, because I think these announcements answer many silent inquiries that are being made by many of the delegates and visitors.

Our next order of business is the report of the Committee on Credentials. The Chair recognizes Delegate Schmal, of the Photo-Engravers' Union, Secretary of the Committee.

Delegate Schmal, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

Washington, D. C.,
October 2, 1933.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Fifty-third 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 554 delegates, representing 92 International and National Unions, 4 Departments, 32 State Branches, 234 Central Bodies, 40 Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions, and 4 Fraternal Delegates, and recommend that the following be seated:

Actors and Artists of America, Associated—Frank Gillmore, 33 votes.

Air Line Pilots' Association, International—Edward G. Hamilton, 6 votes.

Asbestos Workers, International Association of Heat and Frost Insulators and—Joseph A. Mullaney, 20 votes.

Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America—A. N. Myrup, J. Goldstone, Peter Beisel, 159 votes.

Barbers' International Union, Journeymen—James C. Shanessy, William C. Birthright, Charles T. Crane, Patrick H. Reagan, Anthony Merlino, 320 votes.

Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and Helpers, International Brotherhood of—Roy Horn, Wm. F. Kramer, 50 votes.

Boilermakers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America, International Brotherhood of—J. A. Franklin, J. N. Davis, William E. Walter, 142 votes.

Bookbinders, International Brotherhood of—John E. Haggerty, J. B. Prewitz, Mary Meehan, 107 votes.

Boot and Shoe Workers' Union—John J. Mara, 134 votes.

Brewery, Flour, Cereal and Soft Drink Workers of America, International Union of the United—Joseph Obergefell, Albert J. Kugler, John Sullivan, 160 votes.

Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union of America—William J. Bowen, Harry C. Bates, Walter V. Price, R. J. Gray, John J. Gleeson, 458 votes.

Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, International Association—P. J. Morrin, W. J. McCain, Wm. P. McGinn, 100 votes.

Building Service Employees' International Union—Jerry J. Horan, Oscar F. Nelson, Charles F. Wills, William McFetridge, 180 votes.

Carmen of America, Brotherhood Railway—Martin Francis Ryan, John O. Holmgren, L. A. Beaudry, F. H. Knight, 592 votes.

Carpenters and Joiners of America, United Brotherhood of—William L. Hutcheson, Frank Duffy, George H. Lakey, Thomas F. Flynn, Charles Hanson, 2,058 votes.

Cigarmakers' International Union of America—I. M. Ornburn, G. W. Perkins, 98 votes.

Clerks, National Federation of Post Office—Leo E. George, Gilbert E. Hyatt, Thomas E. McCann, J. Cline House, Irving W. Johnson, 360 votes.

Clerks, Brotherhood of Railway—George M. Harrison, W. P. Fitzgerald, H. J. Chapman, 600 votes.

Clerks' International Protective Association, Retail—C. C. Coulter, 50 votes.

Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union—Samuel Herzhowitz, Abraham Mendelowitz, 61 votes.

Conductors, Order of Sleeping Car—E. D. Ople, 20 votes.

Coopers' International Union of North America—Joseph Kunz, 7 votes.

Draftsmen's Unions, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and—C. L. Rosemund, 7 votes.

Electrical Workers of America, International Brotherhood of—D. W. Tracy, G. M. Bugniacet, E. D. Bieretz, Chas. M. Paulsen, D. F. Cleary, A. W. McIntyre, 941 votes.

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

Engineers, International Union of Operating—John Posschl, F. A. Fitzgerald, William E. Maloney, William P. Walsh, C. C. Callan, 350 votes.

Engravers, Friendly Society of—John Allison, 1 vote.

Engravers' Union of North America, International Photo—Edward J. Volz, Henry F. Schmal, Matthew Woll, 87 votes.

Fire Fighters, International Association of—Fred W. Baer, George J. Richardson, John Heinz, Vincent J. Kane, 180 votes.

Firemen and Oilers, International Brotherhood of—John F. McNamara, John Conway, Robert J. Tormey, 92 votes.

Fur Workers' Union of the United States and Canada, International—Pietro Lucchi, 5 votes.

Garment Workers of America, United—T. A. Rickert, J. L. Wines, A. Gordon, A. Adamski, D. A. Houck, 395 votes.

Garment Workers' Union, International Ladies—David Dubinsky, I. Wasilevsky, Benjamin Kaplan, Abraham W. Katovsky, 250 votes.

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

Glass Workers Union, American Flint, M. J. Gillooly, 36 votes.

Glove Workers' Union of America, International—Elisabeth Christman, 5 votes.

Government Employees, American Federation of—E. Claude Babcock, David R. Glass, 42 votes.

Hatters of North America, United—Michael F. Greene, Martin Lawlor, Nellie H. Gallagher, 85 votes.

Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union of America, International—Joseph V. Moreschi, Joseph Marshall, Herbert Rivers, J. B. Etchison, John Garvey, 521 votes.

Hotel and Restaurant Employees and Beverage Dispensers' International Alliance—Edward Flore, Robert B. Hesketh, Emanuel Koveleski, 227 votes.

Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, Amalgamated Association of—M. F. Tighe, 46 votes.

Jewelry Workers' Union, International—Henry J. Moynihan, 10 votes.

Lathers, International Union of Wood, Wire and Metal—William J. McSorley, Charles J. Case, George T. Moore, 81 votes.

Laundry Workers' International Union—Roy Burt, Anna J. Brown, 50 votes.

Leather Workers, United, International Union—W. E. Bryan, 8 votes.

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

Letter Carriers, National Federation of Rural—Walt D. Weise, 12 votes.

Lithographers' International Protective and Beneficial Association of the United States and Canada—Robert Bruck, Andrew J. Kennedy, 52 votes.

Longshoremen's Association, International—Joseph P. Ryan, Emil Camaida, 234 votes.

Machinists, International Association of—A. O. Wharton, Dan Haggerty, N. P. Allfas, R. A. Henning, Charles Fry, W. F. Robinson, 650 votes.

Maintenance of Way Employees, Brotherhood of—F. H. Fljoldal, E. E. Milliman, F. C. Gassman, A. F. Stout, 278 votes.

Marble, Slate and Stone Polishers, Rubbers and Sawyers, Tile and Marble Setters' Helpers, and Terrazzo Helpers, International Association of—William McCarthy, Joseph A. McInerney, 62 votes.

Masters, Mates and Pilots of America, National Organization—John J. Scully, 25 votes.

Master Mechanics and Foremen of Navy Yards and Naval Stations, National Association of—Harry Turner Morningstar, 1 vote.

Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, Amalgamated—Patrick E. Gorman, Dennis Lane, Michael J. Kelly, 111 votes.

Metal Workers' International Association, Sheet—John J. Hynes, James W. Close, James J. Ryan, James T. Moriarty, 175 votes.

Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, International Union of—Thomas H. Brown, 13 votes.

Mine Workers of America, United—John L. Lewis, Philip Murray, Thomas Kennedy, William Green, John Boylan, M. Hartneady, Mart F. Brennan, P. T. Fagan, 3,000 votes.

Molders' Union of North America, International—Lawrence O'Keefe, N. D. Smith, 60 votes.

Musicians, American Federation of—Jos. N. Weber, Chas. L. Bagley, Edward Canavan, Chauncey A. Weaver, Adolph Hirschberg, John W. Parks, 1,000 votes.

Oil Field, Gas Well and Refinery Workers of America—Harvey C. Fremming, 3 votes.

Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America, Brotherhood of—L. P. Lindelof, Clarence E. Swick, Christian M. Madsen, James P. Meehan, Harry Kaufman, 593 votes.

Paper Makers, International Brotherhood of—Matthew J. Burns, 23 votes.

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

Pavers, Rammermen, Flag Layers, Bridge and Stone Curb Setters and Sheet Asphalt Pavers, International Union of—Edward I. Hannah, 20 votes.

Piano and Organ Workers' Union of America, International—Frank Helle, 1 vote.

Plasterers' International Association of the United States and Canada, Opera-

tive—M. J. Colleran, John E. Rooney, T. A. Scully, John H. Donlin, 226 votes.

Plumbers and Steam Fitters of the United States and Canada, United Association of—John Coefield, Thomas E. Burke, Chas. M. Rau, Chas. Anderson, William Fallon, 450 votes.

Polishers, Metal, International Union—W. W. Britton, 14 votes.

Potters, National Brotherhood of Operative—James M. Duffy, William Ashbaugh, 45 votes.

Printers, Die Stampers and Engravers' Union of North America, International Plate—James H. Windsor, 10 votes.

Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union of North America, International—George L. Berry, Edward F. McGrady, Raymond J. Roche, R. A. Dickson, J. Paul Smith, 353 votes.

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

Railway Employes of America, Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric—W. D. Mahon, W. D. Robbins, John C. Carey, Fred Schultz, John A. McConnell, 712 votes.

Railway Mail Association—W. M. Collins, Henry W. Strickland, 200 votes.

Roofers, Damp and Waterproof Workers' Association, United Slate, Tile and Composition—George W. Jones, J. M. Gavlak, 40 votes.

Seamen's Union of America, International—Andrew Furuseth, Victor A. Olander, 60 votes.

Sheep Shearers' Union of North America—A. A. Evans, 6 votes.

Stage Employes and Moving Picture Machine Operators of the United States and Canada, International Alliance of Theatrical—William C. Elliott, Fred J. Dempsey, James F. Burke, William H. Clendenning, 240 votes.

Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Union of North America, International—Leon De Veze, Chas. A. Sumner, 82 votes.

Stone Cutters' Association of North America, Journeymen—M. W. Mitchell, P. J. Cullen, 56 votes.

Stove Mounters' International Union—Edw. W. Kaiser, 6 votes.

Switchmen's Union of North America—James B. Connors, 63 votes.

Tailors' Union of America, Journeymen—Gust Soderberg, 17 votes.

Teachers, American Federation of—Florence Curtis Hanson, Selma M. Borchardt, 70 votes.

Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America, International Brotherhood of—Daniel J. Tobin, Thomas L. Hughes, John M. Gillespie, L. G. Goudie, John McLaughlin, J. J. McKenna, 713 votes.

Telegraphers, Order of Railroad—E. J. Manion, G. E. Leighty, 350 votes.

Telegraphers' Union of North America, the Commercial—Frank B. Powers, 22 votes.

Textile Workers of America, United—Thomas F. McMahon, John P. O'Connell, Emil Rieve, 150 votes.

Typographical Union, International—Charles P. Howard, Frank Morrison, William R. Trotter, John Simons, Frank X. Martel, Roy C. Cline, 738 votes.

Upholsterers' International Union of North America—James H. Hatch, Edwin E. Graves, 65 votes.

Wall Paper Crafts of North America, United—Alfred H. Billet, 5 votes.

Building Trades Department—M. J. McDonough, 1 vote.

Metal Trades Department—John P. Frey, 1 vote.

Railroad Employes' Department—Bert M. Jewell, 1 vote.

Union Label Trades Department—John J. Manning, 1 vote.

Alabama State Federation of Labor—Walter F. Schaffer, 1 vote.

Arizona State Federation of Labor—Albert Runkle, 1 vote.

Arkansas State Federation of Labor—Vic Wood, 1 vote.

California State Federation of Labor—Paul Scharrenberg, 1 vote.

Colorado State Federation of Labor—C. E. Noxon, 1 vote.

Georgia State Federation of Labor—John F. Scott, 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.

Iowa State Federation of Labor—J. C. Lewis, 1 vote.

Kansas State Federation of Labor—Earl Bond, 1 vote.

Kentucky State Federation of Labor—Wm. E. Hulsbeck, 1 vote.

Maryland State and District of Columbia Federation of Labor—Joseph P. McCurdy, 1 vote.

Massachusetts State Federation of Labor—Robert J. Watt, 1 vote.

Michigan State Federation of Labor—D. F. Erskine, 1 vote.

Minnesota State Federation of Labor—E. G. Hall, 1 vote.

Mississippi State Federation of Labor—M. L. Ritchie, 1 vote.

Missouri State Federation of Labor—C. W. Verink, 1 vote.

Montana State Federation of Labor—James D. Graham, 1 vote.

Nebraska State Federation of Labor—Frank P. Lewis, 1 vote.

New Jersey State Federation of Labor—James A. Walsh, 1 vote.

New York State Federation of Labor—John M. O'Hanlon, 1 vote.

North Carolina State Federation of Labor—E. L. Sandefur, 1 vote.

Ohio State Federation of Labor—Thomas J. Donnelly, 1 vote.

Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor—C. C. Boner, 1 vote.

Porto Rico—Free Federation of Workmen—Santiago Iglesias, 1 vote.

Rhode Island State Federation of Labor—Herbert F. Slater, 1 vote.

Texas State Federation of Labor—Alfred L. Bailey, 1 vote.

Utah State Federation of Labor—Geo. A. Yager, 1 vote.

Virginia State Federation of Labor—J. Fred Cherry, 1 vote.

West Virginia State Federation of Labor—Dallas Cornell, 1 vote.

Wyoming State Federation of Labor—Harry W. Fox, 1 vote.

Alton, Ill., Trades and Labor Assembly—A. Van Coille, 1 vote.

Akron, O., Summit County Central Labor Union—John A. Shuff, 1 vote.

Alexandria, La., Central Labor Union—E. E. Flowers, 1 vote.

Altoona, Pa., Central Labor Union—George B. Rich, 1 vote.

Anaheim, Calif., Orange County Central Labor Union—Geo. B. Vest, 1 vote.

Anderson, Ind., Madison County Central Labor Council—Charles H. Hartley, 1 vote.

Ann Arbor, Mich., Trades and Labor Council—Redmond M. Burr, 1 vote.

Appleton, Wis., Trades Council—Lawrence E. Wirtz, 1 vote.

Asheville, N. C., Central Labor Union—W. B. Plemmons, 1 vote.

- Atlanta, Ga., Federation of Trades—W. D. Langley, 1 vote.
- Aurora, Ill., Trades and Labor Assembly—Frank Allen, 1 vote.
- Austin, Texas, Trades Council—E. P. Ischey, 1 vote.
- Balboa, C. Z., Central Labor Union—A. M. Horle, 1 vote.
- Baltimore, Md., Federation of Labor—Charles Reviol, 1 vote.
- Bartlesville, Okla., Central Trades Council—Floyd Blackman, 1 vote.
- Batavia, N. Y., Central Labor Union—Clarence T. Johnson, 1 vote.
- Battle Creek, Mich., Federation of Labor—Harry M. Slout, 1 vote.
- Benton Harbor and St. Joseph, Mich., Central Labor Union—Granville R. Cutler, 1 vote.
- Billings, Mont., Yellowstone County Trades and Labor Assembly—Louis G. De Nayer, 1 vote.
- Binghamton, N. Y., Central Labor Union—Jeremiah Ryan, 1 vote.
- Bloomington, Ill., Trades and Labor Assembly—Fred E. Shoup, 1 vote.
- Blue Island, Ill., Central Labor Union—Steve C. Sumner, 1 vote.
- Boston, Mass., Central Labor Union—William F. Dwyer, 1 vote.
- Bridgeport, Conn., Central Labor Union—James V. Fensore, 1 vote.
- Brockton, Mass., Central Labor Union—Frank Motta, 1 vote.
- Burlington, Iowa, Trades and Labor Assembly—Roy F. Standard, 1 vote.
- Butler, Pa., United Labor Council—Paul E. Smith, 1 vote.
- Butte, Mont., Silver Bow Trades and Labor Council—Chas. Malloy, 1 vote.
- Cambridge, Mass., Central Labor Union—Herman Koster, 1 vote.
- Camden, N. J., Central Labor Union—John McCarroll, 1 vote.
- Canton, O., Central Labor Union—Oliver M. Stublely, 1 vote.
- Cedar Rapids, Iowa, Federation of Labor—Frank C. Jiruska, 1 vote.
- Charleston, S. C., Central Labor Union—L. W. Dadin, 1 vote.
- Charlotte, N. C., Central Labor Union—W. H. Fowler, 1 vote.
- Chattanooga, Tenn., Trades and Labor Council—Arthur C. Kamin, 1 vote.
- Chicago, Ill., Federation of Labor—Fred C. Dahms, 1 vote.
- Chicago Heights, Ill., Trades and Labor Assembly—Fred Groth, 1 vote.
- Cincinnati, O., Central Labor Council—Adolf Kummer, 1 vote.
- Clarksburg, W. Va., Central Labor Union—Sam Corbin, 1 vote.
- Cleveland, O., Federation of Labor—Henry W. Raisse, 1 vote.
- Clinton, Ind., Vermillion County Central Labor Union—Tom White, 1 vote.
- Clinton, Iowa, Tri-City Labor Congress of Clinton and Lyons, Iowa, and Fulton, Ill.—Paul Nadelhofer, 1 vote.
- Columbia, S. C., Federation of Trades—Carroll L. Addy, 1 vote.
- Columbus, Ga., Central Labor Union—W. C. Jeffries, 1 vote.
- Columbus, O., Federation of Labor—H. T. Hamilton, 1 vote.
- Cumberland, Md., Allegany County Trades Council—William A. Miller, 1 vote.
- Dallas, Tex., Central Labor Council—C. E. Rupart, 1 vote.
- Danbury, Conn., Central Labor Union—Irving Lowm, 1 vote.
- Danville, Ill., Trades and Labor Council—Robert E. Burnett, 1 vote.
- Danville, Va., Central Labor Union—T. A. Ferrell, 1 vote.
- Dayton, O., Central Labor Union—Edgar W. Kern, 1 vote.
- Daytona Beach, Fla., Central Labor Union—M. E. Forsyth, 1 vote.
- Decatur, Ill., Trades and Labor Assembly—G. L. Jackson, 1 vote.
- Des Moines, Ia., Trades and Labor Assembly—D. O. Seaman, 1 vote.
- Detroit, Mich., Federation of Labor—Roger M. Kennedy, 1 vote.
- Dubuque, Iowa, Trades and Labor Congress—Thomas S. Smith, 1 vote.
- Duluth, Minn., Federated Trades Assembly—W. C. Kitzman, 1 vote.
- Easton, Pa., Central Labor Union—Stewart A. Selfert, 1 vote.
- East St. Louis, Ill., Central Trades and Labor Union—A. L. Wegener, 1 vote.
- Eau Claire, Wis., Trades and Labor Council—Frank Schlageter, 1 vote.
- Elmira, N. Y., Central Trades and Labor Assembly—John E. Murphy, 1 vote.
- Elizabeth, N. J., Central Labor Union—Golie B. Hagin, 1 vote.
- Erie, Pa., Central Labor Union—Jas. B. Murray, 1 vote.

Evansville, Ind., Central Labor Union—L. E. De Witt, 1 vote.

Fairmont, W. Va., Monongahela Valley Trades and Labor Council—W. C. Davis, 1 vote.

Fall River, Mass., Central Labor Union—George H. Cottell, 1 vote.

Flint, Mich., Federation of Labor—Earl Langdon, 1 vote.

Fond du Lac, Wis., Trades and Labor Council—William Rieder, 1 vote.

Fort Wayne, Ind., Federation of Labor—Charles O. Smith, 1 vote.

Fort Worth, Tex., Trades Assembly—A. L. Bailey, 1 vote.

Galveston, Tex., Labor Council—M. H. Snow, 1 vote.

Glens Falls, N. Y., Trades and Labor Assembly—Ralph Guy, 1 vote.

Grand Island, Nebr., Central Labor Union—Roy M. Brewer, 1 vote.

Grand Rapids, Mich., Federation of Labor—L. W. Leland, 1 vote.

Great Falls, Mont., Cascade County Trades and Labor Assembly—Bruce I. Steinmetz, 1 vote.

Green Bay, Wis., Federated Trades Council—Richard O. Meister, 1 vote.

Greensboro, N. C., Central Labor Union—C. S. Trogdon, 1 vote.

Hamilton, Ont., Can., District and Labor Council—E. W. A. O'Dell, 1 vote.

Hamilton, Ohio, Co-Operative Trades and Labor Council—Milton Doll, 1 vote.

Hammond, Ind., Central Labor Union—Edward Almy, 1 vote.

Hannibal, Mo., Trades and Labor Assembly—L. F. Becker, 1 vote.

Harrisburg, Pa., Central Labor Union—Lawrence J. Katz, 1 vote.

Hartford, Conn., Central Labor Union—Harry L. Stagg, 1 vote.

Hattiesburg, Miss., Central Trades and Labor Union—Henry W. De Witt, 1 vote.

Haverhill, Mass., Central Labor Union—Edward M. Foley, 1 vote.

Hazleton, Pa., Central Labor Union—G. A. Gichy, 1 vote.

Houston, Tex., Labor Council—Edward J. Miller, 1 vote.

Huntington, W. Va., Central Labor Union—John A. Pfau, 1 vote.

Hutchinson, Kans., Central Labor Union—William Dixon, 1 vote.

Hon. N. Y., Central Labor Union—Robert Fechner, 1 vote.

Indianapolis, Ind., Central Labor Union—Adolph Fritz, 1 vote.

Jackson, Mich., Federation of Labor—Earl Ramsey, 1 vote.

Jackson, Miss., Central Labor Union—J. A. Kuriger, 1 vote.

Jackson, Tenn., Trades and Labor Council—Guy Merritt, 1 vote.

Jacksonville, Fla., Central Labor Union—John N. Spearing, 1 vote.

Janesville, Wis., Central Labor Union—Lawrence Sweeney, 1 vote.

Jersey City, N. J., Central Labor Union of Hudson County—Anthony Boscarelli, 1 vote.

Joliet, Ill., Central Trades and Labor Council of Will County—Anthony Augustino, 1 vote.

Joplin, Mo., Central Labor Union—John W. H. Rogers, 1 vote.

Kalamazoo, Mich., Federation of Labor—George Heath, 1 vote.

Kankakee, Ill., Federation of Labor—Perry Powers, 1 vote.

Kansas City, Kans., Central Labor Union—C. C. Bretz, 1 vote.

Kansas City, Mo., Central Labor Union—Felix D. Snow, 1 vote.

Kenosha, Wis., Trades and Labor Council—John Sublisky, 1 vote.

Kensington, Ill., Calumet Joint Labor Council—Jeff. O. Johnson, 1 vote.

Knoxville, Tenn., Central Labor Union—Frank J. Torlay, 1 vote.

Kokomo, Ind., Trades and Labor Council—Fred C. Blacker, 1 vote.

Lancaster, Pa., Central Labor Union—Cecil Patterson, 1 vote.

Lansing, Mich., Federation of Labor—John P. Fitzgerald, 1 vote.

La Porte, Ind., Central Labor Union—Floyd Barnett, 1 vote.

Lawton, Okla., Central Labor Union—Wm. G. Zea, 1 vote.

Lexington, Ky., Central Labor Union—R. L. Hulett, 1 vote.

Lincoln, Neb., Central Labor Union—James P. McCauley, 1 vote.

Los Angeles, Calif., Central Labor Council—Lew G. C. Blix, 1 vote.

Louisville, Ky., United Trades and Labor Assembly—John Schneider, 1 vote.

Lowell, Mass., Trades and Labor Council—Sidney Le Bow, 1 vote.

Macon, Ga., Federation of Trades—J. O. Morgan, 1 vote.

Madison, Wis., Federation of Labor—Elmer Wigdahl, 1 vote.

- Mansfield, O., Trades Council—J. R. Lutz, 1 vote.
- Marion, Ill., Central Trades and Labor Council—Robert Norman, 1 vote.
- Marletta, O., Trades and Labor Assembly—Robert A. Skipton, 1 vote.
- Marion, O., Central Labor Union—Ralph K. Ruppert, 1 vote.
- Marshall, Tex., Central Trades and Labor Council—James A. Cornwall, 1 vote.
- Memphis, Tenn., Trades and Labor Council—Sam D. Campbell, 1 vote.
- Miami, Fla., Central Labor Union—B. P. Walker, 1 vote.
- Michigan City, Ind., Central Labor Union—S. C. Blande, 1 vote.
- Middletown, O., Trades and Labor Council—Ramond Fabing, 1 vote.
- Milwaukee, Wis., Federated Trades Council—James P. Sheehan, 1 vote.
- Minot, N. D., Central Labor Union—John S. Ceglowski, 1 vote.
- Mobile, Ala., Central Trades Council—Harry Q. Browne, 1 vote.
- Monroe, La., Central Trades and Labor Council—Clyde C. Blanchard, 1 vote.
- Muskogee, Okla., Central Labor Union—William L. Milne, 1 vote.
- Muskegon, Mich., Trades and Labor Council—Carlyle Williams, 1 vote.
- Newark, N. J., Essex Trades Council of Essex County—Thomas V. Green, 1 vote.
- New Bedford, Mass., Central Labor Union—Walter England, 1 vote.
- New Britain, Conn., Central Labor Union—George Doerner, 1 vote.
- New Brunswick, N. J., Trades and Labor Federation—Frank Blue, 1 vote.
- New Castle, Pa., Trades and Labor Assembly—Norman Freeborn, 1 vote.
- New Haven, Conn., Trades Council—Jerome Davis, 1 vote.
- New London, Conn., Central Labor Union—W. W. Lucas, 1 vote.
- New Orleans, La., Trades and Labor Council—James Dempsey, 1 vote.
- Newport, Ky., Trades and Labor Assembly of Kenton and Campbell Counties—G. V. Weizenecker, 1 vote.
- Newport, R. I., Central Labor Union—Edward Patrick, 1 vote.
- Newport News, Va., Central Labor Union—E. J. Shave, 1 vote.
- New York, N. Y., Central Trades and Labor Council of Greater New York and Vicinity—James C. Quinn, 1 vote.
- Norwich, Conn., Central Labor Union—James C. Sullivan, 1 vote.
- Norfolk, Va., Central Labor Union—W. A. Purdie, 1 vote.
- Norwalk, Conn., Central Labor Union—Walter Blauvelt, 1 vote.
- Oklahoma City, Okla., Central Trades and Labor Assembly—Joseph C. Campbell, 1 vote.
- Omaha, Nebr., Central Labor Union—John J. McMahon, 1 vote.
- Orlando, Fla., Central Labor Union—Arthur Pope, 1 vote.
- Oshkosh, Wis., Trades and Labor Council—James Hart, 1 vote.
- Ottawa, Ont., Can., Allied Trades and Labor Association—P. M. Draper, 1 vote.
- Paducah, Ky., Central Labor Union—Edwin S. Clay, 1 vote.
- Pawtucket, R. I., Central Trades and Labor Union—Fred W. Newcomb, 1 vote.
- Peoria, Ill., Trades and Labor Assembly—John H. Wald, 1 vote.
- Pensacola, Fla., Central Labor Union—Philip Ickler, 1 vote.
- Perth Amboy, N. J., Central Labor Union—Hans A. Lund, 1 vote.
- Phoenix, Ariz., Central Labor Council—L. W. Phillips, 1 vote.
- Piqua, O., Central Labor Union—Joel Hixon, 1 vote.
- Pittsburg, Kans., United Trades and Labor Council—Mikel J. McMullen, 1 vote.
- Pittsburgh, Pa., Central Labor Union—Ralph C. Freeman, 1 vote.
- Plainfield, N. J., Central Labor Union—George Cushing, 1 vote.
- Ponca City, Okla., Central Labor Union—A. H. Erwin, 1 vote.
- Port Huron, Mich., Trades and Labor Council—Floyd S. Van Conant, 1 vote.
- Portland, Me., Central Labor Union—Frank H. Jackman, 1 vote.
- Pontiac, Mich., Central Labor Union—Wm. Oleson, 1 vote.
- Portsmouth, Va., Central Labor Union—M. J. Hanley, 1 vote.
- Pottsville, Pa., Central Labor Union—George H. Fey, 1 vote.
- Princeton, Ind., Gibson County Central Labor Union—Otis Potter, 1 vote.
- Racine, Wis., Trades and Labor Council—Stephan Thomas, 1 vote.
- Richmond, Ind., Central Trades and Labor Council—Clarence Hawkins, 1 vote.

Richmond, Va., Central Trades and Labor Council—W. D. Anderson, 1 vote.

Roanoke, Va., Central Labor Union—Stafford M. Price, 1 vote.

Rochester, N. Y., Central Trades and Labor Council—Michael J. Mungovan, 1 vote.

Rockford, Ill., Central Labor Union—William Yalden, 1 vote.

Rock Island, Ill., Tri-City Federation of Labor—Oscar Moody, 1 vote.

St. Cloud, Minn., Central Labor Union—Wm. T. Madigan, 1 vote.

St. Joseph, Mich., Twin City Federation of Labor—Granville R. Cutler, 1 vote.

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

St. Louis, Mo., Central Trades and Labor Union—W. M. Brandt, 1 vote.

St. Paul, Minn., Trades and Labor Assembly—J. H. McHugh, 1 vote.

St. Petersburg, Fla., Central Labor Union—H. L. McFarlin, 1 vote.

Salem, Mass., Central Labor Union—Leo F. Barber, 1 vote.

Sallsbury, N. C., Central Labor Union—C. J. Ritchie, 1 vote.

San Bernardino, Calif., Central Labor Council—Harry E. Reynolds, 1 vote.

San Diego, Calif., Federated Trades and Labor Council—E. H. Dowell, 1 vote.

Sandusky, Ohio, Central Labor Union—George J. Ladd, 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.

Sarasota, Fla., Central Labor Union—Jas. A. Scobie, 1 vote.

Schenectady, N. Y., Trades Assembly—Harry A. Engle, 1 vote.

Seranton, Pa., Central Labor Union—Lawrence J. Campbell, 1 vote.

Sharon, Pa., United Labor League—Howard L. Boyd, 1 vote.

Sheboygan, Wis., Labor Council—Orrin Kuether, 1 vote.

Shreveport, La., Central Trades and Labor Council—Tom W. Holmes, 1 vote.

Sioux City, Iowa, Trades and Labor Assembly—J. R. Marksbury, 1 vote.

Sioux Falls, S. D., Trades and Labor Assembly—C. W. Akin, 1 vote.

South Bend, Ind., Central Labor Union—Lee McGuire, 1 vote.

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

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

Springfield, Mo., Central Trades and Labor Assembly—Jess Tuckness, 1 vote.

Springfield, O., Trades and Labor Assembly—Peter Gaughan, 1 vote.

Stamford, Conn., Central Labor Union—Nicholas Trumboli, 1 vote.

Stevens Point, Wis., Federated Trades and Labor Council—Arthur Warning, 1 vote.

Stockton, Calif., San Joaquin County Central Labor Council—Alfred Meyer, 1 vote.

Superior, Wis., Federation of Labor—Ralph Pink, 1 vote.

Syracuse, N. Y., Central Trades and Labor Assembly—William Cushing, 1 vote.

Terre Haute, Ind., Central Labor Union—Roy Musgrave, 1 vote.

Texarkana, Tex., Central Trades and Labor Council—Burman Hooker, 1 vote.

Topeka, Kans., Federation of Labor—Fred W. Rausch, 1 vote.

Toronto, Ont., Can., District Labor Council—William E. Covert, 1 vote.

Trenton, N. J., Mercer County Central Labor Union—Louis P. Marciante, 1 vote.

Tucson, Ariz., Central Trades Council—Spiro E. Kontas, 1 vote.

Tulsa, Okla., Federation of Labor—W. B. Petty, 1 vote.

Tyler, Tex., Central Labor Union—F. L. McKiel, 1 vote.

Uniontown, Pa., Trades and Labor Council—W. H. Bierer, 1 vote.

Urbana and Champaign, Ill., Twin City Federation of Labor—J. E. Pruett, 1 vote.

Vallejo, Calif., Central Labor Council—John Geraghty, 1 vote.

Vincennes, Ind., Central Labor Union—Frank Sparrow, 1 vote.

Washington, D. C., Central Labor Union—James J. Noonan, 1 vote.

Washington, Pa., Central Labor Union—Everett W. Seal, 1 vote.

Waterbury, Conn., Central Labor Union—James F. Corrigan, 1 vote.

Waterloo, Ia., Central Labor Union—James A. Seese, 1 vote.

West Palm Beach, Fla., Central Labor Union—E. F. Wedekind, 1 vote.

Wheeling, W. Va., Ohio Valley Trades and Labor Assembly—Henry R. Fitton, 1 vote.

Wichita, Kans., Trades and Labor Assembly—F. E. Welsh, 1 vote.

Wilkes-Barre, Pa., Central Labor Union—John B. Mitchell, 1 vote.

Wilmington, Del., Central Labor Union—John C. Saylor, 1 vote.

Winston-Salem, N. C., Central Labor Union—H. R. Foust, 1 vote.

Woonsocket, R. I., Central Labor Union—Arthur J. Tessier, 1 vote.

Worcester, Mass., Central Labor Union—John E. Hauser, 1 vote.

York, Pa., Federation of Trade Unions—Edwin G. Hess, 1 vote.

Youngstown, Ohio, United Labor Congress—Wm. E. Hartman, 1 vote.

Aeronautical Workers, Federal Labor Union No. 18286, Buffalo, N. Y.—Chauncey J. Cook, 1 vote.

Automobile and Vehicle Workers' Union No. 18065, New York, N. Y.—Arthur E. Mack, 1 vote.

Automobile Workers, United, Federal Labor Union No. 18386, St. Louis, Mo.—George Seaton Darner, 1 vote.

Automobile Workers, United, Federal Labor Union No. 18525, Racine Wis.—Chester A. Mills, 1 vote.

Bakelite, Lacanite and Phenolic Workers' Federal Labor Union No. 18195, Scranton, Pa.—Hubert J. Gormley, 1 vote.

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

City and County Public Service Employees' Union No. 17212, Atlanta, Ga.—Louie P. Marquardt, 1 vote.

Cleaners, Dyers and Pressers' Union (Retail), No. 17934, St. Louis, Mo.—James T. Latham, 1 vote.

Cleaners, Dyers and Pressers' Union No. 17960, San Francisco, Cal.—George Ward, 1 vote.

Cleaners, Dyers, Spotters and Pressers' Union No. 18233, Philadelphia, Pa.—Reuben Suny, 1 vote.

Creamery Workers' Local No. 18396, Omaha, Nebr.—James Whiting, 1 vote.

Enamellers' Union No. 17240, Louisville, Kentucky—Michel Joseph, 1 vote.

Enamel Workers' Union No. 18261, Chattanooga, Tenn.—T. R. Cuthbert, 1 vote.

Federal Labor Union No. 18272, Warren, Ohio—Frank J. Perunko, 1 vote.

Federal Labor Union No. 18480, Lancaster, Ohio—John Sholtz, 1 vote.

Freight Handlers and Station Employees' Union No. 17769, Kansas City, Kans.—George Barnes, 1 vote.

Gas Workers' Union No. 18007, Chicago, Ill.—Patrick Gallagher, 6 votes.

Gas Workers' Union No. 18393, Malden, Mass.—Joseph Leighton, 1 vote.

Metal Stamping Assemblers' Union No. 18357, St. Louis, Mo.—Karl Lore, 1 vote.

Newspaper Writers' Union No. 17886, Chicago, Ill.—Morris Seskind, 1 vote.

Oyster and Shrimp Pickers, Canners and Packers' Union No. 18508, Bayou La Batre, Ala.—J. Edward Taite, 1 vote.

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

Porters, Sleeping Car, No. 18077, Kansas City, Mo.—S. Watson, 1 vote.

Radio and Television Workers' Federal Labor Union No. 18368, Philadelphia, Pa.—James B. Carey, 1 vote.

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

Rubber Workers', United, Federal Labor Union No. 18319, Akron, Ohio—F. L. Phillips, 1 vote.

Rubber Workers, United, Federal Labor Union No. 18321, Akron, Ohio—D. A. Little, 1 vote.

Rubber Workers, United, Federal Labor Union No. 18323, Akron, Ohio—John W. Minger, 1 vote.

Rubber Workers' United, Federal Labor Union No. 18363, Chicopee, Mass.—Thomas Burns, 1 vote.

State Administrative Employees' Association, Wisconsin, No. 18213, Madison, Wis.—A. S. Zander, 4 votes.

Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 11597, Indianapolis, Ind.—Edward Lynch, 1 vote.

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

Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Association No. 13188, San Francisco, Calif.—Anthony L. Noriega, 1 vote.

Stenographers, Typists, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 14268, Kansas City, Mo.—Marion Burns, 1 vote.

Textile Examiners and Finishers' Union No. 18205, New York, N. Y.—Louis Lufrano, 3 votes.

Theatre Ushers' Union No. 18234, Detroit, Mich.—Richard Hill, 1 vote.

Theatre Ushers' Union No. 15293, New York, N. Y.—Morris Tigel, 1 vote.

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

Theatrical Wardrobe Attendants' Union No. 16770, New York, N. Y.—Augusta Ocker, 3 votes.

Ushers, Doormen and Ticket Takers' Union No. 18464, Omaha, Nebr.—Howard A. Jackson, 1 vote.

British Trades Union Congress—James Rowan, J. A. Hall, 2 votes.

Canadian Trades and Labor Congress—Fred J. White, 1 vote.

National Women's Trade Union League of America—Elisabeth Christman.

Respectfully submitted,

W. M. BRANDT, Chairman,
FRED W. BAER,
HENRY F. SCHMAL, Secretary.

Secretary Schmal: We find from the report just submitted that this is the largest convention of the American Federation of Labor on record.

Your committee moves adoption of this report, with one exception, in which case there is a protest offered. The committee will be ready to meet and hear that case immediately after adjournment of this session.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

President Green: The committee will be continued, so that supplementary reports will be made from time to time.

The Chairman announced that a Committee on Rules and Order of Business had been appointed, and Secretary Morrison read the following list of members of the committee:

Rules and Order of Business—John Sullivan, James Hatch, Daisy A. Houck, Wm. P. McGinn, J. J. McKenna, E. Lewis Evans, Charles T. Crane, Thomas O'Brien, John E. Rooney, M. F. Brennan, Nellie H. Gallagher, E. D. Opie, H. W. Sullivan, F. C. Gassman, N. P. Allfas, George W. Jones, Frank Gillmore.

Secretary Morrison read the following communication from the Secretary of Labor, dated at Washington, September 27th:

Mr. William Green, President
American Federation of Labor
A. F. of L. Building
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. Green:

May I extend to you, and through you to all the delegates and their ladies, a cordial invitation to come to the Department of Labor any time they find it convenient during your Convention. They will find open house on any day, and we hope very much that we shall see many of them. The Administrative Heads of the Department are ready to welcome all who come.

With sincere good wishes for an interesting and profitable Convention, I am

Very truly yours,

FRANCES PERKINS,
Secretary of Labor.

President Green: I hope that all who can will avail themselves of the opportunity to visit the Department of Labor in response to the very cordial invitation of the Secretary of that Department.

The Secretary then announced the following appointments:

Clyde M. Mills, Member Typographical Union No. 101, Washington, D. C., Assistant Secretary of the Convention.

Annabelle Lee Glenn, Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 11773, of Washington, D. C., as Messenger of the Convention.

Edward J. Roche, Member of Bookbinders Local No. 4, of Washington, D. C., as Sergeant-at-Arms of the Convention.

President Green: It now seems we have completed the work of the morning session. The Committee on Rules and Order of Business will be ready to report upon convening this afternoon. In the meantime the rules of the previous convention will govern us.

At 12:30 o'clock the convention was adjourned to 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.

President Green: The Chair recognizes Delegate Sullivan, of the Committee on Rules and Order, for a report.

Delegate John Sullivan, Chairman of the Committee, reported as follows:

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RULES AND ORDER OF BUSINESS

Washington, D. C.,
October 2nd, 1933.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Fifty-third 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-third Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, convened in the City of Washington, District of Columbia, October 2nd, 1933, 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. This convention, however, will meet on Saturday of next week if the business of the convention is not completed.

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,

JOHN SULLIVAN, Chairman,
 Wm. P. MCGINN, Secretary,
 CHARLES T. CRANE,
 JOHN E. ROONEY,
 E. D. OPIE,
 N. P. ALIFAS,
 JAMES HATCH,
 DAISY HOUCK,
 J. J. MCKENNA,
 E. LEWIS EVANS,
 THOMAS O'BRIEN,
 M. F. BRENNAN,
 NELLIE H. GALLAGHER,
 H. W. SULLIVAN,
 E. E. MILLIMAN,
 GEORGE W. JONES,
 FRANK GILLMORE,
 F. C. GASSMAN,

Committee on Rules and Order of Business.

The report of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

President Green: I want to present to you now a distinguished American, one whose name is known in every household in the land. He has graciously consented to come and speak to us for a few moments this afternoon, and I cannot think of any time that would be more opportune and perhaps propitious than just now to introduce Judge John Barton Payne, Chairman of the Red Cross organization of the United States.

JUDGE JOHN BARTON PAYNE

(Chairman, Red Cross Organization of the United States)

Mr. Chairman, friends, delegates to the American Federation of Labor: I esteem it a very great honor to be invited by your President to briefly address you this afternoon. I want you to know the head of the American Red Cross, and if you ever have any reason to complain about any of its actions, I want you to see the man whom you can kick.

The American Red Cross was founded fifty-two years ago. It rests upon an international treaty, to which fifty-eight other nations belong. It

was chartered by the Congress of the United States. The charter under which we are now operating was approved by Theodore Roosevelt in 1905. It has certain charter obligations. It has performed services with which you are familiar. In 1930 we had the drouth involving twenty-three states. In 1927 the Mississippi floods, wherein we fed at once more than 650,000 people. In the drouth and the ensuing unemployment relief in 1931 the Red Cross served throughout the United States. We are not now engaged in unemployment relief, because that work has been taken over by the Government and we have not been invited to participate except here and there to assist. The Red Cross tendered the director in charge of that work its services and it stands ready to render that service whenever called upon to do so.

It is an organization controlled by a central committee of eighteen persons, six of whom, including the chairman, are appointed by the President of the United States; six are elected by the delegates from the chapters, and six by the persons and their successors who incorporated the Red Cross originally. It has its regular program of life saving, public health, nursing, first aid and many other things of that character, but in disasters it is regarded as a representative of the people of the United States and serves in every disaster, regardless of where it may occur. That is the Red Cross. It is non-partisan, it knows no race, no creed and no division of sentiment anywhere, but responds uniformly everywhere. Sometimes we have heard that controverted, but try it. You will speedily find that I tell the plain truth.

It is very good of you to listen to me, and I thank you very much for your attention. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

President Green: I wish to express to Judge Payne the appreciation of the officers and delegates in attendance at this convention for his visit and for his address. We are glad he came. I am glad he came so that you may know him.

We have received complaints occasionally from our local organizations regarding certain things that might have happened in the administration of the affairs of the Red Cross locally. Some of these complaints have touched me rather deeply, and I know they made a deep impression upon Judge Payne, but I want to say that it matters not what may be the character of the complaint nor where it comes from, Judge Payne has always responded in a very sympathetic and appropriate way and has taken up every complaint that has come through our office.

Secretary Morrison read the following telegram:

Chicago, Ill., October 1, 1933.

William Green, President,
American Federation of Labor,
A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C.

Will you kindly convey to the great American Federation of Labor convention the greetings and best wishes of the American Legion. The ideals of loyal citizenship and patriotism that have always been held in common by labor and the Legion this year especially have marked the activities of both our organizations. In our common support of the National Recovery Act we have faced some sacrifices together for the good of all our people. Until our country is out of the darkness of economic chaos we will continue to march shoulder to shoulder until this victory is won and every deserving man in America has a decent living wage. May your convention be a great success.

LOUIS JOHNSON,
National Commander,
The American Legion.

President Green: This telegram of greetings will be incorporated in the proceedings of today's session and an appropriate reply will be dispatched to Commander Johnson, of the American Legion, immediately, to be read at the convention of the American Legion now in session in Chicago.

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, George L. Berry, Thomas Kennedy, Wm. L. Hutcheson, F. H. Knight, Edward Fiore, J. J. Hynes, Andrew Furuseth, James C. Shanessy, Martin Lawlor, John J. Gleeson, John J. Mara, James H. Windsor, Charles Sumner, Henry W. Strickland, Jos. P. Ryan, Chas. Rau.

Committee on Resolutions—Matthew Woll, Victor A. Olander, George W. Perkins, A. A. Myrup, J. A. Franklin, John L. Lewis, Thomas L. Hughes, John Posehl, P. J. Morrin, John P. Frey, J. L. Wines, Charles P. Howard, Clarence E. Swick, M. J. Coleran, R. J. Gray, J. C. Lewis, Harvey Fremming.

Committee on Laws—Martin F. Ryan, Dennis Lane, W. D. Robbins, A. J. Kugler, Thomas F. McMahan, Charles Anderson, A. Gordon, E. E. Milliman, Thomas Flynn, Edward Canavan,

Charles P. Fry, R. J. Gray, Fred J. Dempsey, Edward I. Hannah, Dan Hagerty, E. J. Volz.

Committee on Organization—Frank Duffy, E. J. Manion, John P. Burke, David Dubinsky, Wm. E. Maloney, Patrick H. Reagan, George M. Harrison, Oscar F. Nelson, D. F. Cleary, Adolph Hirschberg, Andrew J. Kennedy, John Garvey, Roy Burt, W. D. Weise, Edward G. Hamilton, H. T. Morningstar, John J. Scully.

Committee on Labels—John J. Manning, C. W. Weaver, Gust Soderberg, Roy C. Cline, Charles Hanson, Joseph Obergfell, Peter Beisel, Harry Kaufman, Wm. Campbell, Anthony Merlino, Robert Bruck, Michael J. Kelly, A. Mendelowitz, W. E. Bryan, I. Wasilevsky, John Allison, H. J. Moynihan.

Committee on Adjustment—T. A. Rickert, James Maloney, Roy Horn, John F. McNamara, J. B. Etchison, Charles L. Bagley, Philip Murray, W. D. Mahon, F. J. Fljozdal, M. F. Tighe, Wm. C. Elliott, J. P. McLaughlin, M. F. Greene, D. W. Tracy, G. E. Leighty, N. D. Smith, W. F. Robinson.

Committee on Local and Federated Bodies—Joseph N. Weber, L. E. Swartz, J. O. Holmgren, Jos. M. Marshall, James B. Connors, Thos. E. McCann, Edw. Bieritz, A. Adamski, James C. Quinn, C. C. Coulter, John R. O'Connell, R. E. Woodmansee, C. C. Callan, Wm. C. Birthright, W. D. Langley, John A. O'Connell.

Committee on Education—A. O. Wharton, Florence Curtis Hanson, L. P. Lindelof, Thomas E. Burke, Wm. R. Trotter, M. T. Finnan, John B. Hagerty, W. P. Fitzgerald, Leo E. George, Robert Watt, Raymond J. Roche, P. T. Fagan, John W. Parks, R. G. Soderstrom, Fred Schultz, Elisabeth Christman.

Committee on State Organizations—G. M. Bugniazet, Wm. McCarthy, John Boylan, Jerry Horan, J. M. Gillespie, Patrick Gorman, Herbert Rivers, Wm. E. Walter, R. A. Dickson, E. G. Hall, Frank X. Martel, J. Goldstone, T. N. Taylor, J. B. Prewitt, Benjamin Kaplan, Thomas H. Brown.

Committee on Industrial Relations—John Coefield, Charles D. Duffy, Wm. P. Walsh, Charles J. Case, John C. McDonald, J. Clive House, M. J. Gillooly, Anna J. Brown, L. G. Goudie, John C. Carey, H. J. Chapman, R. A. Henning, Paul J. Smith, Wm. Ashbaugh, George J. Richardson, Joseph Kunz, James Close.

Committee on Building Trades—M. J. McDonough, Wm. J. McSorley, Jos. V. Moreschi, Frank Feeney, F. A. Fitzgerald, Joseph A. Mullaney, T. A. Scully, W. J. McCain, James J. Ryan, George H.

Lakey, Wm. Fallon, Harry C. Bates, M. W. Mitchell, Christian M. Madsen, Charles M. Paulsen, J. M. Gavlak, George T. Moore, Fred W. Saitor.

Committee on Shorter Workday—E. J. Gainor, L. E. Beaudry, John Simons, Michael Hartneady, James P. Meehan, L. O'Keefe, Frank B. Powers, Robert B. Hesketh, A. F. Stout, Joseph McInerney, Wm. F. Kramer, Mary Meehan, Emil Camalda, Wm. L. McFetridge, Abraham W. Katovsky, Irving W. Johnson.

Committee on Legislation—I. M. Ornburn, Gilbert E. Hyatt, W. W. Britton, Emanuel Koveleski, B. M. Jewell, Selma Borchardt, C. L. Rosemund, William Collins, Thomas J. Donnelly, D. J. Tobin, James M. Duffy, J. N. Davis, James T. Moriarty, John Donlin, Edward F. McGrady, E. C. Babcock.

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. J. Hynes, Wm. L. Hutcheson, John Coefield, Edward J. Gainor, Albert Adamski, Michael Greene, Wm. J. Bowen, John J. Manning, Joseph V. Moreschi, Joseph P. Ryan, E. E. Milliman, J. A. Franklin, John P. Frey, Thomas E. Burke, Christian M. Madsen.

Delegate Connors, Switchmen: In accordance with our usual procedure, I move that the name of President Green be added to the Committee on International Labor Relations.

The motion was seconded and unanimously adopted.

President Green: I wish to present to the convention First Vice-President Duffy, who will submit a condensed report of the Executive Council. The Chair now recognizes Vice-President Duffy.

Vice-President Duffy read the following summary:

SUMMARY, EXECUTIVE COUNCIL'S REPORT

The Report of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor for the year 1933 in its introduction notes the fitness of holding this convention in Washington—the busy activity of the National Recovery Administration and the dedication of the Gompers Memorial.

We include a report from Secretary Morrison showing current revenues for

the year \$457,923.90 and a balance on hand August 31, 1932, of \$368,444.97. Our total expenses for the year were \$424,236.07, leaving as the balance on September 1, 1933, \$402,132.80 of which \$66,621.44 was in the General Fund and \$333,511.36 in the Defense Fund.

During the year ending August 31, 1933, the Federation issued 391 charters—2 national, 3 central labor unions, 208 local trade unions, and 118 federal labor unions. The membership of all affiliated unions declined 405,415 members. This figure is based on average membership for the fiscal year and does not reflect the increases of the past few months.

The Treasurer's report shows the investment or other disposition of the Federation's funds.

The report of the Trustees of the A. F. of L. Building shows a balance on hand of \$50,452.54.

National Recovery Act

Because this is the "most important and far-reaching legislation ever enacted by Congress" we include the full text of the Act with a report on our legislative activity in connection with its passage.

We report on the act in operation under the following heads: administrative procedure; code procedure; codes of fair competition; tendencies and problems; proposals of policy; collective bargaining under codes; labor research.

In reporting on the public works program authorized by the Recovery Act, we relate the fine organization developed, the labor agreement with the Administration, but regretfully relate the small number of projects under way and the few jobs given to construction workers whose need is greatest.

Because of its fundamental significance to the recovery program we emphasize the principle—the right to organize and to have representation as it applies to wage earners in work relationships. We also report the

Federation's special organizing activities and our efforts to enable workers to be in a position to participate in the recovery program. This section of our report concludes with the President's Re-employment Program, Labor and the Agricultural Adjustment Act, and the National Labor Board.

Unemployment

Our report on Unemployment includes tables of unemployment and employment by months for 1930, 1931, 1932 and 1933; a table showing trade union unemployment and part-time employment for the same years; tables comparing employment in producer and consumer industries; a table showing employment by industry for 1929, April 1930, March and July 1933.

Our report on relief shows that only 5% comes from private funds and that 70 per cent of the public funds are from the Federal Government. The amount of relief varies from \$4 per family per month in Mississippi to \$30 in New York State. Destitution will be more acute during this winter, hence we recommend: New Congressional appropriations; that surplus agricultural products be distributed to the unemployed; that state and local appropriations be renewed; that special consideration be given to character of taxation for relief.

Trade Union Benefits

Under the caption Trade Union Benefits we show in tabular form the death, sick, unemployment, old age, disability, and miscellaneous benefits paid by all national and international unions during the past year amounting to nearly fifty-one and a half millions for the past year.

In the field of internal organization we report an agreement between the two national unions of Hatters and Cap Makers; efforts to make adjustments between Pavers and Rammermen and Hod Carriers; Flint Glass Workers-Glass Bottle Blowers; Bridge and Structural Iron Workers-Pulp and Sulphite Workers; Teamsters-Railway Clerks; Theatrical Stage Employes-Electrical Workers; the Machinists-Carpenters; an agreement affecting Brewery Workers, Teamsters,

Engineers and Firemen. We recommend that action on trade union auxiliaries be held in abeyance; we recommend continued efforts to amalgamate the Cigar Makers and Tobacco Workers unions.

We make special reports of workers in the railway industries, including the text of the Emergency Railway Transportation Act. The right of railway workers to organize in unions was clearly defined in the Coordinator's statement to railway executives.

National Legislation

Under the caption National Legislation we state that the special session of the 73rd Congress was perhaps the most notable ever held in peace times—agriculture, industry and finance were covered by transforming legislation. Various subjects covered are government economy, civilian conservation corps, emergency relief, immigration, home mortgage relief, Muscle Shoals, blue-sky law, beer legislation and repeal of the 18th Amendment, bank deposits guarantee, Philippine independence, Federal employment service, convict labor, state anti-injunction laws, old age security, radio advertising, non-partisan political activity.

We report on the Pan-American Federation of Labor and Porto Rico. We express our sympathy with German workers whose trade unions have been destroyed and union funds confiscated.

Public Schools

In our report on public schools we enumerate backward steps in our public school education. We make a special plea for kindergartens. We urge adequate payment of teachers and point to the need for federal aid to public schools.

We report progress in educational opportunities for adult workers and the institutions sponsored by the Workers Education Bureau.

Conclusion

In conclusion we urge larger union memberships, the organization of mass production industries and a survey of union activities to make our work more effective.

REPORT

OF

EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

WASHINGTON, D. C., October 2, 1933.

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

INTRODUCTION

The fifty-third convention of the American Federation of Labor comes at a time when our industrial life is shifting from the practices of individualism under which it has developed thus far, to group control in the interests of all concerned. The adjustments now in the making require a shift in controlling motives from the spirit of selfishness and conflict to decision based upon scientific data indicating industrial and public welfare. We are trying to work out a revolutionary shift of concepts in a practical way—a shift from the idea that any one group can prosper at the expense of others, to an understanding that permanent progress for any group is interdependent upon progress for all other groups—that there must be balanced progress.

The creation of machinery and the initiation of undertakings to save economic institutions and to start a concerted drive for recovery, have made most compelling demands upon the executives of the American Federation of Labor and upon all union organizations as well as upon responsible representatives of employers and the government. Our efforts to care for the interests of Labor so that wage earners might do their share in the forward movement, have been unremitting. So busy have we been with the work at Washington as well as with organizing work in the field, that it has been most difficult to find time for normal duties including the preparation of annual reports and the usual work preparatory to our annual convention. For these reasons our report this year is brief and is directed toward the more immediate and urgent problems.

It is especially fitting that our convention for this year should be held in Washington, for it has become the economic as well as the political capital of the nation, and labor representatives from all parts of the country can have personal knowledge of Labor's new problems and opportunities arising out of our national endeavor. The reason for our choice of Washington for our convention city this year, constitutes an historic link in the continuity of union development—the dedication of a memorial to one of the founders of the American Federation of Labor—Samuel Gompers. The memory and the record of the man who served as the chief executive of the Federation for more than 40 years are an inspiration to us in

this period of re-birth. In the founding of the American trade union movement, devotion, sacrifice and passion for human welfare made possible the union institutions of which we are the present trustees. The life of Samuel Gompers was devoted unreservedly to the labor movement and the quality of his leadership brought respect and standing to our movement. As in this convention we plan the future of our labor movement in the new era we have entered, it is most fitting we should be mindful of the record of the past and the principles evolved under the leadership of our first president.

As we turn our thoughts from the present to the leader who in a very real sense typifies a definite epoch in development of labor institutions, we are helped to distinguish the things of permanent value. Though many of the men and the women who were the pioneers in our movement are gone, the spirit of Labor goes on—love of fellow men, concern for their problems and services, the will to get them justice in daily living, to help them steadily and surely move upward and onward—these are the things that have given the labor movement continuity and purpose and endurance. These are the qualities we must carry from the past into the present and the future. That we may hand on these qualities is the obligation by which future generations shall judge our statesmanship.

SECRETARY MORRISON'S REPORT

To the Officers and Delegates to the Fifty-Third 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, 1932, and ending August 31, 1933.

At the close of the fiscal year there was a balance on hand of \$402,132.80. Of this total \$333,511.36 is in the defense fund for the local trade and federal labor unions, to be used to pay benefits in case of a strike or lockout of the members of these local unions and the balance, \$68,621.44 is in the general fund.

The total receipts from all sources, \$457,923.90, the total expenses, \$424,236.07, amount of receipts over expenses, \$33,687.83.

The following are the receipts and expenses for the twelve months ending August 31, 1933

RECEIPTS

Balance on hand, August 31, 1932.....	\$368,444.97
Per Capita Tax	\$273,416.59
American Federationist	82,820.08
Defense Fund for local trade and federal labor unions:	
Per capita tax from locals.....	15,591.27
Initiation fees	26,600.35
Reinstatement fees	664.25
Supplies	9,177.17
Interest	12,973.14
Premiums on bonds of officers of unions bonded through A. F. of L. . . .	5,421.24
Disbanded and suspended unions and miscellaneous receipts.....	2,259.81
A. F. of L. Bldg. Fund	14,000.00
Transferred from defense fund.....	15,000.00
	<hr/>
Total receipts	457,923.90
	<hr/>
Grand total	\$826,368.87

EXPENSES

General	\$346,380.41
American Federationist	56,637.29
Defense Fund:	
Strike benefits to local trade and federal labor unions.....	1,575.00
Transferred to General Fund.....	15,000.00
Premiums on bonds of officers of affiliated unions.....	4,643.37
	<hr/>
Total expenses	424,236.07
	<hr/>
Balance of funds on hand, August 31, 1933.....	\$402,132.80

RECAPITULATION

In General Fund	\$68,621.44
In Defense Fund for local trade and federal labor unions.....	333,511.36
	<hr/>
Balance on hand, August 31, 1933.....	\$402,132.80

EXPENSES GROUPED

The following is the grouping under their respective heads of the detailed monthly expenses for the twelve months ending August 31, 1933:

Rent	\$14,466.00
Refund, Charter & Outfit, Initiation Fees, and Supplies	56.70
Premiums:	
Bonds, local unions	4,643.37
Secretary's bond	15.00
Treasurer's bond	187.50
Insurance	355.33
Expressage, freight and drayage	210.10
Legislative expenses, including salaries and traveling expenses of legislative committeemen	10,779.18
Postage stamps	9,110.15
Newspapers, Magazines and Books (Library)	1,843.99
Printing Bound Proceedings of Cincinnati convention	1,829.85
Supplies and Printing	16,220.27
Supplies for Resale	1,393.35
Miscellaneous expenses	6,403.29
Paper supply for addressograph and envelopes (Mailing Department)	2,417.79
Mailing Equipment	555.59
Office furniture and fixtures	415.95
Official stenographers, Cincinnati convention	1,320.29
Telegrams and telephones	4,768.09
Expenses entertaining fraternal delegates from Great Britain	463.55
Expenses of fraternal delegates to British Trades and Union Congress and Canadian Trades and Labor Congress	1,864.54
Cincinnati Convention:	
Messenger, sergeant-at-arms and assistant secretary	440.00
Printing roll-call	122.25
Printing Daily Proceedings	3,880.01
Printing and supplies	42.58
Stenographers	2,648.17
Rental of office furniture	74.50
Telegrams, telephone, stamps, porters, sending out Daily Proceedings	413.83
Auditing and Credential Committee	331.60
Salaries:	
President	9,923.07
Secretary	8,269.32
Treasurer	500.00
Office employees	113,529.48
Expenses:	
Executive Council meetings	9,208.92
President and Secretary traveling	7,472.06
Defense Fund:	
Strike and lockout benefits	1,575.00
Transferred from Defense Fund to General Fund	15,000.00
Per capita tax for directly affiliated local unions:	
Metal Trades Department	13.74
Union Label Trades Department	21.92
Per capita tax for directly affiliated unions to Trades and Labor Congress of Canada	41.08
Organizers' salaries and organizing expenses	100,301.46
Printing and publishing <i>American Federationist</i>	56,637.29
Printing, and publishing A. F. of L. Weekly News Service	5,349.50
Pan-American Federation of Labor	3,750.00
Printing and Office Rent of Pan-American Federation of Labor	1,163.00

Delegates, guest, committee and officers' badges, Cincinnati convention.....	457.71
Expenses, special committees and conferences.....	3,089.72
Payment from General Fund to M. P. Webster, Pres. Account Special Fund of Sleeping Car Porters on deposit in restricted bank.....	660.00
Total	<u>\$424,236.07</u>

DIRECTLY CHARTERED LOCAL TRADE AND FEDERAL LABOR UNIONS

On August 31, 1933, we had 673 local trade and federal labor unions with an average membership for the fiscal year of 10,396, and a defense fund of \$333,511.36, to protect the members of the 673 local trade and federal labor unions in case of strike or lockout.

The Federation has 1468 general and district organizers, as well as 33 paid organizers and the officers of the 618 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 \$15,591.27, initiation fees, \$26,600.35, and reinstatement fees, \$664.25.

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, 1932, and ending August 31, 1933:

RECEIPTS

Receipts from Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions for the Defense Fund..... \$15,591.27

EXPENSES

Union and Location	Average Membership	Weeks	Amount
Paste Makers No. 10567, San Francisco, Calif.	16+	14	\$1,575.00
Total expenses			<u>1,575.00</u>

RECAPITULATION

Balance in defense fund for local trade and federal labor unions, August 31, 1932..	\$334,495.09
Receipts for twelve months ending August 31, 1933.....	15,591.27
Total	<u>\$350,086.36</u>
Transferred to General Fund.....	\$15,000.00
Strike benefits paid.....	1,575.00
Total	<u>\$16,575.00</u>
Balance in defense fund for local trade and federal labor unions, August 31, 1933..	<u>\$333,511.36</u>

Charters Revoked, Suspended, Surrendered, Disbanded, Merged, Amalgamated, Joined International Unions and Reinstated

CENTRAL BODIES: Disbanded, 3; suspended, 1; reinstated, 10.

LOCAL TRADE UNIONS: Disbanded, 5; suspended, 2; joined national and international organizations, 2; reinstated, 6.

FEDERAL LABOR UNIONS: Disbanded, 5; suspended, 1; reinstated, 4.

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

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 26th, 1928, for the collection of funds for the erection of a Memorial to Samuel Gompers.

Receipts from December 20, 1924, to and including August 31, 1933.....	\$117,811.23
Interest on fund investments	15,016.45
Total receipts	\$132,827.68
Expenses, January 12, 1929 to and including August 31, 1933.....	63,008.62
Balance on hand August 31, 1933.....	\$69,819.06
Funds deposited and invested as follows:	
U. S. Treasury Bonds, 3 1/8 %	\$64,000.00
Premium on U. S. Treasury Bonds.....	960.00
Total of investment in U. S. Treasury Bonds.....	\$64,960.00
Mt. Vernon Savings Bank checking account.....	2,111.10
Riggs National Bank checking account.....	2,747.96
Balance on hand August 31, 1933.....	\$69,819.06

SLEEPING CAR PORTERS INJUNCTION FUND

Receipts from January 13, 1933 to and including March 31, 1933.....	\$660.00
*Amount forwarded to M. P. Webster, President.....	660.00

Fund deposited in Mt. Vernon Savings Bank

*The full amount of this fund was paid over to the Sleeping Car Porters from the General Fund, American Federation of Labor, pending the reopening of the Mt. Vernon Bank. After the bank opens, this \$660.00 will be transferred to the General Fund of the American Federation of Labor.

CHARTERS ISSUED

During the twelve months ending August 31, 1933, there have been issued 391 Charters to National, Central, Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions. Of this number two were granted to the following Nationals:

National Association of Master Mechanics and Foreman of Navy Yards and Naval Stations.

Friendly Society of Engravers.

Central Bodies as follows:

California

Monterey

Florida

Sarasota

Indiana

Madison County

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

	1932-1933
National Unions	2
Central Labor Unions	3
Local Trade Unions	268
Federal Labor Unions	118
Total	391

TOTAL MEMBERSHIP OF AFFILIATED UNIONS

The membership of affiliated unions for the year ending August 31, 1933, is 2,126,796, a decrease of 405,465 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.

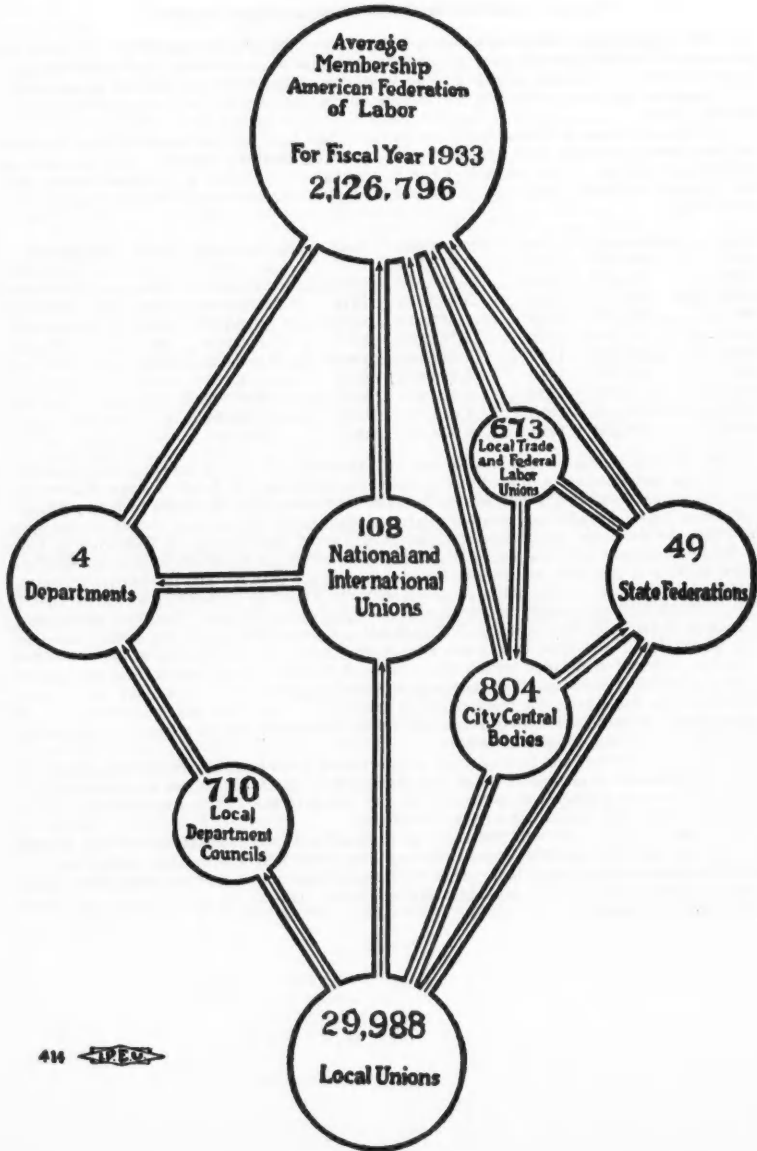
A survey of the membership of the national and international organizations and the unions directly affiliated with the A. F. of L. indicates that the decrease in membership is due almost entirely to the unemployment of members of National & International Unions and Directly Affiliated Local Unions. The following is the membership for the past thirty-seven years:

Year	Membership	Year	Membership	Year	Membership	Year	Membership
1897	264,825	1907	1,538,970	1917	2,371,434	1927	2,812,526
1898	278,016	1908	1,586,885	1918	2,726,478	1928	2,896,063
1899	349,422	1909	1,482,872	1919	3,260,068	1929	2,933,545
1900	548,321	1910	1,562,112	1920	4,078,740	1930	2,961,096
1901	787,537	1911	1,761,835	1921	3,906,528	1931	2,889,550
1902	1,024,399	1912	1,770,145	1922	3,196,635	1932	2,532,261
1903	1,465,800	1913	1,996,004	1923	2,926,468	1933	2,126,796
1904	1,676,200	1914	2,020,671	1924	2,865,799		
1905	1,494,300	1915	1,946,347	1925	2,877,297		
1906	1,454,200	1916	2,072,702	1926	2,803,966		

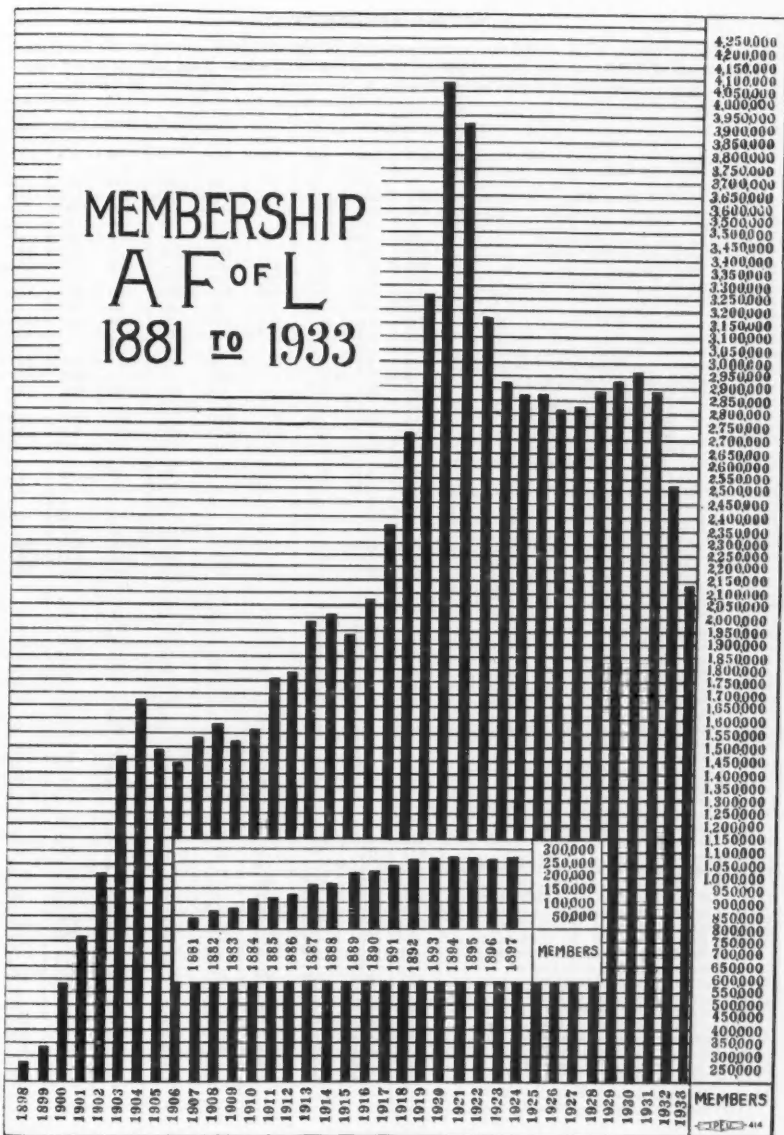
So that the delegates and membership at large may at a glance note the total membership of the organizations affiliated to the American Federation of Labor, a chart follows on the next page indicating the membership for each year since 1881, up to and including 1933—fifty-three years. In addition, another 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 29,315 local unions in the 108 national and international unions with a membership of 2,116,400 and 673 local trade and federal labor unions directly affiliated to the American Federation of Labor with a membership of 10,396. While 340 charters were issued by the American Federation of Labor to local trade and Federal Labor Unions in July and August of this fiscal year, the membership of these newly chartered local unions will not be reflected in this fiscal year ending August 31, 1933. These local unions will commence paying per capita tax in September of this year.

While the national and international unions issued 2,953 local charters during this fiscal year, the membership of these local unions chartered by our 108 national and international unions in July and August will not appear in the report to the 1933 convention but will be reported in the 1934 convention of the Federation.

On the next page you will find that the national and international unions have 29,315 local unions and there are 673 directly affiliated local trade and federal labor unions—a total of 29,988 against 26,362 locals last year in the international unions and 307 locals in the local trade and federal labor unions, making a total of 26,669. This shows an increase in the grand total of 3,319 charters.



MEMBERSHIP A F^{OF} L 1881 TO 1933



MEMBERS
PE 414

VOTING STRENGTH

The following table shows the voting strength of the affiliated unions of the American Federation of Labor for the years 1925 up to and including 1933. This table is based upon the average membership reported or paid upon to the American Federation of Labor.

ORGANIZATIONS	1925	1926	1927	1928	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933
Actors, Associated, & Artists of A.	101	104	103	103	115	112	83	45	33
Asbestos Workers' Intl. Assn. of Heat and Frost Insulators	24	25	26	27	29	33	41	20	20
Bakery & Confectionery Wkrs. I. U. of A.	218	216	219	216	212	200	201	179	159
Barbers' International Union, Jour.	480	512	545	541	522	512	461	399	320
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	171	145	148	171	172	193	170	150	142
Boot and Shoe Workers' Union	362	369	350	326	324	322	275	170	134
Bookbinders, Intl. Brotherhood of	136	129	138	138	136	139	137	119	107
Brewery Workmen, International Union	160	160	160	160	160	160	160	160	160
Brick and Clay Workers, etc.	50	50	50	50	50	42	33	20	1
Bricklayers, Masons & Plasters' I. U. A.	700	700	837	900	900	900	900	567	458
Bridge & Struc. Iron Wkrs. Intl. Assn.	163	191	213	207	204	209	175	120	100
Broom and Whisk Makers' Union, Intl.	7	6	5	5	5	5	4	3	2
Building Service Employees' Intl. Union	62	62	62	69	92	162	180	180	180
Carpenters and Joiners, United Bro. of	3,170	3,197	3,220	3,220	3,220	3,032	3,020	2,900	2,058
Carmen of A., Bro. Railway	1,250	887	800	800	800	800	800	800	592
Carvers' Union, International Wood	10	11	12	13	12	12	11	9	8
Cigarmakers' International Union	235	200	183	175	170	155	155	155	98
*Clerks, Bro. of Railway	912	w	w	320	969	970	753	608	600
Clerks, Intl. Protective Assn. Retail	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	87	50
*Cloth Hat, Cap & Millinery Workers International Union	78	87	102	82	69	60	58	46	61
Conductors, Order of Sleeping Car	23	23	23	23	23	23	23	21	20
Coopers' International Union	13	11	10	9	8	7	7	6	7
Diamond Workers' Prot. Union of A.	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	3	3
Draftsmen's Union, Intl.	6	7	16	19	15	12	17	10	7
Electrical Workers, International Bro.	1,420	1,420	1,420	1,420	1,420	1,420	1,420	1,399	941
Elevator Constructors	81	95	102	102	102	102	102	102	102
Engineers, Intl. Union of Operating	253	270	302	320	330	340	340	344	350
Engravers, Friendly Society of	1	1	1	1	1	4	5	5	5
Engravers Intl. Union, Metal	72	77	79	83	86	89	90	89	87
Engravers' Union of N. A., Intl. Photo.	202	179	200	226	305	335	381	c	c
Federal Employees, National Fed. of	160	160	160	160	168	180	180	180	180
Fire Fighters, International Assn. of	100	80	90	83	95	90	91	93	92
Fireman and Oilers, Intl. Bro. of	35	35	35	35	35	28	10	7	5
Foundry Employees, Intl. Bro. of	114	78	72	42	28	70	80	38	40
Fur Workers' Union of U. S. & C., Intl.	475	475	475	475	475	472	463	456	395
Garment Workers of America, United	---	---	---	3	9	9	10	9	6
Glass Cutters League of A., Window	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60
Glass Bottle Blowers' Assn. of U. S. & C.	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Glass Cutters and Flatteners Assn. of A., Window	3	4	3	3	b	b	b	b	b
Glass Workers, American Flint	53	53	52	51	52	49	46	39	36
Glass Workers, National Window	20	20	20	17	17	17	17	17	17
Glove Workers	3	5	6	7	8	8	5	3	5
Government Employees, Am. Fed. of	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Granite Cutters' Intl. Assn. of A., The	85	85	85	85	85	85	85	62	50
Hatters of North America, United	115	115	115	115	115	115	93	85	85
Hodcarriers and Common Laborers	615	665	700	753	917	1,027	1,150	900	521
Horsehoers of United States and Canada	20	15	12	9	9	7	4	2	1
Hotel and Restaurant Employees, etc.	385	386	398	385	378	365	337	283	227
Iron, Steel and Tin Workers' Amal. Assn.	114	100	99	90	89	79	58	50	46
Jewelry Workers' International	8	7	6	9	8	8	8	8	8
Ladies' Garment Workers, International	900	801	800	303	323	508	475	400	250
Lathers, Intl. Union of W. W. of Metal	89	160	175	165	165	165	165	165	81
Laundry Workers, International Union	55	55	55	55	55	55	55	55	50
Leather Workers' Intl. Union, United	20	17	10	10	50	50	50	10	8
Letter Carriers, National Assn. of	325	400	400	404	450	508	550	550	550
Letter Carriers, Nat. Fed. of Rural	3	5	6	8	8	8	8	11	12
Lithographers' Intl. P. & B. Assn.	53	54	57	61	58	56	57	56	52
Longshoremen's Association, Intl.	318	301	347	371	377	347	299	270	234
Machinists, International Association of	714	714	723	745	770	780	776	707	650
Maintenance of Way Employees, I. B. of	374	291	282	350	322	401	408	371	278
Marble, etc., International Assn. of	32	42	49	56	64	77	77	77	62
Masters, Mates and Pilots	39	34	31	31	30	30	30	30	25
Master Mechanics and Foremen of Navy Yards and Naval Stations, Natl. Assn. of	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	1

VOTING STRENGTH—Continued

ORGANIZATIONS	1925	1926	1927	1928	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933
Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen	122	122	117	118	118	125	113	114	111
Metal Workers' Intl. Association, Sheet	250	250	250	250	250	250	250	250	175
Mine Workers of America, United	4,000	4,000	4,000	4,000	4,000	4,000	4,000	3,083	3,000
Mine, Mill and Smelter Wkrs. I. U. of	85	81	40	45	40	40	40	21	13
Molders' Union of North America, Intl.	275	284	265	232	237	218	152	95	60
Musicians, American Federation of	800	800	800	967	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000
Oil Field, etc., Workers	12	7	10	16	16	11	9	4	3
Painters of America, Brotherhood of	1,076	1,114	1,129	1,103	1,081	1,062	964	796	593
Papermakers, United Brotherhood of	50	46	40	40	40	40	40	40	23
Patternmakers' League of N. A.	70	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	23	23	24	24	22	22
Piano & Organ Wkrs. Union of A., Intl.	6	6	5	5	5	5	4	3	3
Pilots Assn., Air Line, (Int'l)								1	5
Plasterers' Intl. Assn. of U. S. & C., Oper.	300	322	390	392	392	382	377	353	226
Plumbers, Steamfitters, etc.	392	450	450	450	450	450	450	450	450
Polishers, Intl. Union Metal	60	60	60	60	60	60	58	23	14
Post Office Clerks, Natl. Federation of	237	279	300	300	320	352	360	360	360
Potters, National Bro. of Operative	81	78	72	69	66	58	54	52	45
Powder and High Explosive Workers	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	1	1
Printing Pressmen, International	400	400	400	400	400	400	400	400	353
Printers' Die Stammers' & Engravers' Union of N. A., Intl. Plate	12	12	12	12	12	11	12	11	10
Pulp, Sulphite, and Paper Mill Wkrs.	50	50	50	50	50	50	50	50	50
Quarry Workers, International	30	30	30	30	30	30	30	26	21
Railway Employes' Amal. Assn., S. & E.	1,010	1,010	1,012	1,013	997	972	914	817	712
Railway Mail Association	191	195	194	197	198	198	198	207	200
Roofers, Damp & Waterproof Wkrs. Assn. United State, Tile and Composition	30	30	40	40	40	40	40	40	40
Seamen's Union of America, Intl.	160	150	150	150	150	150	150	97	60
Sheep Shearers' Union of N. A.								1	6
Sideographers, Intl. Assn. of	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Signalmen, Bro. E. R.	80	80	80	80	+	+	+	+	+
Stage Employes, Intl. Alliance Theatrical	200	220	231	232	233	240	240	240	240
Stereotypers & Electrotypers' U. of A.	68	69	73	74	77	78	82	81	82
Stonecutters' Association, Journeymen	51	57	58	58	58	58	58	57	56
Stove Mounters' International Union	16	16	16	16	14	10	8	7	6
Switchmen's Union of North America	89	87	89	91	93	92	82	72	63
Tailors' Union of America, Journeymen	93	83	77	72	68	67	58	28	17
Teachers, Am. Fed. of	35	35	35	38	42	52	63	70	70
Teamsters, Chauffeurs, etc., Intl. Bro. of	789	820	865	894	955	988	920	820	713
Telegraphers, Commercial	41	42	39	38	38	38	38	35	22
Telegraphers, Order of Railroad	392	350	350	350	390	410	410	370	350
Textile Workers of America, United	300	300	300	300	300	300	300	275	150
Tobacco Workers' Intl. Union of America	14	14	14	32	42	24	24	25	26
Tunnel & Subway Constructors, I. U.	30	37	40	40	a	a	a	a	a
Typographical Union, International	710	733	749	758	764	776	775	761	738
Upholsterers, International Union of	76	86	102	107	107	107	101	65	65
United Wall Paper Crafts of N. A.	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	5	5
Weavers, Elastic, Goring	1	1	††	††	††	††	††	††	††
Wire Weavers' Protective, American	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	3	3
Centrals	850	833	794	792	803	804	728	619	618
State Branches	49	49	49	49	49	49	49	49	49
Directly affiliated local unions	504	455	467	485	468	397	376	339	711
Total vote of Unions	29,958	28,790	29,191	29,385	30,406	30,678	29,906	26,092	22,554

†Suspended. ††Disbanded. *Reinstated Oct. 14, 1924. wSuspended for failure to comply with decision of Atlantic City Convention. **Reinstated May 17, 1928. aAmalgamated with Hod Carriers. bAmalgamated with Window Glass Cutters League of America. cWithdrew affiliation.

UNION LABELS

There are now 52 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	Metal Engravers
Bakers and Confectioners	Fur Workers	Molders
Bill Posters and Billers	Garment Workers, United	Painters
Boilermakers	Garment Workers, Ladies	Papermakers
Blacksmiths	Glass Bottle Blowers	Photo-Engravers
Bookbinders	Glove Workers	Piano and Organ Workers
Boot and Shoe Workers	Hatters	Plate Printers
Brewery Workmen	Horsehoers	Powder Workers
Brick and Clay Workers	Iron and Steel Workers	Pressmen, Printing
Broommakers	Jewelry Workers	Stereotypers and Electrotypers
Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers	Lathers	Stove Mounters
Carpenters and Joiners	Laundry Workers	Tailors
Brotherhood	Leather Workers	Textile Workers
Carvers, Wood	Lithographers	Tobacco Workers
Cigarmakers	Machinists	Typographical
Coopers	Marble Workers	Upholsterers
Draftsmen's Unions	Metal Polishers	United Wall Paper Crafts
	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; and Suspender Makers.

Since July 3rd of this year, we have been in the throes of the most intensive wave of organization which is sweeping over every city and town in North America. This is the third time that the workers have evidenced an unusual determination to organize and affiliate with the national and international unions, and into local unions of the American Federation of Labor. The first in 1901-1904 when 800,000 were added to the membership of affiliated unions—the second in 1916-1920 which added 2,000,000 members. The present great movement is more intense and conditions and circumstances so favorable it will surpass the other two in numbers, intensity and duration.

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-third 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, 1932, to August 31, 1933. The financial statement is as follows:

INCOME		EXPENSES	
Received of Secretary Morrison:		Warrants Paid:	
1932		1932	
September 30	\$22,154.73	September 30	\$33,755.88
October 31	33,514.21	October 31	40,731.37
November 30	31,220.89	November 30	32,328.51
December 31	37,438.40	December 31	44,248.30
1933		1933	
January 31	27,325.69	January 31	29,314.61
* February 28	37,615.81	February 28	31,795.37
March 31	34,147.65	March 31	30,236.33
April 30	24,848.73	April 30	25,152.38
May 31	33,820.26	May 31	30,380.75
June 30	31,379.68	June 30	30,673.98
** July 31	56,196.48	*** July 31	46,531.50
August 31	88,261.37	August 31	49,087.09
Total income for 12 months	\$457,923.90	Total expenses for 12 months	\$424,236.07
Balance in hands of Treasurer August 31, 1932	366,444.97		
Grand total	\$824,368.87		

* Includes \$14,000.00 transferred from Building Fund.

** Includes \$15,000.00 transferred from Defense Fund.

*** Includes \$15,000.00 transferred to General Fund.

RECAPITULATION

Total balance and income	\$824,368.87
Total expenses	424,236.07
August 31, 1933—Balance in hands of Treasurer	\$400,132.80
August 31, 1933—Balance in hands of Secretary	2,000.00
Total balance on hand, August 31, 1933	\$402,132.80
Treasurer's balance, where deposited and invested:	
U. S. Treasury Bonds (3½%)	\$125,000.00
Premiums on U. S. Treasury Bonds	1,289.07
Total Investment in U. S. Treasury Bonds	\$126,289.07
\$102,000.00 Federal Land Bank Bonds (4¼%)	
Par value \$100.00 @ 86½%	\$88,230.00
\$80,000.00 Federal Land Bank Bonds (4½%)	
Par Value \$100.00 @ 92%	74,200.00
\$18,000.00 Federal Land Bank Bonds (4½%)	
Par Value \$100.00 @ 85½%	15,390.00
Total Investment in Federal Land Bank Bonds	177,820.00
First National Bank, Kansas City, Mo. (Subject to check)	81,023.73
Union Labor Life Insurance Co. (Stock)	15,000.00
Treasurer's balance August 31, 1933	\$400,132.80

Respectfully submitted,

MARTIN F. RYAN,

KANSAS CITY, MO., September 3, 1933.

Treasurer, American Federation of Labor.

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, 1933:

RECEIPTS		
Balance on hand, August 31, 1932.....		\$55,593.89
Rents	\$29,971.00	
<i>Interest:</i>		
U. S. Treasury Bonds.....	\$157.29	
Federal Land Bank Bonds.....	2,000.00	
U. S. Liberty Bonds.....	238.00	
Checking account	18.17	
Reimbursement of accrued interest paid on purchase of bonds.....		2,413.46
Reimbursement for fire loss on building.....		30.21
Profit on sale of U. S. Liberty Bonds.....		10.00
Sale of waste paper.....		75.00
		8.32
Total receipts		32,507.99
Receipts and balance		88,101.88

EXPENSES		
<i>Maintenance:</i>		
Pay roll (building employes).....	\$13,336.00	
Taxes	3,214.64	
Electricity	1,257.66	
Fuel (coal)	1,036.21	
Supplies	648.33	
Upkeep and repairs.....	1,602.12	
Plastering and painting.....	1,205.94	
Cleaning windows.....	465.00	
Insurance (liability)	519.12	
Water rent	323.00	
Hauling ashes and trash.....	148.50	
Upkeep of rest room (laundry, etc.).....	29.06	
Upkeep and repairs of elevators.....	47.55	
Rent of safe deposit box.....	2.75	
Fire loss on building.....	10.00	
Federal tax on checks.....	3.46	
Total	\$23,649.34	
Transfer to A. F. of L. General Fund.....	14,000.00	
Total expenses		37,649.34
Balance on hand August 31, 1933.....		\$50,452.54
RECAPITULATION		
Receipts and balance		\$88,101.88
Expenses		37,649.34
Balance on hand August 31, 1933.....		\$50,452.54

Moneys deposited and invested as follows:

Mt. Vernon Bank.....	\$1,780.11	
Riggs National Bank.....	4,943.05	
\$40,000.00 Federal Land Bank Bonds, (5%) par value		
\$100.00 @ 94%	\$37,750.00	
\$6,000.00 3¼ U. S. Treasury Bonds @ 99 21/32.....	5,979.38	
		43,729.38
Balance on hand August 31, 1933.....		\$50,452.54

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.

NATIONAL RECOVERY ACT

The most important and far-reaching legislation ever enacted by Congress was "to encourage national industrial recovery, to foster fair competition, and to provide for the construction of certain useful public works."

The industrial recovery part of the Act provides for promoting the organization of industry for the purpose of cooperative action among trade groups, to induce and maintain united action of Labor and management under adequate governmental sanctions and supervision, to eliminate unfair competitive practices, to promote the fullest possible utilization of the present productive capacity of industries, to avoid undue restriction of production, and to increase the consumption of industrial and agricultural products by increasing purchasing power.

The object is to reduce and relieve unemployment, to improve standards of labor and otherwise to rehabilitate industry and to conserve natural resources.

Section 7 of the Act defines clearly the rights of Labor and undertakes to protect these rights from infringement on the part of employers. Section 7 reads as follows:

Every code of fair competition, agreement, and license approved, prescribed, or issued under this title shall contain the following conditions:

(1) That employees shall have the right to organize and bargain collectively through representatives of their own choosing, and shall be free from the interference, restraint, or coercion of employers of labor, or their agents, in the designation of such representatives or in self-organization or in other concerted activities for the purpose of collective bargaining or other mutual aid or protection; (2) that no employee and no one seeking employment shall be required as a condition of employment to join any company union or to refrain from joining, organizing, or assisting a labor organization of his own choosing; and (3) that employers shall comply with the maximum hours of labor, minimum rates of pay, and other conditions of employment, approved or prescribed by the President.

The law also provides that the President shall afford every opportunity to employers and employees to establish by mutual agreement the standards as to the maximum hours of labor, minimum rates of pay and such other conditions of employment as may be necessary. If no such mutual agreement has been reached and which might merit the approval of the President, he, the President, may then investigate the labor practices, policies, wages, hours of labor and conditions of employment prevailing and authorize a limited code of fair competition fixing maximum hours of labor, minimum rates of pay and other conditions of employment. This shall have the same effect as a code of fair competition reached by mutual agreement and approved by the President.

After the bill had been introduced in Congress it was found it did not properly protect organized labor. The Executive Council deemed the pending legislation of such grave importance that it caused a conference to be called in Washington of representatives of all national and international unions. This conference voted to insist upon inserting several amendments in Sub-divisions 1 and 2 of Section 7, and likewise referred to the Executive Council the proposal to protect America's wage earners against undue foreign competition.

President Green appeared before the House Committee and urged the incor-

poration of the proposed amendments. They were approved by the House Committee on Ways and Means and passed by the House.

When the bill reached the Senate it was referred to the Finance Committee before which a representative of the steel industry appeared and urged an amendment that would legalize company unions. The Committee amended Section 7 to provide "that it was not intended to compel a change in the existing satisfactory relationship between employees and employers." This would have legalized "company unions." Immediately President Green entered protest and when the amendment came up for action in the Senate it was defeated. The rejection of the amendment showed that Congress was opposed to "company unions."

Title II of the Act provides for public works and construction projects. For these \$3,300,000,000 has been appropriated. The President is empowered to construct, finance or aid in the construction or financing of any public works project included in the program prepared upon such terms as the President shall prescribe. He is authorized to make grants to states, municipalities or other public bodies for construction, repair or improvement of any project, but no such grants shall be in excess of 30 per cent of the cost of labor and materials employed upon such project. The other 70 per cent will be loans to be repaid.

Not less than \$50,000,000 is allotted for national forests highways, national forests roads, trails, bridges and related projects. The President may also allot funds made available by the Act for the construction, repair and improvement of public highways in Alaska, the Canal Zone, Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands. All contracts will contain such provisions as are necessary to insure that no convict labor shall be employed on any project, and that no individual except in executive, administrative and supervisory positions shall be permitted to work more than 30 hours in any one week.

All employees "shall be paid just and reasonable wages which shall be compensation sufficient to provide, for the hours of labor, as limited, a standard of living in decency and comfort."

For emergency construction of public highways \$400,000,000 will be expended. Another particular feature of the Act is the provision that \$25,000,000 is to be used for making loans for and otherwise aiding in the purchasing of subsistence homesteads of one or two acres. The moneys collected as repayment of such loans will constitute a revolving fund to be administered as directed by the President for similar purposes.

The complete text of the National Recovery Act is as follows:

[Public—No. 67—73D CONGRESS]

[H.R. 5755]

AN ACT

To encourage national industrial recovery, to foster fair competition, and to provide for the construction of certain useful public works, and for other purposes.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

TITLE I—INDUSTRIAL RECOVERY

DECLARATION OF POLICY

SECTION 1. A national emergency productive of widespread unemployment and disorganization of industry, which burdens interstate and foreign commerce, affects the public welfare, and undermines the standards of living of the American people, is hereby declared to exist. It is hereby declared to be the policy of Congress to remove obstructions to the free flow of interstate and foreign commerce which tend to diminish the amount thereof; and to provide for the general welfare by promoting the organization of industry for the purpose of cooperative action among trade groups, to induce and maintain united action of labor and management under adequate governmental sanctions and supervision, to eliminate unfair competitive practices, to promote the fullest possible utilization of the present productive capacity of industries, to avoid undue restriction of production (except as may be temporarily required), to increase the consumption of industrial and agricultural products by increasing purchasing power, to reduce and relieve unemployment, to improve standards of labor, and otherwise to rehabilitate industry and to conserve natural resources.

ADMINISTRATIVE AGENCIES

SEC. 2. (a) To effectuate the policy of this title, the President is hereby authorized to establish such agencies, to accept and utilize such voluntary and uncompensated services, to appoint, without regard to the provisions of the civil service laws, such officers and employees, and to utilize such Federal officers and employees, and, with the consent of the State, such State and local officers and employees, as he may find necessary, to prescribe their authorities, duties, responsibilities, and tenure, and, without regard to the Classification Act of 1923, as amended, to fix the compensation of any officers and employees so appointed.

(b) The President may delegate any of his functions and powers under this title to such officers, agents, and employees as he may designate or appoint, and may establish an industrial planning and research agency to aid in carrying out his functions under this title.

(c) This title shall cease to be in effect and any agencies established hereunder shall cease to exist at the expiration of two years after the date of enactment of this Act, or sooner if the President shall by proclamation or the Congress shall by joint resolution declare that the emergency recognized by section 1 has ended.

CODES OF FAIR COMPETITION

SEC. 3. (a) Upon the application to the President by one or more trade or industrial associations or groups, the President may approve a code or codes of fair competition for the trade or industry or subdivision thereof, represented by the applicant or applicants, if the President finds (1) that such associations or groups impose no inequitable restrictions on admission to membership therein and are truly representative of such trades or industries or subdivisions thereof, and (2) that such code or codes are not designed to promote monopolies or to

eliminate or oppress small enterprises and will not operate to discriminate against them, and will tend to effectuate the policy of this title: *Provided*, That such code or codes shall not permit monopolies or monopolistic practices: *Provided further*, That where such code or codes affect the services and welfare of persons engaged in other steps of the economic process, nothing in this section shall deprive such persons of the right to be heard prior to approval by the President of such code or codes. The President may, as a condition of his approval of any such code, impose such conditions (including requirements for the making of reports and the keeping of accounts) for the protection of consumers, competitors, employees, and others, and in furtherance of the public interest, and may provide such exceptions to and exemptions from the provisions of such code, as the President in his discretion deems necessary to effectuate the policy herein declared.

(b) After the President shall have approved any such code, the provisions of such code shall be the standards of fair competition for such trade or industry or subdivision thereof. Any violation of such standards in any transaction in or affecting interstate or foreign commerce shall be deemed an unfair method of competition in commerce within the meaning of the Federal Trade Commission Act, as amended; but nothing in this title shall be construed to impair the powers of the Federal Trade Commission under such Act, as amended.

(c) The several district courts of the United States are hereby invested with jurisdiction to prevent and restrain violations of any code of fair competition approved under this title; and it shall be the duty of the several district attorneys of the United States, in their respective districts, under the direction of the Attorney General, to institute proceedings in equity to prevent and restrain such violations.

(d) Upon his own motion, or if complaint is made to the President that abuses inimical to the public interest and contrary to the policy herein declared are prevalent in any trade or industry or subdivision thereof, and if no code of fair competition therefor has theretofore been approved by the President, the President, after such public notice and hearing as he shall specify, may prescribe and approve a code of fair competition for such trade or industry or subdivision thereof, which shall have the same effect as a code of fair competition approved by the President under subsection (a) of this section.

(e) On his own motion, or if any labor organization, or any trade or industrial organization, association, or group, which has complied with the provisions of this title, shall make complaint to the President that any article or articles are being imported into the United States in substantial quantities or increasing ratio to domestic production of any competitive article or articles and on such terms or under such conditions as to render ineffective or seriously to endanger the maintenance of any code or agreement under this title, the President may cause an immediate investigation to be made by the United States Tariff Commission, which shall give precedence to investigations under this subsection, and if, after such investigation and such public notice and hearing as he shall specify, the President shall find the existence of such facts, he shall, in order to effectuate the policy of this title, direct that the article or articles concerned shall be permitted entry into the United States only upon such terms and conditions and subject to the payment of such fees and to such limitations in the total quantity which may be imported

(in the course of any specified period or periods) as he shall find it necessary to prescribe in order that the entry thereof shall not render or tend to render ineffective any code or agreement made under this title. In order to enforce any limitations imposed on the total quantity of imports, in any specified period or periods, of any article or articles under this subsection, the President may forbid the importation of such article or articles unless the importer shall have first obtained from the Secretary of the Treasury a license pursuant to such regulations as the President may prescribe. Upon information of any action by the President under this subsection the Secretary of the Treasury shall, through the proper officers, permit entry of the article or articles specified only upon such terms and conditions and subject to such fees, to such limitations in the quantity which may be imported, and to such requirements of license, as the President shall have directed. The decision of the President as to facts shall be conclusive. Any condition or limitation of entry under this subsection shall continue in effect until the President shall find and inform the Secretary of the Treasury that the conditions which led to the imposition of such condition or limitation upon entry no longer exists.

(f) When a code of fair competition has been approved or prescribed by the President under this title, any violation of any provision thereof in any transaction in or affecting interstate or foreign commerce shall be a misdemeanor and upon conviction thereof an offender shall be fined not more than \$500 for each offense, and each day such violation continues shall be deemed a separate offense.

AGREEMENTS AND LICENSES

SEC. 4. (a) The President is authorized to enter into agreements with, and to approve voluntary agreements between and among, persons engaged in a trade or industry, labor organizations, and trade or industrial organizations, associations, or groups, relating to any trade or industry, if in his judgment such agreements will aid in effectuating the policy of this title with respect to transactions in or affecting interstate or foreign commerce, and will be consistent with the requirements of clause (2) of subsection (a) of section 3 for a code of fair competition.

(b) Whenever the President shall find that destructive wage or price cutting or other activities contrary to the policy of this title are being practiced in any trade or industry or any subdivision thereof, and, after such public notice and hearing as he shall specify, shall find it essential to license business enterprises in order to make effective a code of fair competition or an agreement under this title or otherwise to effectuate the policy of this title, and shall publicly so announce, no person shall, after a date fixed in such announcement, engage in or carry on any business, in or affecting interstate or foreign commerce, specified in such announcement, unless he shall have first obtained a license issued pursuant to such regulations as the President shall prescribe. The President may suspend or revoke any such license, after due notice and opportunity for hearing, for violations of the terms or conditions thereof. Any order of the President suspending or revoking any such license shall be final if in accordance with law. Any person who, without such a license or in violation of any condition thereof, carries on any such business for which a license is so required, shall, upon conviction,

tion thereof, be fined not more than \$500, or imprisoned not more than six months, or both, and each day such violation continues shall be deemed a separate offense. Notwithstanding the provisions of section 2 (c), this subsection shall cease to be in effect at the expiration of one year after the date of enactment of this Act or sooner if the President shall by proclamation or the Congress shall by joint resolution declare that the emergency recognized by section 1 has ended.

SEC. 5. While this title is in effect (or in the case of a license, while section 4 (a) is in effect) and for sixty days thereafter, any code, agreement, or license approved, prescribed, or issued and in effect under this title, and any action complying with the provisions thereof taken during such period, shall be exempt from the provisions of the antitrust laws of the United States.

Nothing in this Act, and no regulation thereunder, shall prevent an individual from pursuing the vocation of manual labor and selling or trading the products thereof; nor shall anything in this Act, or regulation thereunder, prevent anyone from marketing or trading the produce of his farm.

LIMITATIONS UPON APPLICATION OF TITLE

SEC. 6. (a) No trade or industrial association or group shall be eligible to receive the benefit of the provisions of this title until it files with the President a statement containing such information relating to the activities of the association or group as the President shall by regulation prescribe.

(b) The President is authorized to prescribe rules and regulations designed to insure that any organization availing itself of the benefits of this title shall be truly representative of the trade or industry or subdivision thereof represented by such organization. Any organization violating any such rule or regulation shall cease to be entitled to the benefits of this title.

(c) Upon the request of the President, the Federal Trade Commission shall make such investigations as may be necessary to enable the President to carry out the provisions of this title, and for such purposes the Commission shall have all the powers vested in it with respect to investigations under the Federal Trade Commission Act, as amended.

SEC. 7. (a) Every code of fair competition, agreement, and license approved, prescribed, or issued under this title shall contain the following conditions: (1) That employees shall have the right to organize and bargain collectively through representatives of their own choosing, and shall be free from the interference, restraint, or coercion of employers of labor, or their agents, in the designation of such representatives or in self-organization or in other concerted activities for the purpose of collective bargaining or other mutual aid or protection; (2) that no employee and no one seeking employment shall be required as a condition of employment to join any company union or to refrain from joining, organizing, or assisting a labor organization of his own choosing; and (3) that employers shall comply with the maximum hours of labor, minimum rates of pay, and other conditions of employment, approved or prescribed by the President.

(b) The President shall, so far as practicable, afford every opportunity to employers and employees in any trade or industry or subdivision thereof with respect to which the conditions referred to in clauses (1) and (2) of subsection

(a) prevail, to establish by mutual agreement, the standards as to the maximum hours of labor, minimum rates of pay, and such other conditions of employment as may be necessary in such trade or industry or subdivision thereof to effectuate the policy of this title; and the standards established in such agreements, when approved by the President, shall have the same effect as a code of fair competition, approved by the President under subsection (a) of section 3.

(c) Where no such mutual agreement has been approved by the President he may investigate the labor practices, policies, wages, hours of labor, and conditions of employment in such trade or industry or subdivision thereof; and upon the basis of such investigations, and after such hearings as the President finds advisable, he is authorized to prescribe a limited code of fair competition fixing such maximum hours of labor, minimum rates of pay, and other conditions of employment in the trade or industry or subdivision thereof investigated as he finds to be necessary to effectuate the policy of this title, which shall have the same effect as a code of fair competition approved by the President under subsection (a) of section 3. The President may differentiate according to experience and skill of the employees affected and according to the locality of employment; but no attempt shall be made to introduce any classification according to the nature of the work involved which might tend to set a maximum as well as a minimum wage.

(d) As used in this title, the term "person" includes any individual, partnership, association, trust, or corporation; and the terms "interstate and foreign commerce" and "interstate or foreign commerce" include, except where otherwise indicated, trade or commerce among the several States and with foreign nations, or between the District of Columbia or any Territory of the United States and any State, Territory, or foreign nation, or between any insular possessions or other places under the jurisdiction of the United States, or between any such possession or place and any State or Territory of the United States or the District of Columbia or any foreign nation, or within the District of Columbia or any Territory or any insular possession or other places under the jurisdiction of the United States.

APPLICATION OF AGRICULTURAL ADJUSTMENT ACT

SEC. 8. (a) This title shall not be construed to repeal or modify any of the provisions of title I of the Act entitled "An Act to relieve the existing national economic emergency by increasing agricultural purchasing power, to raise revenue for extraordinary expenses incurred by reason of such emergency, to provide emergency relief with respect to agricultural indebtedness, to provide for the orderly liquidation of joint-stock land banks, and for other purposes," approved May 12, 1933; and such title I of said Act approved May 12, 1933, may for all purposes be hereafter referred to as the "Agricultural Adjustment Act."

(b) The President may, in his discretion, in order to avoid conflicts in the administration of the Agricultural Adjustment Act and this title, delegate any of his functions and powers under this title with respect to trades, industries, or subdivisions thereof which are engaged in the handling of any agricultural commodity or product thereof, or of any competing commodity or product thereof, to the Secretary of Agriculture.

OIL REGULATION

SEC. 9. (a) The President is further authorized to initiate before the Interstate Commerce Commission proceedings necessary to prescribe regulations to control the operations of oil pipe lines and to fix reasonable, compensatory rates for the transportation of petroleum and its products by pipe lines, and the Interstate Commerce Commission shall grant preference to the hearings and determination of such cases.

(b) The President is authorized to institute proceedings to divorce from any holding company any pipe-line company controlled by such holding company which pipe-line company by unfair practices or by exorbitant rates in the transportation of petroleum or its products tends to create a monopoly.

(c) The President is authorized to prohibit the transportation in interstate and foreign commerce of petroleum and the products thereof produced or withdrawn from storage in excess of the amount permitted to be produced or withdrawn from storage by any State law or valid regulation or order prescribed thereunder, by any board, commission, officer, or other duly authorized agency of a State. Any violation of any order of the President issued under the provisions of this subsection shall be punishable by fine of not to exceed \$1,000, or imprisonment for not to exceed six months, or both.

RULES AND REGULATIONS

SEC. 10. (a) The President is authorized to prescribe such rules and regulations as may be necessary to carry out the purposes of this title, and fees for licenses and for filing codes of fair competition and agreements, and any violation of any such rule or regulation shall be punishable by fine of not to exceed \$500, or imprisonment for not to exceed six months, or both.

(b) The President may from time to time cancel or modify any order, approval, license, rule, or regulation issued under this title; and each agreement, code of fair competition, or license approved, prescribed, or issued under this title shall contain an express provision to that effect.

TITLE II—PUBLIC WORKS AND CONSTRUCTION PROJECTS

FEDERAL EMERGENCY ADMINISTRATION OF PUBLIC WORKS

SECTION 201. (a) To effectuate the purposes of this title, the President is hereby authorized to create a Federal Emergency Administration of Public Works, all the powers of which shall be exercised by a Federal Emergency Administrator of Public Works (hereafter referred to as the "Administrator"), and to establish such agencies, to accept and utilize such voluntary and uncompensated services, to appoint, without regard to the civil service laws, such officers and employees, and to utilize such Federal officers and employees, and, with the consent of the State, such State and local officers and employees as he may find necessary, to prescribe their authorities, duties, responsibilities, and tenure, and, without regard to the Classification Act of 1923, as amended, to fix the compensation of any officers and employees so appointed. The President may delegate any of his func-

tions and powers under this title to such officers, agents, and employees as he may designate or appoint.

(b) The Administrator may, without regard to the civil service laws or the Classification Act of 1923, as amended, appoint and fix the compensation of such experts and such other officers and employees as are necessary to carry out the provisions of this title; and may make such expenditures (including expenditures for personal services and rent at the seat of government and elsewhere, for law books and books of reference, and for paper, printing and binding) as are necessary to carry out the provisions of this title.

(c) All such compensation, expenses, and allowances shall be paid out of funds made available by this Act.

(d) After the expiration of two years after the date of the enactment of this Act, or sooner if the President shall by proclamation or the Congress shall by joint resolution declare that the emergency recognized by section 1 has ended, the President shall not make any further loans or grants or enter upon any new construction under this title, and any agencies established hereunder shall cease to exist and any of their remaining functions shall be transferred to such departments of the Government as the President shall designate: *Provided*, That he may issue funds to a borrower under this title prior to January 23, 1939, under the terms of any agreement, or any commitment to bid upon or purchase bonds, entered into with such borrower prior to the date of termination, under this section, of the power of the President to make loans.

Sec. 202. The Administrator, under the direction of the President, shall prepare a comprehensive program of public works, which shall include among other things the following: (a) Construction, repair, and improvement of public highways and park ways, public buildings, and any publicly owned instrumentalities and facilities; (b) conservation and development of natural resources, including control, utilization, and purification of waters, prevention of soil or coastal erosion, development of water power, transmission of electrical energy, and construction of river and harbor improvements and flood control and also the construction of any river or drainage improvement required to perform or satisfy any obligation incurred by the United States through a treaty with a foreign Government heretofore ratified and to restore or develop for the use of any State or its citizens water taken from or denied to them by performance on the part of the United States of treaty obligations heretofore assumed: *Provided*, That no river or harbor improvements shall be carried out unless they shall have heretofore or hereafter been adopted by the Congress or are recommended by the Chief of Engineers of the United States Army; (c) any projects of the character heretofore constructed or carried on either directly by public authority or with public aid to serve the interests of the general public; (d) construction, reconstruction, alteration, or repair under public regulation or control of low-cost housing and slum-clearance projects; (e) any project (other than those included in the foregoing classes) of any character heretofore eligible for loans under subsection (a) of section 201 of the Emergency Relief and Construction Act of 1932, as amended, and paragraph (8) of such subsection (a) shall for such purposes be held to include loans for the construction or completion of hospitals the operation of which is partly financed

from public funds, and of reservoirs and pumping plants and for the construction of dry docks; and if in the opinion of the President it seems desirable, the construction of naval vessels within the terms and/or limits established by the London Naval Treaty of 1930 and of aircraft required therefor and construction of heavier-than-air aircraft and technical construction for the Army Air Corps and such Army housing projects as the President may approve, and provision of original equipment for the mechanization or motorization of such Army tactical units as he may designate: *Provided, however,* That in the event of an international agreement for the further limitation of armament, to which the United States is signatory, the President is hereby authorized and empowered to suspend, in whole or in part, any such naval or military construction or mechanization and motorization of Army units: *Provided further,* That this title shall not be applicable to public works under the jurisdiction or control of the Architect of the Capitol or of any commission or committee for which such Architect is the contracting and/or executive officer.

Sec. 203. (a) With a view to increasing employment quickly (while reasonably securing any loans made by the United States) the President is authorized and empowered, through the Administrator or through such other agencies as he may designate or create, (1) to construct, finance, or aid in the construction or financing of any public-works project included in the program prepared pursuant to section 202; (2) upon such terms as the President shall prescribe, to make grants to States, municipalities, or other public bodies for the construction, repair or improvement of any such project, but no such grant shall be in excess of 30 per centum of the cost of the labor and materials employed upon such project; (3) to acquire by purchase, or by exercise of the power of eminent domain, any real or personal property in connection with the construction of any such project, and to sell any security acquired or any property so constructed or acquired or to lease any such property with or without the privilege of purchase: *Provided,* That all moneys received from any such sale or lease or the repayment of any loan shall be used to retire obligations issued pursuant to section 209 of this Act, in addition to any other moneys required to be used for such purpose; (4) to aid in the financing of such railroad maintenance and equipment as may be approved by the Interstate Commerce Commission as desirable for the improvement of transportation facilities; and (5) to advance, upon request of the Commission having jurisdiction of the project, the unappropriated balance of the sum authorized for carrying out the provisions of the Act entitled "An Act to provide for the construction and equipment of an annex to the Library of Congress," approved June 13, 1930 (46 Stat. 583); such advance to be expended under the direction of such Commission and in accordance with such Act: *Provided,* That in deciding to extend any aid or grant hereunder to any State, county, or municipality the President may consider whether action is in process or in good faith assured therein reasonably designed to bring the ordinary current expenditures thereof within the prudently estimated revenues thereof. The provisions of this section and section 202 shall extend to public works in the several States, Hawaii, Alaska, the District of Columbia, Puerto Rico, the Canal Zone, and the Virgin Islands.

(b) All expenditures for authorized travel by officers and employees, in-

cluding subsistence, required on account of any Federal public-works projects, shall be charged to the amounts allocated to such projects, notwithstanding any other provisions of law; and there is authorized to be employed such personal services in the District of Columbia and elsewhere as may be required to be engaged upon such work and to be in addition to employees otherwise provided for, the compensation of such additional personal services to be a charge against the funds made available for such construction work.

(c) In the acquisition of any land or site for the purposes of Federal public buildings and in the construction of such buildings provided for in this title, the provisions contained in sections 305 and 306 of the Emergency Relief and Construction Act of 1932, as amended, shall apply.

(d) The President, in his discretion, and under such terms as he may prescribe, may extend any of the benefits of this title to any State, county, or municipality notwithstanding any constitutional or legal restriction or limitation on the right or power of such State, county, or municipality to borrow money or incur indebtedness.

SEC. 204. (a) For the purpose of providing for emergency construction of public highways and related projects, the President is authorized to make grants to the highway departments of the several States in an amount not less than \$400,000,000, to be expended by such departments in accordance with the provisions of the Federal Highway Act, approved November 9, 1921, as amended and supplemented, except as provided in this title, as follows:

(1) For expenditure in emergency construction on the Federal aid highway system and extensions thereof into and through municipalities. The amount apportioned to any State under this paragraph may be used to pay all or any part of the cost of surveys, plans, and of highway and bridge construction including the elimination of hazards to highway traffic, such as the separation of grades at crossing, the reconstruction of existing railroad grade crossing structures, the relocation of highways to eliminate railroad crossings, the widening of narrow bridges and roadways, the building of footpaths, the replacement of unsafe bridges, the construction of routes to avoid congested areas, the construction of facilities to improve accessibility and the free flow of traffic, and the cost of any other construction that will provide safer traffic facilities or definitely eliminate existing hazards to pedestrian or vehicular traffic. No funds made available by this title shall be used for the acquisition of any land, right of way, or easement in connection with any railroad grade elimination project.

(2) For expenditure in emergency construction on secondary or feeder roads to be agreed upon by the State highway departments and the Secretary of Agriculture: *Provided*, That the State or responsible political subdivision shall provide for the proper maintenance of said roads. Such grants shall be available for payment of the full cost of surveys, plans, improvement, and construction of secondary or feeder roads, on which projects shall be submitted by the State highway department and approved by the Secretary of Agriculture.

(b) Any amounts allocated by the President for grants under subsection (a) of this section shall be apportioned among the several States seven-eighths in accordance with the provisions of section 21 of the Federal Highway Act, approved

November 9, 1921, as amended and supplemented (which Act is hereby further amended for the purposes of this title to include the District of Columbia), and one-eighth in the ratio which the population of each State bears to the total population of the United States, according to the latest decennial census and shall be available on July 1, 1933, and shall remain available until expended; but no part of the funds apportioned to any State need be matched by the State, and such funds may also be used in lieu of State funds to match unobligated balances of previous apportionments of regular Federal-aid appropriations.

(c) All contracts involving the expenditure of such grants shall contain provisions establishing minimum rates of wages, to be predetermined by the State highway department, which contractors shall pay to skilled and unskilled labor, and such minimum rates shall be stated in the invitation for bids and shall be included in proposals for bids for the work.

(d) In the expenditure of such amounts, the limitations in the Federal Highway Act, approved November 9, 1921, as amended and supplemented, upon highway construction, reconstruction, and bridges within municipalities and upon payments per mile which may be made from Federal funds, shall not apply.

(e) As used in this section the term "State" includes the Territory of Hawaii and the District of Columbia. The term "highway" as defined in the Federal Highway Act approved November 9, 1921, as amended and supplemented, for the purposes of this section, shall be deemed to include such main parkways as may be designated by the State and approved by the Secretary of Agriculture as part of the Federal-aid highway system.

(f) Whenever, in connection with the construction of any highway project under this section or section 202 of this Act, it is necessary to acquire rights of way over or through any property or tracts of land owned and controlled by the Government of the United States, it shall be the duty of the proper official of the Government of the United States having control of such property or tracts of land with the approval of the President and the Attorney General of the United States, and without any expense whatsoever to the United States, to perform any acts and to execute any agreements necessary to grant the rights of way so required, but if at any time the land or the property the subject of the agreement shall cease to be used for the purposes of the highway, the title in and the jurisdiction over the land or property shall automatically revert to the Government of the United States and the agreement shall so provide.

(g) Hereafter in the administration of the Federal Highway Act, and Acts amendatory thereof or supplementary thereto, the first paragraph of section 9 of said Act shall not apply to publicly owned toll bridges or approaches thereto, operated by the highway department of any State, subject, however, to the condition that all tolls received from the operation of any such bridge, less the actual cost of operation and maintenance, shall be applied to the repayment of the cost of its construction or acquisition, and when the cost of its construction or acquisition shall have been repaid in full, such bridge thereafter shall be maintained and operated as a free bridge.

SEC. 205. (a) Not less than \$50,000,000 of the amount made available by this Act shall be allocated for (A) national forest highways, (B) national forest

roads, trails, bridges, and related projects, (C) national park roads and trails in national parks owned or authorized, (D) roads on Indian reservations, and (E) roads through public lands, to be expended in the same manner as provided in paragraph (2) of section 301 of the Emergency Relief and Construction Act of 1932, in the case of appropriations allocated for such purposes, respectively, in such section 301, to remain available until expended.

(b) The President may also allot funds made available by this Act for the construction, repair, and improvement of public highways in Alaska, the Canal Zone, Puerto Rico, and the Virgin Islands.

SEC. 206. All contracts let for construction projects and all loans and grants pursuant to this title shall contain such provisions as are necessary to insure (1) that no convict labor shall be employed on any such project; (2) that (except in executive, administrative, and supervisory positions), so far as practicable and feasible, no individual directly employed on any such project shall be permitted to work more than thirty hours in any one week; (3) that all employees shall be paid just and reasonable wages which shall be compensation sufficient to provide, for the hours of labor as limited, a standard of living in decency and comfort; (4) that in the employment of labor in connection with any such project, preference shall be given, where they are qualified, to ex-service men with dependents, and then in the following order: (A) To citizens of the United States and aliens who have declared their intention of becoming citizens, who are bona fide residents of the political subdivision and/or county in which the work is to be performed, and (B) to citizens of the United States and aliens who have declared their intention of becoming citizens, who are bona fide residents of the State, Territory, or district in which the work is to be performed: *Provided*, That these preferences shall apply only where such labor is available and qualified to perform the work to which the employment relates; and (5) that the maximum of human labor shall be used in lieu of machinery wherever practicable and consistent with sound economy and public advantage.

SEC. 207. (a) For the purpose of expediting the actual construction of public works contemplated by this title and to provide a means of financial assistance to persons under contract with the United States to perform such construction, the President is authorized and empowered, through the Administrator or through such other agencies as he may designate or create, to approve any assignment executed by any such contractor, with the written consent of the surety or sureties upon the penal bond executed in connection with his contract, to any national or State bank, or his claim against the United States, or any part of such claim, under such contract; and any assignment so approved shall be valid for all purposes, notwithstanding the provisions of sections 3737 and 3477 of the Revised Statutes, as amended.

(b) The funds received by a contractor under any advances made in consideration of any such assignment are hereby declared to be trust funds in the hands of such contractor to be first applied to the payment of claims of subcontractors, architects, engineers, surveyors, laborers, and material men in connection with the project, to the payment of premiums on the penal bond or bonds, and premiums accruing during the construction of such project on insurance policies

taken in connection therewith. Any contractor and any officer, director, or agent of any such contractor, who applies, or consents to the application of, such funds for any other purpose and fails to pay any claim or premium hereinbefore mentioned, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor and shall be punished by a fine of not more than \$1,000 or by imprisonment for not more than one year, or by both such fine and imprisonment.

(c) Nothing in this section shall be considered as imposing upon the assignee any obligation to see to the proper application of the funds advanced by the assignee in consideration of such assignment.

SUBSISTENCE HOMESTEADS

SEC. 208. To provide for aiding the redistribution of the overbalance of population in industrial centers \$25,000,000 is hereby made available to the President, to be used by him through such agencies as he may establish and under such regulations as he may make, for making loans for and otherwise aiding in the purchase of subsistence homesteads. The moneys collected as repayment of said loans shall constitute a revolving fund to be administered as directed by the President for the purposes of this section.

RULES AND REGULATIONS

SEC. 209. The President is authorized to prescribe such rules and regulations as may be necessary to carry out the purposes of this title, and any violation of any such rule or regulation shall be punishable by fine of not to exceed \$500 or imprisonment not to exceed six months, or both.

ISSUE OF SECURITIES AND SINKING FUND

SEC. 210. (a) The Secretary of the Treasury is authorized to borrow, from time to time, under the Second Liberty Bond Act, as amended, such amounts as may be necessary to meet the expenditures authorized by this Act, or to refund any obligations previously issued under this section, and to issue therefor bonds, notes, certificates of indebtedness, or Treasury bills of the United States.

(b) For each fiscal year beginning with the fiscal year 1934 there is hereby appropriated, in addition to and as part of, the cumulative sinking fund provided by section 6 of the Victory Liberty Loan Act, as amended, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, for the purpose of such fund, an amount equal to 2½ per centum of the aggregate amount of the expenditures made out of appropriations made or authorized under this Act as determined by the Secretary of the Treasury.

REEMPLOYMENT AND RELIEF TAXES

SEC. 211. (a) Effective as of the day following the date of the enactment of this Act, section 617 (a) of the Revenue Act of 1932 is amended by striking out "1 cent" and inserting in lieu thereof "1½ cents".

(b) Effective as of the day following the date of the enactment of this Act, section 617 (c) (2) of such Act is amended by adding at the end thereof a new sentence to read as follows: "As used in this paragraph the term 'benzol' does not include benzol sold for use otherwise than as a fuel for the propulsion of motor vehicles, motor boats, or airplanes, and otherwise than in the manufacture or production of such fuel."

SEC. 212. Titles IV and V of the Revenue Act of 1932 are amended by striking out "1934" wherever appearing therein and by inserting in lieu thereof "1935". Section 761 of the Revenue Act of 1932 is further amended by striking out "and on July 1, 1933" and inserting in lieu thereof "and on July 1, 1933 and on July 1, 1934,".

SEC. 213. (a) There is hereby imposed upon the receipt of dividends (required to be included in the gross income of the recipient under the provisions of the Revenue Act of 1932) by any person other than a domestic corporation, an excise tax equal to 5 per centum of the amount thereof, such tax to be deducted and withheld from such dividends by the payor corporation. The tax imposed by this section shall not apply to dividends declared before the date of the enactment of this Act.

(b) Every corporation required to deduct and withhold any tax under this section shall, on or before the last day of the month following the payment of the dividend, make return thereof and pay the tax to the collector of the district in which its principal place of business is located, or, if it has no principal place of business in the United States, to the collector at Baltimore, Maryland.

(c) Every such corporation is hereby made liable for such tax and is hereby indemnified against the claims and demands of any person for the amount of any payment made in accordance with the provisions of this section.

(d) The provisions of sections 115, 771 to 774, inclusive, and 1111 of the Revenue Act of 1932 shall be applicable with respect to the tax imposed by this section.

(e) The taxes imposed by this section shall not apply to the dividends of any corporation enumerated in section 103 of the Revenue Act of 1932.

SEC. 214. Section 104 of the Revenue Act of 1932 is amended by striking out the words "the surtax" wherever occurring in such section and inserting in lieu thereof "any internal-revenue tax." The heading of such section is amended by striking out "surtaxes" and inserting in lieu thereof "internal-revenue taxes." Section 13 (c) of such Act is amended by striking out "surtax" and inserting in lieu thereof "internal-revenue tax."

SEC. 215. (a) For each year ending June 30 there is hereby imposed upon every domestic corporation with respect to carrying on or doing business for any part of such year an excise tax of \$1 for each \$1,000 of the adjusted declared value of its capital stock.

(b) For each year ending June 30 there is hereby imposed upon every foreign corporation with respect to carrying on or doing business in the United States for any part of such year an excise tax equivalent to \$1 for each \$1,000 of the adjusted declared value of capital employed in the transaction of its business in the United States.

(c) The taxes imposed by this section shall not apply—

(1) To any corporation enumerated in section 103 of the Revenue Act of 1932;

(2) to any insurance company subject to the tax imposed by section 201 or 204 of such Act;

(3) to any domestic corporation in respect of the year ending June 30, 1933, if it did not carry on or do business during a part of the period from the date of the enactment of this Act to June 30, 1933, both dates inclusive; or

(4) to any foreign corporation in respect of the year ending June 30, 1933, if it did not carry on or do business in the United States during a part of the period from the date of the enactment of this Act to June 30, 1933, both dates inclusive.

(d) Every corporation liable for tax under this section shall make a return under oath within one month after the close of the year with respect to which such tax is imposed to the collector for the district in which is located its principal place of business or, if it has no principal place of business in the United States, then to the collector at Baltimore, Maryland. Such return shall contain such information and be made in such manner as the Commissioner with the approval of the Secretary may by regulations prescribe. The tax shall, without assessment by the Commissioner or notice from the collector, be due and payable to the collector before the expiration of the period for filing the return. If the tax is not paid when due, there shall be added as part of the tax interest at the rate of 1 per centum a month from the time when the tax became due until paid. All provisions of law (including penalties) applicable in respect of the taxes imposed by section 600 of the Revenue Act of 1926 shall, in so far as not inconsistent with this section, be applicable in respect of the taxes imposed by this section. The Commissioner may extend the time for making the returns and paying the taxes imposed by this section, under such rules and regulations as he may prescribe with the approval of the Secretary, but no such extension shall be for more than sixty days.

(e) Returns required to be filed for the purpose of the tax imposed by this section shall be open to inspection in the same manner, to the same extent, and subject to the same provisions of law, including penalties, as returns made under title II of the Revenue Act of 1926.

(f) For the first year ending June 30 in respect of which a tax is imposed by this section upon any corporation, the adjusted declared value shall be the value, as declared by the corporation in its first return under this section (which declaration of value cannot be amended), as of the close of its last income-tax taxable year ending at or prior to the close of the year for which the tax is imposed by this section (or as of the date of organization in the case of a corporation having no income-tax taxable year ending at or prior to the close of the year for which the tax is imposed by this section). For any subsequent year ending June 30, the adjusted declared value in the case of a domestic corporation shall be the original declared value plus (1) the cash and fair market value of property paid in for stock or shares, (2) paid-in surplus and contributions to capital, and (3) earnings and profits, and minus (A) the value of property distributed in liquidation to shareholders, (B) distributions of earnings and profits and (C)

deficits, whether operating or nonoperating; each adjustment being made for the period from the date as of which the original declared value was declared to the close of its last income-tax taxable year ending at or prior to the close of the year for which the tax is imposed by this section. For any subsequent year ending June 30, the adjusted declared value in the case of a foreign corporation shall be the original declared value adjusted, in accordance with regulations prescribed by the Commissioner with the approval of the Secretary, to reflect increases or decreases (for the period specified in the preceding sentence) in the capital employed in the transaction of its business in the United States.

(g) The terms used in this section shall have the same meaning as when used in the Revenue Act of 1932.

SEC. 216. (a) There is hereby imposed upon the net income of every corporation, for each income-tax taxable year ending after the close of the first year in respect of which it is taxable, under section 215, an excess-profits tax equivalent to 5 per centum of such portion of its net income for such income-tax taxable year as is in excess of 12½ per centum of the adjusted declared value of its capital stock (or in the case of a foreign corporation the adjusted declared value of capital employed in the transaction of its business in the United States) as of the close of the preceding income-tax taxable year (or as of the date of organization if it had no preceding income-tax taxable year) determined as provided in section 215. The terms used in this section shall have the same meaning as when used in the Revenue Act of 1932.

(b) The tax imposed by this section shall be assessed, collected, and paid in the same manner, and shall be subject to the same provisions of law (including penalties), as the taxes imposed by title I of the Revenue Act of 1932.

SEC. 217. (a) The President shall proclaim the date of—

(1) the close of the first fiscal year ending June 30 of any year after the year 1933, during which the total receipts of the United States (excluding public-debt receipts) exceed its total expenditures (excluding public-debt expenditures other than those chargeable against such receipts), or

(2) the repeal of the eighteenth amendment to the Constitution,

whichever is the earlier.

(b) Effective as of the 1st day of the calendar year following the date so proclaimed section 617(a) of the Revenue Act of 1932, as amended, is amended by striking out "1½ cents" and inserting in lieu thereof "1 cent."

(c) The tax on dividends imposed by section 213 shall not apply to any dividends declared on or after the 1st day of the calendar year following the date so proclaimed.

(d) The capital-stock tax imposed by section 215 shall not apply to any taxpayer in respect of any year beginning on or after the 1st day of July following the date so proclaimed.

(e) The excess-profits tax imposed by section 216 shall not apply to any taxpayer in respect of any taxable year after its taxable year during which the date so proclaimed occurs.

SEC. 218. (a) Effective as of January 1, 1933, sections 117, 23(i), 169, 187, and 205 of the Revenue Act of 1932 are repealed.

(b) Effective as of January 1, 1933, section 23(r) (2) of the Revenue Act of 1932 is repealed.

(c) Effective as of January 1, 1933, section 23(r) (3) of the Revenue Act of 1932 is amended by striking out all after the word "Territory" and inserting a period.

(d) Effective as of January 1, 1933, section 132(a) of the Revenue Act of 1932 is amended by inserting at the end thereof a new sentence as follows: "No part of any loss disallowed to a partnership as a deduction by section 23(r) shall be allowed as a deduction to a member of such partnership in computing net income."

(e) Effective as of January 1, 1933, section 141(c) of the Revenue Act of 1932 is amended by striking out "except that for the taxable years 1932 and 1933 there shall be added to the rate of tax prescribed by sections 13(a), 201(b), and 204(a), a rate of three fourths of 1 per centum" and inserting in lieu thereof the following: "except that for the taxable years 1932 and 1933 there shall be added to the rate of tax prescribed by sections 13(a), 201(b), and 204(a), a rate of three fourths of 1 per centum and except that for the taxable years 1934 and 1935 there shall be added to the rate of tax prescribed by sections 13(a), 201(b), and 204(a), a rate of 1 per centum."

(f) No interest shall be assessed or collected for any period prior to September 15, 1933, upon such portion of any amount determined as a deficiency in income taxes as is attributable solely to the amendments made to the Revenue Act of 1932 by this section.

(g) In cases where the effect of this section is to require for a taxable year ending prior to June 30, 1933, the making of an income-tax return not otherwise required by law, the time for making the return and paying the tax shall be the same as if the return was for a fiscal year ending June 30, 1933.

(h) Section 55 of the Revenue Act of 1932 is amended by inserting before the period at the end thereof a semicolon and the following: "and all returns made under this Act after the date of enactment of the National Industrial Recovery Act shall constitute public records and shall be open to public examination and inspection to such extent as shall be authorized in rules and regulations promulgated by the President."

SEC. 219. Section 500 (a) (1) of the Revenue Act of 1926, as amended, is amended by striking out the period at the end of the second sentence thereof and inserting in lieu thereof a comma and the following: "except that no tax shall be imposed in the case of persons admitted free to any spoken play (not a mechanical reproduction), whether or not set to music or with musical parts or accompaniments, which is a consecutive narrative interpreted by a single set of characters, all necessary to the development of the plot, in two or more acts, the performance consuming more than 1 hour and 45 minutes of time."

APPROPRIATION

SEC. 220. For the purposes of this Act, there is hereby authorized to be appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, the sum of \$3,300,000,000. The President is authorized to allocate so much of said sum, not

in excess of \$100,000,000, as he may determine to be necessary for expenditures in carrying out the Agricultural Adjustment Act and the purposes, powers, and functions heretofore and hereafter conferred upon the Farm Credit Administration.

SEC. 221. Section 7 of the Agricultural Adjustment Act, approved May 12, 1933, is amended by striking out all of its present terms and provisions and substituting therefor the following:

"SEC. 7. The Secretary shall sell the cotton held by him at his discretion, but subject to the foregoing provisions: *Provided*, That he shall dispose of all cotton held by him by March 1, 1936: *Provided further*, That, notwithstanding the provisions of section 6, the Secretary shall have authority to enter into option contracts with producers of cotton to sell to the producers such cotton held by him, in such amounts and at such prices and upon such terms and conditions as the Secretary may deem advisable, in combination with rental or benefit payments provided for in part 2 of this title.

"Notwithstanding any provisions of existing law, the Secretary of Agriculture may in the administration of the Agricultural Adjustment Act make public such information as he deems necessary in order to effectuate the purposes of such Act."

TITLE III—AMENDMENTS TO EMERGENCY RELIEF AND CONSTRUCTION ACT AND MISCELLANEOUS PROVISIONS

SECTION 301. After the expiration of ten days after the date upon which the Administrator has qualified and taken office, (1) no application shall be approved by the Reconstruction Finance Corporation under the provisions of subsection (a) of section 201 of the Emergency Relief and Construction Act of 1932, as amended, and (2) the Administrator shall have access to all applications, files, and records of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation relating to loans and contracts and the administration of funds under such subsection: *Provided*, That the Reconstruction Finance Corporation may issue funds to a borrower under such subsection (a) prior to January 23, 1939, under the terms of any agreement or any commitment to bid upon or purchase bonds entered into with such borrower pursuant to an application approved prior to the date of termination, under this section, of the power of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation to approve applications.

DECREASE OF BORROWING POWER OF RECONSTRUCTION FINANCE CORPORATION

SEC. 302. The amount of notes, debentures, bonds, or other such obligations which the Reconstruction Finance Corporation is authorized and empowered under section 9 of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation Act, as amended, to have outstanding at any one time is decreased by \$400,000,000.

SEPARABILITY CLAUSE

SEC. 303. If any provision of this Act, or the application thereof to any person or circumstances, is held invalid, the remainder of the Act, and the application of such provision to other persons or circumstances, shall not be affected thereby.

SHORT TITLE

SEC. 304. This Act may be cited as the "National Industrial Recovery Act."
Approved, June 16, 1933, 11:55 a. m.

National Recovery Act in Operation—The National Recovery Act marks a new epoch in development of our economic practices. It institutes a definite change from the formulation of industrial policies by individuals to collective control and organization upon an industry-wide basis. The act provides one of the most fundamental changes ever initiated in an industrial country.

The National Recovery Act was designed to meet the emergency resulting from the banking collapse and business breakdown. It was proposed, discussed and enacted under the shadow of a great fear. In time of great emergency, we see more clearly the essentials of a situation and rise to action based upon a broader vision. We are more willing to lay aside prejudices and accept sound proposals, which may entail loss of personal advantage. When our banking system collapsed and business was deadlocked and bankruptcy threatened our economic institutions, the new Administration taking office March 4 found itself responsible for the most serious economic situation that ever confronted this nation. Two courses of action were possible: either to assume control as a dictator or to secure voluntary cooperation to avert national bankruptcy. The Administration proposed a measure for industrial recovery, following the second course.

The fundamental objectives at which the proposal aimed were to provide jobs for the unemployed and to increase purchasing power by wage raises. It was obvious that business could not recover until there was a demand for the things for sale and demand could not increase until more people had more money to spend. The Administration decided that it was possible for the United States to achieve recovery within its own borders. To break through economic deadlock, the Administration proposed a great economic endeavor, each industry agreeing to raise wages and shorten hours. Agreements covering the industry, called codes under this new plan, were intended to prevent unfair competition, which has its roots primarily in long hours and low wages. Individual business undertakings and even single industries could do little to increase employment and purchasing power, but all industries acting together and in accord with a common plan, could undertake to raise standards and the general level. The Recovery Plan shifted the basic organization of business from individual responsibility and action to collective endeavor and collective responsibility. The emergency made plain the fact that policies in any single plant affected the whole industry and general business conditions. The principle of public interest was extended to all industries affecting interstate commerce. Where public interest is concerned, public participation in some degree must follow. Under the Recovery Act, the Government becomes a partner in industry—a partner that becomes responsible for formulation of codes and their administration—that is, the new industrial government. The agencies used are the organizations of employers (trade associations) and the organization of employes (trade unions), thus carrying out the idea of voluntary cooperation under governmental leadership.

Recovery Administration Procedure—The Act depends upon an industrial code as a method of control and proposes to determine the code by hearings and conferences in which employers and employees participate under government leadership.

Title 1 of the Act, dealing with industrial recovery, extends the application of the principle of "public interest" to all products or materials transported in interstate commerce or affecting interstate commerce. This is recognition of the obvious fact that our business structure consists of many interdependent undertakings which are controlled as units but are affected by what happens in the other enterprises in their industry as well as by other industries. The principle of public interest has been recognized as applying to railways and utilities, but we now recognize that what we have long called private business is of greater concern to society because it affects the living of all more vitally. The Act is intended to give to voluntary groups effective machinery for planning and controlling the more general policies which affect and condition each integral unit.

Anti-trust laws were amended to permit trade associations to function while still prohibiting domination by a monopoly. The amendments are an extension of the fundamental purpose of anti-trust law, utilizing the Federal Trade Commission and legal machinery customary in protecting public welfare. While agreements may be made which will fix policies for whole industries, the President is given adequate power to prevent these agreements from becoming conspiracies against general welfare by investigation, equity procedure, fines and licensing.

Codes are to be mutual agreements between organized industry and organized employes, but the conditions of agreement shall not be monopolistic in design nor operate against consumers' interests. As condition of approval, the President may require reports and cost accounting.

When codes have been approved, any violation of standards in any transaction in or affecting interstate or foreign commerce shall be deemed an unfair method of competition to which the Federal Trade Commission Act shall apply. The United States District Courts shall have authority to institute equity proceedings to prevent or restrain such violations.

Where codes of fair competition are not voluntarily developed by the industry and its employes, the President may prescribe a limited code.

Either upon complaint or upon his own initiative the President may have the Tariff Commission investigate foreign commodities or materials which interfere with fair competition within the United States, for the purpose of excluding them, if advisable.

Violation of codes of fair competition will be a misdemeanor carrying a fine of \$500 for each offense—each day of violation constituting a separate offense.

Whenever wage or price cutting threatens conditions of fair competition, the President may license the industry and suspend or revoke the license of any business enterprise that violates the conditions of the code. This licensing authority shall be for the first year of the operation of the Act.

Our established national policy has been opposed to economic combinations as our anti-trust law had been interpreted by the courts to make combinations illegal. Industries could excuse their lack of planning by the fact that the planning and controlling functions of trade associations had been held illegal.

The Recovery Act modified anti-trust legislation by lifting codes out of its application and especially provides for the right of wage-earners to union membership. Government must be carried on through appropriate machinery, hence the

necessity for organization of those functional groups which must decide upon codes and see that they are put into effect.

As it was necessary for employers to cooperate in the formulation of codes, the Act was equally specific in freeing trade unions from handicaps that hampered them in serving as the representative agencies for small salaried and wage earning employes. The right of wage-earners to membership in trade unions and to collective bargaining was made clear and specific.

Under the Recovery Act the President is authorized to set up the agencies to carry out its purposes and to delegate his functions to persons whom he might designate. Brigadier General Hugh S. Johnson was named as administrator. General Johnson selected two assistants—one from employers in industries and one from employees, a legal advisor and a director of research.

Three advisory boards have been created representative of Labor, employers, and consumers.

A number of deputy administrators have been appointed to conduct code hearings. Each deputy, with his assistants, is responsible for a specific group of industries, and he, or an assistant, conducts hearings on codes for such industries.

Other divisions of the Administrative machinery are: Code analysis, code control, research and planning, public relations and President's Re-employment Agreement Policy Board.

The law clears the way for employers and employees to function as organized groups in order that the industry could plan its policies and carry them out. To bring about that planning necessary to effectuate the purposes of the Recovery Act, producing workers together with management and investors must develop and carry out mutually beneficial policies.

The NRA is intended to lift the level of competition above that which affords an advantage from low wages and long hours. Here again we have a departure from the old individualism that left each employer free to determine wages and hours without regard to what prevails in other establishments. This is an extension of the principle of "public interest"—the principle that since all are affected by what happens, the public should have a voice in control. The other phase of this fact of public interest is the need for cooperation between all responsible groups. The spirit of industry should change from competition by taking unfair advantage which does an injustice to some functional groups, to rivalry in carrying out a common plan with superior intelligence that reduces costs to the detriment of no one.

Code Procedure—The code sets up the rules and regulations which constitute the government of the industry. The law provides that the industry shall submit a code of fair practices, thus giving the industry an opportunity for self-government. The code is first sent to the legal division and if found to conform to legal provisions or requirements of the Act, it goes to the Administrator, is then mimeographed for general use, and assigned to a deputy. The deputy may arrange preliminary or informal hearings, if there are conflicting proposals which discussion would be likely to clarify or adjustments that could be made.

The formal hearing follows carefully the procedure necessary to an administrative inquiry which is to develop the factual data for determining an executive

decision. Questions, briefs and all presentations are strictly directed toward the development and clarification of the facts and forces necessary to make decisions on policy. Statistical and technical data are necessary to describe and measure experience. Briefs or oral presentations are confined strictly to data of this nature. Each person given a hearing addresses the deputy administrator direct and in no case can challenge or cross-examine other persons appearing.

In formal hearings, employers, employees and consumers may be heard to bring out all the facts which interpret the code. Then conferences are held to reach an agreement on the provisions of the code. The advice and recommendations of advisory boards are sought and considered by the Administrator. The Administrator then submits the code to the President with recommendations. The President may approve or may add provisions.

From even limited experience two things are of outstanding significance to Labor: (1) The need of organization and (2) the need for sustained research regarding labor phases of production and conditions of work.

Since the purpose of the Recovery Act is to set up the standards and machinery for industrial government, the immediate need for both employers and employees is to organize those agencies designated in the law—trade associations and trade unions. The trade associations and trade unions constitute responsible, representative agencies, competent to assemble and interpret records of experience, to determine policies and to effectuate plans agreed to.

The trade association provides representative officials to look after the interests of the executives of the industry, retains counsel, experts and technicians for specialized functions.

The trade union performs similar functions in looking after the interests of wage earners, and its executives in representative capacity act upon matters which would be personal, if handled by individual workers. These executives cannot be controlled by any employers as can all the wage earners working in the industry.

Trade associations have been kept ineffective by interpretations of anti-trust law which outlawed their legitimate functions. Trade unions have been hampered by the opposition of employers, amounting in some cases to the use of armed force and the application of injunction procedure and anti-trust laws to outlaw their activities.

The National Recovery Act frees both trade associations and trade unions for their constructive functions, so that there may be the cooperation necessary to carry out the purposes of the Act. There must be agencies capable of determining what workday will enable the industry to put back to work those attached to it, and what wages are necessary to provide buyers for the goods produced, and then for putting the agreement into effect. There must be an administrative agency representative of groups concerned to observe the operation of the code and the need for amendments, and to provide the means of policing the industry. Producing workers who handle the machinery, tools and materials in the production process, who know from personal experience the relation between work hours and progress and who are daily up against the rules fixed by the code, have an experience essential to the formulation, operation and adjustment of the code itself.

If the Government is to have that cooperation which will make the Recovery Administration successful, trade associations and trade unions must be successful as normal agencies for cooperation, and prejudice laid aside.

Codes of Fair Competition—The codes of fair competition approved under the Recovery Act following the procedure provided for initial codes fix maximum hours of work, minimum rates of pay, and such conditions of employment as have a bearing on recovery, together with trade practices in the industry. These codes differ materially in form and coverage so it is not possible to draw any definite conclusions.

Cotton Textile Industry, July 9—The cotton textile industry was the pioneer in establishing a code under the Recovery Administration. This code fixed the maximum work week at 40 hours and 80 hours as the machine week; the minimum wage for workers in the South \$12, or 30¢ per hour, and in the North \$13, or 32¢ per hour. For wages in the higher paid classes, the existing amount of differential is to be maintained. Time and one-half to be paid for overtime, except in the case of repair and watching crews.

Section 7a of the Act was included as required by law. An exception for learners during 6 weeks apprenticeship has proved a source of difficulties.

The Cotton Textile Committee, a planning and fair practice committee, is established by the Code, to be constituted by appointees of the Cotton Textile Institute, American Cotton Manufacturing Association, the National Association of Cotton Manufacturers, and three appointed by the President. There is also set up under the code a Cotton Textile National Industrial Relations Board for the purpose of settling differences arising over working conditions, with special reference to "stretch out" or specialization systems.

American Lace Manufacturing, August 14—Minimum wage—\$13 per week of 40 hours. Learners not less than 80 per cent of minimum; ratio of 1 learner to 6 craftsmen.

Maximum week—40 hours.

Maximum machine week—The industry may operate 2 shifts of 40 hours each.

Exception: Repair crews, executives, salespeople, upkeep crew, and these only when working at their own duties.

Code authority: Lace Manufacturing Industry Committee, to be composed of 5 representatives of manufacturers, 3 members without vote to be appointed by the Administration.

Woolen Industry, July 26—Minimum wage: \$14 a week, or 35¢ an hour in the North; \$13, or 32½¢ per hour in the South, with no exceptions even for learners or apprentices. Wages for 40 hours not less than wages paid for 48 hour week.

Hours: 40 hour week and exception for repair, watch, and outside crews and supervisors.

Changes: To be made with the approval of the President of the United States.

Corset and Brassiere Industry, August 14—Minimum wage: \$14 per week, cutters not less than \$25, for a week of 40 hours. If hours are reduced, rates

must be adjusted so as not to reduce compensation. Learners and apprentices, a minimum of 27½¢ per hour, or \$11 a week for the first 6 weeks and thereafter must receive the minimum. If learning a piece-work operation, and amount earned exceeds \$11 a week, apprentice must be paid on piece rate basis. Employers may not employ as learners or apprentices any person or persons previously employed as learners or apprentices in any plant in this industry.

Hours: 40 hours per week maximum, not more than 5 days in any week. Under no circumstances shall employee work for one or more persons in the industry in the aggregate in excess of prescribed week.

Code authority: To consist of 8 to 10 members; 2 appointed by the Administration and the rest by the President of the Corset and Brassiere Association of America.

Electrical Industry, August 1—Minimum wage: 40¢ per hour for employees engaged in processing of electrical products and related work, unless rate on July 15, 1929 was less than 40¢, in which case the rate paid shall not be less than that paid on that date, and in no case below 32¢. Learners not less than 80% of minimum rate—determined in the above way. Learners to be not more than 5% of all employees. Other employees in the industry, except commission salespeople and office boys or girls, minimum \$15 per week. Learners 80% of minimum for class, and in numbers not more than 5%.

Hours: Processing and labor operations incident thereto: 36 hours. All others except executives, supervisors, etc., not more than 40 hours.

Exceptions for seasonal or peak demands when such hours as are required shall be worked, and reported to the Administrator.

Supervising agency to be constituted for each subdivision of the industry by the Board of Governors or Executive Committee of the National Electrical Manufacturing Association.

Coats and Suits (Women's), August 4—Maximum hours: 35 per week for manufacturing employees.

Exceptions: clerical and service employees—40 hours. No overtime.

Wages: \$14 basic minimum wage non-manufacturing employees. Minimum wage ranging from \$29 per week for drapers in the Eastern area to \$1.80 per hour for machine pressers in the Western area (computed on a piece work basis). The compensation for employment shall not be reduced even though hours may be reduced.

Code authority: Vested in a Coat and Suit Authority constituted of 2 members selected from each of the 3 associations submitting the code; 2 selected by the International Ladies Garment Workers Union; 2 selected collectively by the Associations in the Western area.

Petroleum, August 19—Wages: Minimum rates per hour for filling and service station employees ranging from a minimum of \$14 in a city of 2,500 to 250,000 population to \$15 minimum in cities of 500,000 and over. Minimum scale for oil workers ranging from 45¢ for the South Atlantic and East South Central Divisions to 52¢ for the Middle Atlantic, New England, East North Central, and Pacific Coast Divisions.

Production: Production of crude oil to be restricted to balance consumer demand for petroleum products, to be determined by a federal agency designated by the President.

Hours: 40 hours for clerical workers; all other employees in the drilling, production, refining, and pipe line operations not more than 72 hours in any 14 consecutive days but not more than 16 hours in any 2 days. Filling station employees, a maximum of 48 hours per week.

Ship Building, July 26—Hours: For merchant shipbuilding and repairing employees on hourly rate, 36 hours per week, the average based upon 6 months' period with not more than 40 hours in any one week. All over 8 hours in any one day to be paid at the rate of time and one-half hourly rate. On shipbuilding for the U. S. government, 32 hours per week. Overtime, time and one-half for all over 8 hours in any one day.

Exception: During 6 months, employees in engineering, designing and mold loft and order departments, and such other departments as are necessary in preparations for new construction work may work not more than 48 hours per week, if approved by Planning and Fair Practice Committee provided for in code.

Minimum rates (except for apprentices, learners, casual and incidental labor) 45 cents in the North or 35¢ in the South. **Exception:** Apprentices and learners may be paid less than minimum for 2 years. Casual and incidental labor not less than 80 per cent of minimum—and in numbers not to exceed 8 per cent of total skilled and semi-skilled in any month.

Code authority: A Ship Building and Ship Repairing Industry Committee to consist of 5 representatives of ship builders and repairers and 3 without vote, appointed by the President of the United States.

Photographic Industry, August 19—Maximum hours: 40 per week on an average over a 3-month period, except in seasonal or peak demands. No employee shall work more than 144 hours yearly in excess of maximum standard. Repair, outside and cleaning crews shall be paid time and one-half for all time over 40 hours.

Maximum hours: 40 per week on an average over a 3-month period, except in seasonal or peak demands. No employee shall work more than 144 hours yearly in excess of maximum standard. Repair, outside and cleaning crews shall be paid time and one-half for all time over 40 hours.

Wages: 35¢ per hour, or \$14 per week minimum except for learners, paid not less than 80 per cent of minimum for a period of 60 days—limited to 5% of the total payroll.

Code authority: Code Committee consisting of 7 representatives of industry and 3 appointed by the President, without vote.

Automobiles, August 26—Wages: Minimum for factory workers in cities having 500,000 or over, 43¢; in towns 250,000 or over, 41½¢; in towns less than 250,000, 40¢.

Exceptions: Apprentices, learners and females who shall receive not less than 87½% of minimum, number limited to 5% of total factory employees.

Hours: Average employment shall not exceed 35 hours per week, in no case

shall the work week exceed 48 hours. Maintenance and repair workers shall not exceed 42 hours weekly, averaged on an annual basis.

Code authority: Automobile Chamber of Commerce.

Men's Clothing Industry, August 26—Wages: Minimum wage is 40 cents per hour in North and 37 cents in the South. Minimum weekly wage to non-manufacturing workers, \$14 in North and \$13 in the South. Existing amounts of differential for more highly paid workers shall be maintained.

Wages: Minimum wage is 40 cents per hour in North and 37 cents in the South. Minimum weekly wage to non-manufacturing workers, \$14 in North and \$13 in the South. Existing amounts of differential for more highly paid workers shall be maintained.

Minimum rate to employees working on single knee pants shall be 37 cents per hour; minimum for cutter \$1 per hour; for off-pressers 75 cents.

Hours: Maximum hours for clothing workers, 36 hours per week and no more than 8 hours per day. Repair, maintenance, watch crews, 40 hours.

Home work: Prohibited after 3 months.

Code Authority to consist of 17 representatives of various employer groups, 5 of Labor, and 1 member to be appointed by the Administration.

Rayon and Synthetic Yarn, August 26—Maximum hours: 40 per week, averaged over 4 weeks.

Minimum wage: \$13 per week of 40 hours except apprentices for period of 1 week, paid 85% of minimum.

Code authority: To be set up by the industry.

Legitimate Theatres, August 17—Hours: Not more than 40 per week for actors except during rehearsal periods.

Wages: Minimum of \$25 for actors with less than 2 years' experience; chorus girls \$30. Actors with more than 2 years' experience the scale is adjusted to box office prices, ranging from \$40 to \$50 per week. Definite provision made for advance of a week's salary after 2 weeks' rehearsal, to be repaid during first two weeks of production—divided equally between the 2 weeks. Regulations set forth governing the relations with other branches of the industry such as the musicians, stage employees, scenic artists, transfer men, wardrobe attendants, etc.

Code authority: National Legitimate Theatre Committee consisting of 1 representative each from the Actors Equity Association, Chorus Equity Association, International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees, American Federation of Musicians, United Scenic Artists, 1 from a group of employees not hereinbefore embraced, 1 from Dramatists Guild of the Authors League of America, 3 from National Association of Legitimate Theatres, Inc., 2 from the National Dramatic Stock Association (which is increased to 3 when questions relating solely to stock productions are considered) and not more than 3 members appointed by the National Recovery Administration.

Lumber, August 19—Hours: 48 per week in all producing regions, saw mills and other operations, except 40 hours is proposed for saw mills in the Northwest and in certain other minor cases.

Production control: Vested in "Lumber Code Authority" such restrictions based on expected consumption estimates.

Wages: Minimum ranging from \$10.80 per week (22½¢ per hour) in the South to \$20.40 (42½¢ per hour) in the West Coast and Western Pine Divisions.

Code authority: "Lumber Code Authority" established to assist in administering provisions of the code.

Steel, August 19—Wages: Minimum wages set forth in a schedule attached to the Code. Geographical wage differentials which have always existed are perpetuated in the schedule adopted as part of the code. Wages range from 25¢ per hour for Southern District to 40¢ per hour for the Cleveland, Detroit, North Ohio River, Chicago and Colorado districts.

Hours: On or after November 1, 1933, as soon as the members of the Code are operating at 60% capacity they shall adjust operations so that an 8-hour day will be established for all their employees. (Exceptions: Those employed in supervising capacities and technical work.)

Code authority: In the hands of Board of Directors of the Iron and Steel Institute.

Hosiery, August 26—Hours: 40 hours generally set for Full Fashioned Hosiery Workers.

Minimum wages: Range from \$27.50 per week for leggers and footers on 51 gauge machines (with differentials between North and South slightly under 10%) to \$8 per week for learners in both sections. *Seamless Hosiery*: \$18 per week for machine fixers to \$13 for certain employees. Differential between North and South same as for Full Fashioned Hosiery Workers. Learners, \$8 per week in both North and South.

Production: Employees shall not be required to produce greater hourly output than on July 1, 1933. "Stretch Out" system definitely controlled. Employers operating on 2-shift system on July 24, 1933, may continue but length of shifts may not exceed 35 hours per week and employees must be paid same wage for 35 hour week as if they worked 40 hour week.

Exception: Woollen hosiery manufacturers may operate three 40-hour shifts to meet normal demands of the trade until December 31, 1933, when they will be limited to two 40-hour shifts.

Code authority: Will consist of 12 members—8 to be selected by the Board of Directors of the National Association of Hosiery Manufacturers, 2 appointed by the Administrator, and 2 to be appointed by the Administrator on nomination of the Labor Advisory Board.

Child Labor Provisions of Codes—Not under 16 years of age:

Men's clothing	Ship building and repairing
Automobiles	Steel
Photographic Manufacturing	Textiles
Hosiery	Wool Manufacturing
Corsets and Brassieres	Coats and Suits
Fishing Tackle	

The following have general provision of 16 years with indicated exceptions:

Theatre—16 except with consent of proper governmental authority.

Lumber—18 years except boys of 16 in hand package division or in non-hazardous occupations or if no wage earners over 18 years in family.

Tendencies and Problems—The above summary of standards established by the codes so far approved, discloses definitely the following developments and problems:

Hours of work are too long to assure absorption of the millions without jobs.

Minimum wages are so low that purchasing power lags behind production.

The differential between wages to negro workers and white workers will maintain the differential in living standards and purchasing power between the two races and will continue the wide spread between average incomes in the South and those in the North.

The territorial differential based upon an assumed difference in costs of living in various regions and between small and large communities for which no sustaining data exist, will encourage the migration of industries seeking lower labor costs and will continue an undesirable factor in competition and in the distribution of industrial establishments.

Wage earners, although co-equal with capital are a producing essential, are in almost every code ignored in setting up the continuing code authority for the industry with power to legislate. As codes will provide industrial government, the significance of this situation is very grave. Workers as such should have representation on the code authority on an equal footing with all other members.

Most gratifying progress has been made in eliminating the employment of children in industry. Every code has fixed 16 years as the minimum age for employment and 18 has been accepted as the minimum in hazardous industries. It is obvious that the code procedure which escapes the difficulties of federal legislation may prove an effective way of meeting some of the social problems of industry.

One code, the coat and suit, provides that the unemployment fund shall be continued as soon as conditions in the industry warrant. In the brief which the President of the American Federation of Labor submitted in the hearing on the Automobile Code a dismissal wage was proposed.

In order to make the National Recovery Act serve the purpose for which it was intended, it will be necessary to have much greater reductions in work hours and very much higher standards for minimum wages. While the Act was intended to absorb the unemployed by reducing the workday, so that more persons could be employed and national purchasing power increased by raising wages, some of the codes adopted have so perverted the purpose of the Act as to actually increase hours and decrease wage-earners' incomes. Most flagrant instances of such perversion have occurred under modifications of the reemployment agreement. But even in some instances the code proposed by a specific industry suggests a work-week considerably longer than the number of hours actually being worked and rates that reduce earnings under code conditions. Forty and 48

hours—and even longer in those exempted groups such as watch and repair crews—have been set by codes and agreements when the figures showed that no longer than 30 hours per week could be allowed if we were to find jobs for all. While two million have been put back to work, eleven million are still without opportunity to earn an income. It is deliberate concession to selfish interests and stubborn maintenance of special privilege which creates unrest and dissatisfaction among workers who are honestly seeking to cooperate for public welfare.

The lifting of wage levels for the lowest paid workers is not enough. The rates of pay for mechanics and skilled workers must be increased so that just and equitable differentials may be established and maintained. Employers of labor should not be permitted to reduce the margin between the skilled and the lowest paid workers, or to establish the minimum rate as the maximum rate of pay in industries which are required to apply and observe industrial codes of fair practice.

If the declared purpose of the Recovery Act is to be achieved, it is obvious that such codes must be reopened for constructive revision. Such revision must be made after full and adequate presentation of the facts of the industry, division of the income from joint production and adjustments between hours of work available and those attached to the industry and in need of jobs.

The future of the Recovery Act depends upon the honesty and impartiality of such revisions and the increasing development of balanced participation in decisions of policy and standards.

Proposals of Policy—Although the National Recovery Act has a duration of two years from the time of its enactment, it is obvious that the highly intricate, interdependent relationship which has grown out of industrial and scientific developments, has completely outgrown the simple procedure of final control in the hands of those owning the capital investments. Great moral wrongs and industrial maladjustments have resulted from control directed in the interests of profits on capital investments alone. Only balanced control, proportionately guided by the interests of all functional groups, can assure a balanced progress that will avoid the frequent and disastrous industrial breakdowns of the past. The American Federation of Labor has repeatedly pointed to the need for balance in industrial control and for national economic planning.

Industry is a living thing and can not have two years' experience under any system without being definitely changed in its habits and procedures. The National Recovery Act marks a new industrial era in which we must deal with the problems of individual and social progress under controlling agencies. We must develop the agencies and principles of associated activity. The National Recovery Administration represents a purpose and a method of developing moral and economic standards in the kind of industrial relationships which technical progress in production necessitates. Our immediate problem is to make use of the opportunity and the agencies available and help carry out the purposes of the Act.

To function in their own interests and in the interests of society, wage-earners must be able and ready for effectiveness as a group organized for associated action. Organization of wage-earners in unions is the first step for Labor's participation in national planning and economic control, as it has ever

been the first step in Labor's progress. Unions can provide representative authority and responsibility. With adequate and competent representation, Labor can do its share in carrying out the purposes of the N. R. A. and in directing developments so that accomplishments may constitute a foundation for future progress.

For individual unions there are the same implications in the situation as for individual workers. No union can establish a policy or agree to a standard which will not directly affect opportunities for the workers in that industry as well as all other industries. It is indispensable, therefore, that for the submission of proposals to the Administration there should be conference and agreement between the representatives of all the producing groups within the industry and greatest care not to undermine the standards of other industries. Procedures coordinating code activities are developing under the Building Trades Department, the Metal Trades Department, the Allied Printing Trades Council, the garment industries, etc. In the field of code activity, there is the need and the opportunity for integration of efforts and plans to advance and protect the interests of all workers within the scope covered by the code. Since all within the industry must come under the code the growing numbers of office, clerical and service workers have found need of organization. We are gratified at the evidences of union organization among these groups.

Collective Bargaining Under Codes—As code making enters its second phase as provided in Section 7(b) of the Act, participation of all employed persons will be increasingly imperative. The first codes set up only minimum standards, but the second phase is collective bargaining affecting all groups of workers:

(b) The President shall, so far as practicable, afford every opportunity to employers and employees in any trade or industry or subdivision thereof with respect to which the conditions referred to in clauses (1) and (2) of subsection (a) prevail, to establish by mutual agreement, the standards as to the maximum hours of labor, minimum rates of pay, and such other conditions of employment as may be necessary in such trade or industry or subdivision thereof to effectuate the policy of this title; and the standards established in such agreements, when approved by the President, shall have the same effect as a code of fair competition, approved by the President under subsection (a) of section 3.

Preparatory to this second phase, collective bargaining under the code, we should hasten the work of organization. To that end we urge special plans for organizing the still unorganized workers during the immediate future.

For guidance in working out these codes, the conference of national and international representatives held in Washington June 6 and 7 made the following recommendations:

Workers' Rights

Section 7(a) of the Industrial Recovery Act shall be made an integral part of the labor provisions of every code of fair competition and every limited code.

Sec. 7(a). Every code of fair competition, agreement, and license approved, prescribed, or issued under this title shall contain the following conditions: (1) That employees shall have the right to organize and

bargain collectively through representatives of their own choosing, and shall be free from the interference, restraint, or coercion of employers of labor, or their agents, in the designation of such representatives or in self-organization or in other concerted activities for the purpose of collective bargaining or other mutual aid or protection; (2) that no employee and no one seeking employment shall be required as a condition of employment to join any company union or to refrain from joining, organizing, or assisting a labor organization of his own choosing; and (3) that employers shall comply with the maximum hours of labor, minimum rates of pay and other conditions of employment approved or prescribed by the President.

Classification

Rules governing classification of work and employees.

Hours

1. Rule covering maximum hours per day.
2. Rule covering number of days per week.
3. Rule covering shifts in continuous industries—starting and stopping time.
4. Rule covering overtime.

Wages

1. Minimum wage for unskilled labor.
2. Prevailing or standard wage rates for all others according to trades, experience and locality.
3. Methods for adjusting piece rates, where this method is acceptable, and fixing machine limits.
4. Guaranteed minimum for all piece workers.
5. No less than time and one-half for overtime.

Security

1. Methods for adjusting hours and work force.
2. Payroll reserve should be set up to assure continuous income for workers on an annual basis.
3. Dismissal wage.

Working Conditions

Rules covering:

1. Safety and health provisions.
2. Night work for women and minors.
3. Prohibition of employment of minors under 16 years of age.
4. Vacancies, transfers, promotions.
5. Administration of discipline.
6. Fixing holidays and vacations with pay.
7. Definite provision for local employee committees.

Administration

Machinery for conferences between labor and management.
Machinery for adjusting dispute cases growing out of labor provisions of codes.
Right of review in case of discharge.

Revision of Code

Thirty-day notice clause for change of any provision of labor codes.

Labor Research—In the special conference of national and international representatives on June 6, the need for a labor code research agency was emphasized. As

soon as the machinery for the N. R. A. for code hearings became operative, the Federation added to its research group. The rate at which hearings are moving along and the new technique and institutions in process of development, made obvious the increasing need for labor organizations to build up additional facilities to protect and advance wage-earners' interests under industrial control procedure. Our unions are accustomed to use statistical and economic data in negotiating trade agreements, so the type of material required for briefs submitted in code hearings is an extension of present work. The development of the necessary data to assure proportionate progress and fair regulations for Labor as a part of the formulation of the rules of control for the whole industry, is the kind of undertaking upon which economic and statistical experts can render assistance. Trade associations and employers' groups have developed industrial data, and, of course, have access to sources of information such as accounts, payrolls, employment and production records which can readily be compiled and interpreted in support of their proposals. Statistics are only a medium of interpretation. Data used by employers may omit facts essential to the presentation of Labor's experience, or may be based on data so compiled as to put the employers' case more favorably than facts warrant. To enable labor representatives to detect all loopholes, omissions and misleading implications and to provide statistical interpretation of Labor's case, the services of those who understand the compilation and use of statistics are necessary for union executives responsible for presenting Labor's case. Deputies conducting hearings insist upon factual data as a basis for conclusions. Labor must present statistical evidence supporting its own wage and hour proposals as well as challenge the figures and conclusions of employers.

Statistical service is most expensive when provided occasionally, for it necessitates hurried and emergency collection of data that might be slowly accumulated with little expense. Sustained work gives an opportunity for planning and for regular accumulation of experience.

The chief sources of economic and statistical data are in Washington. The National Recovery Administration is further concentrating available material and developing additional sources. As the preparation of briefs and data for code hearing must conform to regulations of administration procedure, there is a practical expediency in close contact with Washington for code work.

We are entering an industrial period of conference with the Government as chairman. Labor will have increasing need to sustain its proposals by factual data. A research service is essential to effectiveness in this new period.

Industrial Recovery and Public Works—(Title 11)—To supplement the buying power and jobs expected from efforts for recovery through industrial codes, a very comprehensive public works program was authorized by Congress to the extent of \$3,300,000,000. This construction program was intended to stimulate the basic industries and to furnish additional consumers for the products of agriculture and industry.

Responsibility for carrying out the program of public works was delegated to the Secretary of the Interior. Holding that the formulation of this program involved the formulation of a national plan with which any immediate plan should be consistent, the President directed the creation of a long range plan-

ning board. Not waiting for the recommendations of this board, the Administration announced willingness to aid in the construction and financing of any public work deemed worthy and for which loans were reasonably secure. The organization set up to administer the public works program includes: The Administrator and his Deputy; the Planning Board for long time planning; 10 regional advisors; state advisory boards; state engineers. An application for a loan to carry on undertakings goes first to the State Engineer, then, if approved, to the state board, and hence to the Administrator. Loans may be made to states, municipalities or other public bodies, and to private corporations proposing projects for public use, low-cost housing, and slum clearance projects.

The following tests of eligibility are applied to all applications:

1. The relation of the particular project to coordinated planning and its social desirability.
2. Economic desirability of the project, i. e., its relation to unemployment and revival of industry.
3. The soundness of the project from an engineering and technical standpoint.
4. The financial ability of the applicant to complete the work and to reasonably secure any loans made by the United States.
5. The legal enforceability of the securities to be purchased by the United States or of any lease to be entered into between the applicant and the United States.

Preferences—(1) Projects integrated with and consistent with a state plan are to be preferred to the isolated or inconsistent. (2) Projects which can be started promptly are to be preferred to those requiring delay. (3) Projects near centers of unemployment are to be preferred.

The technical staff of the Emergency Administration consists of persons of standing and great ability in this field. There is an unusual opportunity for a fine program of constructive work fitting in a long-time plan for social progress. Money has been allotted to various states and various programs. Much needed school construction comes under this program which would prevent too-great retrogression in educational developments and would at the same time spread employment widely throughout the country so that the unemployed might find work close at home.

The Labor Advisory Board, consisting of Dr. Isadore Lubin, chairman; Henry W. Blumenberg, United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners; Charles L. Reed, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers; John Coefield, President, United Association of Journeymen Plumbers and Steam Fitters; Thomas A. Lane, Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union; M. J. McDonough, President, Building Trades Department, made the following contract with the Administration:

PUBLIC WORKS

I. Be it resolved that, for the purpose of determining wage rates on all construction financed from funds appropriated by the Administrator of Public Works under the authority of the National Industry Recovery Act, the United States shall be divided into three zones as follows:

SOUTHERN ZONE

South Carolina	Alabama	Oklahoma
Georgia	Mississippi	Texas
Florida	Louisiana	New Mexico
Arkansas	Arizona	

CENTRAL ZONE

Delaware	Utah	Missouri
Maryland	California	Kansas
Virginia	North Carolina	Nevada
Tennessee	West Virginia	District of Columbia
Colorado	Kentucky	

NORTHERN ZONE

Maine	Indiana	Pennsylvania
New Hampshire	Wisconsin	Ohio
Vermont	Minnesota	Michigan
Massachusetts	Nebraska	Illinois
Rhode Island	Wyoming	Iowa
Connecticut	Oregon	North Dakota
New York	South Dakota	Montana
New Jersey	Idaho	Washington

The hourly wage rates to be paid on construction projects in these zones shall not be less than the following:

SOUTHERN ZONE

Skilled Labor	\$1.00
Unskilled Labor40

CENTRAL ZONE

Skilled Labor	\$1.10
Unskilled Labor45

NORTHERN ZONE

Skilled Labor	\$1.20
Unskilled Labor50

II. Be it further resolved, that in the event that the prevailing hourly rate prescribed under collective agreements or understandings between organized labor and employers on April 30, 1933, shall be above the minimum set for any district within that zone; that agreed wage rate shall be the rate to be paid for employees on construction projects financed from funds appropriated by the Administrator of Public Works under the authority of the National Industrial Recovery Act.

III. Be it further resolved, that the rates specified in paragraphs I and II shall be effective during the life of any contract financed from funds appropriated by the Administrator of Public Works under the authority of the National Industrial Recovery Act, but for a period not to exceed 12 months.

IV. Be it further resolved, that the above designated minimum rates are not to be used in discriminating against assistants, helpers, appren-

tices and serving laborers who work with and serve skilled journeymen mechanics and who are *not* to be termed as 'unskilled laborers.'

V. Be it further resolved, that there shall be created a Board of Labor Review which shall hear all issues arising under the operation of all contracts financed from funds appropriated by the Administrator of Public Works under the authority of the National Industrial Recovery Act and from such problems as may result from fundamental changes in economic conditions during the life of these contracts. The Board of Labor Review to be created shall consist of three members: one to represent labor; one to represent contractors, and a Chairman who shall represent the Federal Emergency Administrator of Public Works. The members of this Board shall be appointed by the President of the United States, but no member shall be connected in any way with any organization of building workers or directly connected with, or have any interest in, contracting. The Chairman shall not be in any way connected with the Federal Emergency Administration of Public Works. Decisions of the Board of Labor Review shall be binding upon all parties.

LABOR—EMPLOYMENT

1. The contractor shall post and keep posted in a prominent and easily accessible place at the site of the work a clearly legible statement of all wage rates to be paid certain classes of labor to be employed on the work.

2. Engineers will keep in touch with the State Reemployment Director of the United States Employment Service who cooperates with the State Relief Director. The purpose of this contact is to keep informed of the status of the labor market in the state and to furnish information to public bodies and other applicants and to contractors relative to the availability of labor of various classes, carrying out the policy enunciated in Circular No. 1, Article 2, Section 1 (5).

3. Highly skilled or organized labor shall not be required to register for work at such local employment agencies, but shall be secured in the customary ways through recognized trade union locals. In the event such highly skilled or organized labor is not secured by such locals within forty-eight hours after request is filed with them, then such workers shall be obtained through local employment agencies designated by the United States Employment Service.

4. Employers, contractors, and subcontractors will be required to report monthly on the last day of each month, on forms furnished by the United States Department of Labor, the number of persons employed, the total amount of pay roll, the total man hours worked, the wage scales paid the various classes of labor, and the sources of materials used.

5. In the event that any question shall be raised (prior to the awarding of the contract) as to what wage rates prevail in any district under agreements and understandings between organized labor and employers, the United States Department of Labor shall determine such rates.

6. The thirty-hour week provision (Section 206 of National Industrial Recovery Act):

This requirement shall be construed:

- (a) To permit working time lost because of inclement weather or unavoidable delays in any one week to be made up in the succeeding week or weeks of any calendar month.
- (b) To permit the limitation of not more than 130 hours' work in any one calendar month to be substituted for the requirement of not more than 30 hours' work in any one week on projects in localities where a sufficient amount of labor is not available in the immediate vicinity of the work.

It shall not be considered practicable and feasible to apply either of these limitations to work located at points so remote and inaccessible that camps are necessary for the housing and boarding of all the labor employed and if so determined by the State Engineer (P.W.A.) prior to advertisement: *Provided*, That in such cases no individual shall be permitted to work more than 8 hours in any one day or more than 40 hours in any one week.

7. Work on projects financed in whole or in part from funds appropriated by authority of the National Industrial Recovery Act and expended by the Administrator of Public Works shall not be permitted on Sundays or legal holidays except in cases of emergency.

POLICIES OF THE ADMINISTRATION

1. The National Industrial Recovery Act and the rules and regulations approved by the Special Board for Public Works contemplate that bids will be received and contracts will be let to the lowest responsible bidder in carrying out improvements under the Act. Any deviation from this practice must have the prior approval of the Administrator.

2. No contracts will be awarded until bids have been examined and passed upon by the Engineer, who will satisfy himself that the bidders are capable of carrying on the work bid upon and that the contract is awarded to the lowest responsible bidder.

In determining the lowest and best bidder the Engineer will consider whether the contractor

- (a) maintains a permanent place of business,
- (b) adequate plant equipment to fulfill a given contract,
- (c) suitable financial status to meet obligations,
- (d) appropriate technical experience.

3. Every contract awarded under the authority of the National Industrial Recovery Act shall contain a provision requiring the contractor to furnish compensation insurance for injured workmen and to furnish proof of such to the contracting officer.

4. Every contract awarded under the authority of the National Industrial Recovery Act shall require that all work installed shall comply with all existing codes of the municipalities, State and Federal Governments. All work shall be carried on in a safe and workmanlike manner.

Notwithstanding the fact that funds are available, that excellent administrative machinery has been set up, that the best technical advisors are available, that construction undertakings are needed, and that building trades men and their families are actually hungry, according to the most definite information available approximately half a dozen contracts have been let giving less than 50,000 persons employment. Under allocations to public roads in the various states 332,000 workers were employed on the last date for which information is available. This is a distressing situation. We urge in the name of humanity that the machinery be speeded up so that there may be work for building trades men before winter is upon us. Vigorous promotion of construction work is essential to our plans for recovery. We urge action.

Unions, central labor unions, state federations of labor, can help to get action by formulating a definite plan pointing out what public works and what housing undertakings should be started, initiating campaigns to secure action, and following through insistently until work is started.

THE RIGHT TO ORGANIZE

The fundamental objective of the American labor movement has been to establish in fact and in law the right of the workers to organize in organizations of their own choosing. We have always maintained that this object is inherent in the institutions and practices of freedom set up by the Constitution of this country. We have made steady progress in getting this right recognized in law and in practice. This right has specifically been written into the Bankruptcy Act, the Railway Labor Act and the Norris-LaGuardia Act. Language from the latter law was incorporated in the National Recovery Act, Section 7a. The exercise of the right to organize and bargain collectively is essential to the economic and social progress of wage-earners. Workers understand full well that neither Government nor industry will confer upon them all the economic benefits to which they are entitled. The real instrumentality which the worker must utilize in order to promote his economic welfare is his trade union. With it he can achieve much through the operation and application of the National Recovery Act, but without it he will fail to gain the minimum of benefits provided in the Act. In fact, the National Recovery Act has served to emphasize the need of wage-earner organization, cooperation and collective action. That fact has been demonstrated in the formation and application of industrial codes of fair practice. The trade union will ever be the medium through which workers can realize the full enjoyment of the benefits of legislation which proclaims the legal right of working people to organize, bargain collectively, and be represented by representatives of their own choosing.

Organization—The National Recovery Act accepts three basic groups as constituting industry; employers, representing the invested interests, employees or the producing workers, and the consumers. These are the distinct functional groups in the business fabric that constitute our economic civilization.

To make possible the necessary organization to serve as the agencies through which the Recovery Administration could function the Act specifically cleared away the legal difficulties that kept trade associations and trade unions from operating effectively. In Congressional discussion of the legislative proposal, the trade association and the trade union were accepted as the machinery implied in the measure.

Conscious of the fact that lack of organization among wage-earners had been a major factor in the unbalance in distribution of national income which was one of the causes of our economic breakdown, Labor regarded the passage of the National Recovery Act as imposing an obligation upon wage-earners to organize in trade unions. Wage-earners have been quick to seize the opportunity for organization which the legislation affords them. After four years of uncertainties of unemployment and loss of savings, wage-earners turn eagerly to an agency that provides opportunity for effectively bettering their conditions and giving them a greater degree of security. Accordingly, both spontaneous and directed organizing campaigns have been vigorously under way. More charters per day since July 1 have been granted to federal labor unions than at any previous time for which we have records.

We have concentrated our efforts more especially upon organizing the workers in the basic industries; that is, steel, automobiles, textiles, oil and rubber. To the fullest extent of the Federation's financial ability organizing campaigns in these centers have been aggressively carried on. Progress has been made, not as great as our hopes would realize, but amply sufficient to encourage us to still greater efforts. In another section of this report is given the number of newly organized unions directly chartered by the American Federation of Labor since the passage of the National Recovery Act. This in itself is heartening; but, in addition, is the constantly increasing appeals from every section of the country, from the workers of all trades and callings and of no special trade, for aid, help and guidance that they, too, may have actual personal experience of the freedom of the workers guaranteed by the National Recovery Act.

Neither have we made any attempt as yet to obtain from the national and international unions a compilation of increased membership through charters issued to newly formed unions.

We established organizing headquarters in the center of the automobile industry, Detroit, with a special representative of the American Federation of Labor in charge to direct the organizing campaign.

In Atlanta, Georgia, another special representative is devoting his full time to the campaign of organization among workers in the Southern states, particularly the textile workers.

In the rubber industry in the city of Akron, the Federation's special representative is carrying on an active and aggressive campaign.

In the iron and steel districts we are likewise actively engaged.

We repeat that the progress made is encouraging. Our organizing campaign has been greatly accelerated by the splendid work of our volunteer organizers, the organizing committees of the state and city central bodies, and the special representatives of national and international unions. Indeed, without their valuable cooperation and aid, our work would be greatly handicapped. We take the opportunity now to express to them our great appreciation for their loyal cooperation and help.

National and international unions have been conducting organizing campaigns which have notably increased membership and brought a new spirit of hope to wage-earners. After four years of depression they are eager for a voice in determining work conditions and are eagerly responding to the opportunity which the Recovery Act assures, the right to union membership. These energetic, well-organized campaigns are steadily increasing union members.

We urge upon all organizations of labor and their individual members to support and cooperate in every effort which may be made in their localities to organize the unorganized and to build up and strengthen the existing organizations.

We recommend that the organizing campaign which is now being carried on be continued in a broad, vigorous and progressive way so that all workers may be accorded the widest opportunity to organize and become affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

RIGHT TO REPRESENTATION

The age-long struggle for human justice has centered around some phase of the right to representation for those affected by decisions. Politically, this principle was first proposed so that citizens might have a voice in taxation levied upon their money and properties. Since the right of representation was established in taxation, it has been gradually extending throughout the political field. With the changes going on in production and in the organization of our economic life, the high degree of interdependence in economic welfare and relationships has centralized decisions that involve working conditions, incomes, or the distributions of the returns from joint work. Decisions on these points mean justice or injustice in those things which constitute the foundations of living.

The work of one's hands and mind is in a very special sense personal and does not lose its personal quality, even when the worker joins a work organization housed under factory conditions and control over his work and product has passed entirely from under his control. Even though the worker has merged with groups associated together for carrying on a great production enterprise, his sense of justice is outraged if he has no voice in making decisions about his work.

The right to participations in decisions which concern us either personally or by representation, is a principle growing out of the facts of human nature and human experience. Representation is either direct or through organized channels. To secure this fundamental right is the primary purpose of the labor movement.

The National Recovery Administration in attempting to direct planning in industry, is setting up industrial policies and standards that affect wage-earners profoundly. The whole organization of industry, trade practices, accounting and recording procedures, declaration of dividends, reserves, et cetera, directly condition and control the opportunities and sources within which standards for wage-earners must be fixed. In order to exercise any real control wage-earners must have the right of representation where decisions are made that limit their own opportunities.

The right of representation is essential to developing balanced data upon which to make decisions to assure balance in economic progress and, hence, sustained prosperity. Labor maintains, therefore, that if the Recovery Act is to achieve its purposes—jobs for the unemployed and increased buying power—representatives of wage-earners must have a voice in every stage of code making. Inequitable distribution of income and unemployment were the result of an industrial control from which Labor was excluded. We cannot expect to reverse these two causes of economic disaster unless specific provisions are made for wage-earner representation and participation in every stage of control. The American Federation of Labor declares that labor representation in the drafting of code proposals in every stage of code hearing before the National Recovery Administration and in the enforcement and administrative agencies provided by the code, is essential to achieving the purposes of the National Recovery Act and to meeting the requirements of human justice.

PRESIDENT'S RE-EMPLOYMENT PROGRAM

In order to move forward forces started toward recovery on a large scale without losing the time necessary for industries to organize and work out codes, the President asked trade groups and individual employers to make agreements with him. Evidently, these agreements were designed to be the instrumentality for turning the tides of business upward. The plan was three-fold.

The employers' part is to act at once and all together to submit and scrupulously comply with agreements with the President to shorten hours and raise wages, and to cooperate with employees in peaceful adjustment of differences.

The employees' part is to do their best on the job and to cooperate with N. R. A. and employers in peaceful adjustment of differences.

The public's part—and especially the part of women (who control the bulk of buying)—is to support all those employers and employees who do their part to put breadwinners back to work.

The blue eagle was adopted as the insignia of cooperation under this plan which proposed to get an appreciable proportion of the unemployed back to work by Labor Day.

The machinery set up to carry out this program included district recovery boards, state recovery boards, state recovery councils.

The district corresponded with each of the districts laid out by the Department of Commerce, 24 in number. The President appointed the boards, selecting as representatives those prominent in each manufacture, retail trade, wholesale trade, banking, farming, labor and social services, to serve without compensation.

The state recovery boards of nine members were appointed by the President so as to be truly representative of commercial, industrial, labor and civic interests.

The state recovery council is made up of persons designated by state, labor, manufacturing, trade, civic, social service or welfare organization, association or club. The council is to make necessary recommendations to the state board which receives and acts upon all matters referred to it by the N. R. A. and district boards.

The Administration later sent telegrams to local organizations urging them to designate representatives to serve on a local compliance board for towns and cities. Each compliance board shall consist of two employee representatives—one of industrial workers and the other trade; two employers, one industry and one trade; one consumer and one lawyer; these six shall select a chairman. We earnestly urge local unions to see to it that all union groups are fully and adequately represented on state councils and local committees.

The Blanket Agreement follows:

President's Reemployment Agreement

(Authorized by section 4(a) National Industrial Recovery Act)

During the period of the President's emergency reemployment drive, that is to say, from August 1 to December 31, 1933, or to any earlier date of approval of a code of fair competition to which he is subject, the undersigned hereby agrees with the President as follows:

(1) After August 31, 1933, not to employ any person, under 16 years of age, except that persons between 14 and 16 may be employed (but not in manufacturing or mechanical industries) for not to exceed 3 hours per day and those hours between 7 a.m. and 7 p.m. in such work as will not interfere with hours of day school.

(2) Not to work any accounting, clerical, banking, office, service, or sales employees (except outside salesmen) in any store, office, department, establishment, or public utility, or on any automotive or horse-drawn passenger, express, delivery, or freight service, or in any other place or manner, for more than 40 hours in any 1 week and not to reduce the hours of any store or service operation to below 52 hours in any 1 week, unless such hours were less than 52 hours per week before July 1, 1933, and in the latter case not to reduce such hours at all.

(3) Not to employ any factory or mechanical worker or artisan more than a maximum week of 35 hours until December 31, 1933, but with the right to work a maximum week of 40 hours for any 6 weeks within this period; and not to employ any worker more than 8 hours in any 1 day.

(4) The maximum hours fixed in the foregoing paragraphs (2) and (3) shall not apply to employees in establishments employing not more than two persons in towns of less than 2,500 population which towns are not part of a larger trade area; nor to registered pharmacists or other professional persons employed in their profession; nor to employees in a managerial or executive capacity, who now receive more than \$35 per week; nor to employees on emergency maintenance and repair work; nor to very special cases where restrictions of hours of highly skilled workers on continuous processes would unavoidably reduce production but, in any such special case, at least time and one third shall be paid for hours worked in excess of the maximum. Population for the purposes of this agreement shall be determined by reference to the 1930 Federal census.

(5) Not to pay any of the classes of employees mentioned in paragraph (2) less than \$15 per week in any city of over 500,000 population, or in the immediate trade area of such city; nor less than \$14.50 per week in any city of between 250,000 and 500,000 population, or in the immediate trade area of such city; nor less than \$14 per week in any city of between 2,500 and 250,000 population, or in the immediate trade area of such city; and in towns of less than 2,500 population to increase all wages by not less than 20 percent, provided that this shall not require wages in excess of \$12 per week.

(6) Not to pay any employee of the classes mentioned in paragraph (3) less than 40 cents per hour unless the hourly rate for the same class of work on July 15, 1929, was less than 40 cents per hour, in which latter case not to pay less than the hourly rate on July 15, 1929, and in no event less than 30 cents per hour. It is agreed that this paragraph establishes a guaranteed minimum rate of pay regardless of whether the employee is compensated on the basis of a time rate or on a piecework performance.

(7) Not to reduce the compensation for employment now in excess of the minimum wages hereby agreed to (notwithstanding that the hours worked in such employment may be hereby reduced) and to increase the pay for such employment by an equitable readjustment of all pay schedules.

(8) Not to use any subterfuge to frustrate the spirit and intent of this agreement which is, among other things, to increase employment by a universal covenant, to remove obstructions to commerce, and to shorten hours and to raise wages for the shorter week to a living basis.

(9) Not to increase the price of any merchandise sold after the date hereof over the price on July 1, 1933, by more than is made necessary by actual increases in production, replacement, or invoice costs of merchandise, or by taxes or other costs resulting from action taken pursuant to the Agricultural Adjustment Act, since July 1, 1933, and, in setting such price in-

creases, to give full weight to probable increases in sales volume and to refrain from taking profiteering advantage of the consuming public.

(10) To support and patronize establishments which also have signed this agreement and are listed as members of N.R.A. (National Recovery Administration).

(11) To cooperate to the fullest extent in having a code of fair competition submitted by his industry at the earliest possible date, and in any event before September 1, 1933.

(12) Where, before June 16, 1933, the undersigned had contracted to purchase goods at a fixed price for delivery during the period of this agreement, the undersigned will make an appropriate adjustment of said fixed price to meet any increase in cost caused by the seller having signed this President's Reemployment Agreement or having become bound by any code of fair competition approved by the President.

(13) This agreement shall cease upon approval by the President of a code to which the undersigned is subject; or, if the N.R.A. so elects, upon submission of a code to which the undersigned is subject and substitution of any of its provisions for any of the terms of this agreement.

(14) It is agreed that any person who wishes to do his part in the President's reemployment drive by signing this agreement, but who asserts that some particular provision hereof, because of peculiar circumstances, will create great and unavoidable hardship, may obtain the benefits hereof by signing this agreement and putting it into effect and then, in a petition approved by a representative trade association of his industry, or other representative organization designated by N.R.A., may apply for a stay of such provision pending a summary investigation by N.R.A., if he agrees in such application to abide by the decision of such investigation. This agreement is entered into pursuant to section 4(a) of the National Industrial Recovery Act and subject to all the terms and conditions required by sections 7(a) and 10(b) of that act.

Dated, 1933.

(Sign here)
(Name)

.....
(Official position)

.....
(Firm and corporation name)

.....
(Industry or trade)

.....
(Number of employees at the date of signing)

.....
(Street)

..... (Town or city) (State)

Employers were given opportunity to modify the blanket amendment by offering substitute provisions for wages and hours adaptable to their own industries.

Many of these provisions were not at all acceptable to the workers affected who had no opportunity to present their objections due to the desire of the Administration to secure immediate results.

Because of the speed with which these Presidential agreements were acted upon, many questions and protests have arisen against vague and misleading terms and efforts to lengthen hours and cut pay. Efforts are being made to remedy abuses. It is fortunate that these agreements are recognized as only temporary expedients, to be replaced by the code of each separate industry. The purpose of the re-employment agreement was to provide more jobs and more purchasing power quickly so as to sustain increased business activity.

NATIONAL RECOVERY ACT AND AGRICULTURAL ADJUSTMENT ACT

The Agricultural Adjustment Act which was drafted and enacted to meet the desperate straits of those dependent on the farming industry, delegated authority to the Secretary of Agriculture to administer the Act. The purpose of the Act is to raise prices of agricultural commodities. The Secretary is given control over agricultural commodities in the field through every stage of processing together with prices. This wide, vertical control brings many industrial workers under the A. A. A. administration. An agreement has been reached distinguishing the agricultural workers from the industrial, allocating the former to the A. A. A. and the latter to the N. R. A.

Agricultural workers are all those employed by farmers on the farm when they are engaged in growing and preparing for sale the products of the soil and/or livestock; also, all labor used in growing and preparing perishable agricultural commodities for market in original perishable fresh form. When workers are employed in processing farm products or preparing them for market, beyond the stage customarily performed on the farm, such workers are not to be deemed agricultural workers.

As a working arrangement, when industrial workers are employed in an industry coming under the Agricultural Act, wages and hours are referred to the N. R. A. The difficulty with this plan is that distinctively labor issues are decided apart from trade union practices and industrial methods that directly influence decisions on wages and hours. Workers are participating partners in industries in which they are employed and their incomes and working conditions are affected by all decisions which are coordinating forces within the industry.

NATIONAL LABOR BOARD

To protect the effort at recovery from the backsets and disorganization that would arise from strikes and lockouts, the President of the United States created the National Labor Board to serve as an agency for conciliation and arbitration. There seemed a likelihood of serious and widespread strikes arising from dissatisfaction and misunderstanding with provisions of the blanket agreement, and it was thought wise to deal with such situations before they precipitated more serious difficulties.

The theory upon which the organization of the National Labor Board was formed is that it shall be composed of equal representatives of Labor and industry, with an impartial chairman appointed by the President of the United

States. Senator Robert F. Wagner, author of the National Recovery Act, was appointed by the President to serve as Chairman of the National Labor Board.

The Board has already acted upon a number of industrial disputes, and has brought about the settlement of a number of serious industrial controversies.

Because the Board was recently created, it has not yet had time to develop a plan of permanent procedure, nor has it formed a complete organization for the consideration and settlement of industrial disputes calling for consideration and action. The Executive Council understands that the National Labor Board has been established as a part of the permanent administrative machinery of the National Recovery Act. It will function continuously and will be available for service in the settlement of industrial controversies which may arise and which cannot be settled directly between the representatives of employers and employees.

UNEMPLOYMENT

Unemployment increased almost steadily for three and a half years. In April, 1930, when the census was taken, 3,187,647 were reported out of work;¹ in March 1933 when unemployment reached its peak, our estimate shows 13,689,000 out of work. From March to July this year, with the rapid increase in industrial activity, over two million persons were reemployed, but encouraging as this gain is, it leaves 11,781,000 still out of work.² Although our trade union unemployment figures show that employment was still gaining in August the gain was too small to make any substantial decrease in the army of unemployed who must face another winter without work and without resources. Unless the return to work takes place at a faster rate in the months just before us, the unemployed will suffer worse hardship in the coming winter than ever before.

The tables below show our estimate of the total number out of work in the United States, and the total number at work, with explanatory footnotes; also our weighted percentage of unemployment in trade unions. The accompanying graph pictures the small decline in unemployment compared to the large number still out of work. These unemployment figures do not take into account those who are part time employed. They represent the number who are totally unemployed.

The industries where unemployment has been most heavy are: building, railroads, factories, mines. Of those employed in 1929, by March 1933, 75 percent

¹ Those on lay off and those without jobs.

² The decrease in unemployment is less than 2,000,000 since the number of persons seeking gainful employment has increased by over 100,000 since March.

UNEMPLOYMENT

Estimate of total number out of work in the United States

	1930	1931	1932	1933
January	3,218,000	7,160,000	10,197,000	13,160,000
February	3,565,000	7,345,000	10,486,000	13,294,000
March	3,543,000	7,098,000	10,739,000	13,689,000
April	3,188,000	6,739,000	10,990,000	13,256,000
May	3,090,000	6,750,000	11,470,000	12,896,000
June	3,250,000	6,841,000	11,853,000	12,204,000
July	3,714,000	7,198,000	12,300,000	*11,781,000
August	4,101,000	7,357,000	12,344,000	
September	4,150,000	7,303,000	11,767,000	
October	4,639,000	7,778,000	11,586,000	
November	5,304,000	8,699,000	12,008,000	
December	5,541,000	8,908,000	12,124,000	

* Preliminary.

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

EMPLOYMENT
Estimate of total number at work in the United States

	1930	1931	1932	1933
January	45,090,000	41,624,000	38,985,000	36,486,000
February	44,780,000	41,474,000	38,731,000	36,328,000
March	44,844,000	41,756,000	38,513,000	35,968,000
April	45,245,000	42,149,000	38,296,000	36,437,000
May	45,387,000	42,173,000	37,850,000	36,833,000
June	45,268,000	42,117,000	37,500,000	37,561,000
July	44,844,000	41,793,000	37,085,000	*38,020,000
August	44,496,000	41,686,000	37,073,000	
September	44,438,000	41,753,000	37,684,000	
October	44,038,000	41,310,000	37,898,000	
November	43,350,000	40,419,000	37,510,000	
December	43,208,000	40,241,000	37,428,000	

* Preliminary.

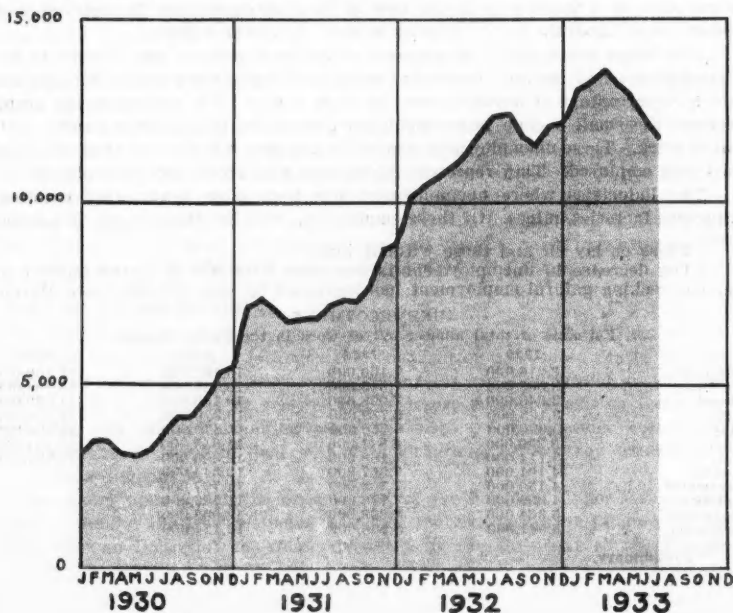
had lost their jobs in building, 44 percent in factories, 45 percent on railroads, and 44 percent in mines. In trade and utilities losses varied from 23 to 30 percent. In factories during this period 3,711,000 wage-earners lost their jobs, in building 1,571,000, trade 1,268,000, railroads 748,000,^a mines 452,500.

In general, the largest decline in production and consequently the worst unemployment has been in the so-called heavy or producer industries, such as machinery, construction, metals, and declines in consumer industries—clothing, shoes, food, etc.—have been very much smaller, both in number and proportion.

^a Executives omitted.

UNEMPLOYMENT IN THE UNITED STATES

(000 OMITTED)



EXPLANATORY NOTE ON UNEMPLOYMENT ESTIMATE

Our estimate of unemployment covers all workers in the United States including farmers, farm laborers, management, professional workers, public service and the industrial groups. The figures are based on the census brought up to date by employment indexes furnished monthly by the Labor Department and other monthly figures from the Government: Roads: Bureau of Public Roads; Railroads: Interstate Commerce Commission; Federal employees: Civil Service Commission; Hired workers on farms: Department of Agriculture; Armed forces: Army, Navy, etc.; Local and state government: Government reports from the localities.

A group of some 7,851,800 workers (in April, 1930) were not covered by any index and employment in this group is considered to vary correspondingly with employment in all other groups combined. This group includes domestic servants; automobile service; restaurants; clerical workers in banking, insurance and real estate; semi-professionals and others.

In addition to these workers who have already been employed, there are constantly being added to our population new recruits seeking jobs. Our estimate counts these as part of the total number seeking employment. The increase in this group from April, 1930, to July, 1933, is over 1,350,000.

Some groups cannot be accounted for in the estimate because no reports exist to show their conditions. Of these groups the following are counted as unemployed: 1. Those unemployed who have gone to the country to occupy deserted shacks and raise their food. 2. Those who are given food and shelter on farms but no wage payment in return for their work. 3. Those in forestry camps and on relief work are not counted as employed since they are not in permanent earning positions. 4. Many unemployed are of course able to find temporary work bringing in intermittently a small income. This work cannot be accounted for and these workers are considered unemployed.

Offsetting these groups are three groups counted as employed because, lacking data on which estimates for their unemployment may be based, they automatically fall into the employed groups: 1. Teachers who are teaching school but not being paid. 2. Those unemployed who have gone to the country to live with relatives on farms and are provided with at least food and shelter. 3. Those who were living on income from investments and are now forced to seek work; we have no way of estimating them.

In general our estimate aims to count as employed only those who actually have earning positions in normal industrial or service work.

TRADE UNION UNEMPLOYMENT AND PART TIME WORK

A. F. of L. Weighted Figures

	Percent of Members Out of Work						Percent of Members on Part Time		
	1928	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	1931	1932	1933
January	12.1	11.3	12.5	19.8	23.1	25.8	18	19	20
February	11.9	10.6	14.0	19.0	23.0	26.0	19	20	20
March	11.8	8.5	13.6	18.1	22.5	26.6	18	20	22
April	10.5	7.9	13.3	17.6	22.8	26.1	18	21	21
May	9.1	6.7	13.3	17.1	22.8	25.8	19	22	20
June	8.1	6.6	14.3	18.2	23.6	24.5	19	21	21
July	8.4	6.9	15.7	18.8	25.4	24.1	19	21	21
August	6.8	6.7	16.0	19.2	25.1	23.7*	19	21	20
September	7.0	6.6	14.6	19.4	24.8		18	22	
October	7.2	7.3	14.1	19.5	23.9		19	22	
November	7.6	8.7	15.9	20.1	24.2		19	23	
December	10.0	10.3	16.6	21.8	24.9		19	22	
Average for year	9.2	8.2	14.5	19.1	23.8	25.3	19	21	21

* Preliminary.

EMPLOYMENT IN PRODUCER AND CONSUMER INDUSTRIES

	<i>April 1930</i>	<i>Jan. 1933</i>	<i>Laid Off</i>	<i>Percent</i>
PRODUCER INDUSTRIES				
Manufacturing	4,381,496	2,238,852	2,142,644	48.9
Construction	1,865,875	653,243	1,212,632	65.0
Total	6,247,371	2,892,095	3,355,276	53.7
CONSUMER INDUSTRIES				
Manufacturing	3,792,163	2,959,825	832,338	21.9

Reemployment since March 1933 has been the result chiefly of the increase in industrial production. As yet it is not possible to determine how much reemployment has been the direct result of the industrial codes already established or of the President's reemployment program. In any case, the number who have returned to work is trifling compared to the large unemployment in our chief industries. By July 1933 the building industry had reemployed only 7 of the 75 percent laid off since 1929, railroads only 4 of their 45 percent, factories 13 of their 44 percent, and retail trade 3 of its 29 percent. The total number who went back to work in these four industries which are our largest employers of labor outside of Agriculture was only 1,400,000 out of 6,866,000 laid off since 1929.

The table below shows the number at work in different industries in 1929 and also in April 1930, March 1933 and July 1933, according to our estimate.

EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY

	<i>1929</i>	<i>1930 April</i>	<i>1933 March</i>	<i>1933 July</i>
Total		45,244,830	35,968,231	38,019,551
Agriculture				
Farmers		5,995,682	6,000,000	6,000,000
Family Workers		1,659,792	2,221,000	2,275,000
Hired Labor		2,579,196	1,933,187	2,062,104
Mining				
Coal—Anthracite	150,293	126,396	82,060	65,828
Bituminous	476,876	450,171	322,368	301,386
Metal	118,177	105,532	35,453	38,998
Oil	183,681	159,435	103,779	109,290
Quarries & Non-M.	103,502	90,461	36,329	51,233
Construction				
Building	2,091,413	1,794,432	520,762	660,887
Roads	200,000	182,800	279,213	332,277
Manufacturing				
Wage-earners	8,470,062	7,789,826	4,759,378	5,852,891
Salaried Workers	1,328,801	1,352,719	891,625	956,737
Railroads				
Steam	1,669,774	1,555,692	921,448	992,279

<i>Trade</i>				
Wholesale	1,605,042	1,561,706	1,173,286	1,234,277
Retail	2,925,537	2,846,548	2,088,833	2,182,451
<i>Utilities</i>				
Street R. R. & Bus	301,934	287,441	210,749	209,542
Telephone & Tele.	544,125	538,140	398,300	372,726
Elec. Light & Power	257,259	259,060	197,832	199,376
<i>Service</i>				
Hotels	313,950	314,264	227,300	237,346
Laundries	255,151	247,884	186,260	194,680
Dry Cleaning	68,392	68,816	48,695	56,697
<i>Management</i>		3,406,216	3,406,216	3,406,216
<i>Professionals</i>				
Teachers		1,039,500	1,039,500	1,039,500
Others		1,031,991	849,000	832,000
<i>Public Service</i>				
Federal		598,559	566,986	565,432
Local and State		1,104,000	967,000	943,000
Armed Forces		246,771	238,291	229,901
<i>All others</i>		7,851,800	6,263,381	6,617,497

Unemployment and hours of work. While much of the present unemployment is due to depression, there is no question that a large proportion is the result of technological improvements in industry, both before the depression and in the years since 1929. The rapid increase in workers' productivity before 1929 is well known; we have in manufacturing industry statistics which show clearly that there has also been a substantial increase in production per worker since 1929. A report of the National Bureau of Economic Research shows a 12 percent increase in production per worker per hour from 1929 to 1932 in manufacturing industries. For the period since 1932, judging from the statistical data available, production per man hour has increased even more rapidly with the rising industrial activity this spring than it did in the full three years of depression. The Federal Reserve Board indexes of production and employment and the Labor Department figures on average hours worked per week⁴ show developments in the majority of manufacturing industries; although they do not cover exactly the same industries in all cases and we cannot therefore reach exact conclusions as to productivity, the developments they show are so striking as to leave no doubt as to the general trend. These figures show from 1929 to 1932 a 5 percent greater decline in man-hours worked than in production, while from the 1932 level to July 1933, the increase in the production index was greater by 24 percent than the increase in man-hours. The figures are as follows: From 1929 to 1932 (3 years) production dropped 47 percent, man-hours 52 percent; from 1932 to July 1933 (less than 1 year), production rose 49 percent, man-hours only 25 percent. Thus in both these periods the indexes show a shrinking amount of work time in comparison to production.

These figures, together with the figures of the National Bureau of Economic Research, indicate that we must expect steadily increasing production in future and must adjust work-hours accordingly unless we are to have a continuing and increasing problem of unemployment through the years.

⁴ Man hours in 1929 from the National Industrial Conference Board.

The National Bureau of Economic Research index of production per man per hour in manufacturing industries is as follows:

1927—100	1930—111
1928—107	1931—119
1929—107	1932—120

At present, with industry still far below normal levels, a very considerable shortening of the work week is necessary if those out of work are to find jobs. Figures from the Labor Department, showing employment and man-hours worked in industry, indicate that, with industry at the July level, a work week reduced to 28.4 hours would be necessary to give jobs to all those employed in 1929. This figure covers mines, factories, trade, utilities and service industries, a group which in April 1930 employed 51 percent of all non-agricultural wage and small salaried workers.⁵ With increasing industrial activity, however, a work week of 28 hours would of course be inadequate and for the more distant future we should look toward a schedule of work hours adapted to normal activity. Since 1932, productivity has increased considerably; also we know that 1929 was a peak year and that business activity even at a normal level would not be so high as it was in 1929; in fact it is clear that we cannot expect activity to reach even a normal level again for a considerable period of time. Therefore we are convinced that the work week should be well below 40 hours at present and for a considerable period of time in the future.

For the coming winter there is no question that work-hours should not be over 30 a week.

Our immediate problem is the army of over 11,000,000 still unemployed, an army which will grow with the winter months. How are we to feed them? Where can we find the funds to clothe and house them? How can their idle time be turned to produce wealth which will keep body and soul together until they may again find their rightful places in productive work?

Provisions for continuing adjustments of work-hours and employment. In order to keep work-hours proportionate with work available and the number needing jobs, monthly statistical information covering all kinds of industrial occupations is essential. This information should come directly from the records kept by each firm, it should cover as large a number of firms as possible, and it must be collected under government supervision. Where workers are organized, they should have access to records of payrolls, employment, production, work-hours and other matters concerning them in the plant where they work. Monthly reports are necessary in order to follow trends, and we should know each month how many are employed, the man-hours worked, the amount of production, and also the schedule of full-time hours at the plant and the amount

⁵ Not including management or professional workers or armed forces. The method of calculation is as follows: Those at work in July 1933 numbered 11,768,000 (Census figures brought up to date by Labor Department indexes); the average hours worked per man per week were 43.1; multiplying these, we find that 507,201,000 man hours per week were necessary to accomplish the work required; these same industries employed in 1929, 17,865,000 persons; dividing the 507,201,000 weekly man-hours among 17,865,000 we find an average work week of 28.4 hours.

of overtime; where hours schedules are different in different departments, each schedule should be reported separately with the number of workers it affects. These records should be collected locally and sent direct to the proper United States government authority; they should be compiled so that records of employment, average actual hours worked, full-time hour schedule and man-hour production per employee will be available for each industry.

Trade union records of employment should also be kept, showing each month the number of members at work, the number unemployed, on part time, on strike or lockout, retired, and also the actual work-hours of each member and the full time-hour schedule worked at his shop or plant. To have our own records is essential, if we are to know the conditions of our members and have the necessary statistical data to prove our case in hearings before Code authorities or in conferences with employers.

Unions have an essential function to perform in seeing that the hour schedules and other provisions established by industrial codes are enforced in the plants under their jurisdiction. No other organized group is in the position to do this. Records showing actual facts are essential to prove a case before authorities.

RELIEF

The present national relief bill is about \$1,000,000,000 a year, according to the July report of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration. Of the total bill, about 5 per cent is now being furnished by private funds, 95 per cent by public funds; and of the public funds approximately 70 per cent is from the Federal Government, 10 per cent from the states and 20 per cent from local governments. This huge sum of relief is over and above the help given by neighbors, relatives, trade unions, churches and other organizations, which mounts into further millions, for care for the unemployed is now a large item in the budget of nearly every American family which has any source of income. For public relief, it is clear from the above figures that the unemployed are now depending largely on the Federal Government for sustenance, and the living standard they will be permitted, low enough at best, will be determined by the Federal money appropriated by the next Congress.

The Federal Emergency Relief Administration was established by the Federal Emergency Relief Act of 1933 and went into operation on May 22, 1933. Under the Act, Congress made available \$500,000,000 to be expended through the states, half to be given on a matching basis—one dollar from the Federal fund for every \$3 of public money spent in the state in the three preceding months; the other half is a discretionary fund from which grants may be made when necessary without regard to matching.

Up to August 31, 1933, \$150,135,000 had been expended from this \$500,000,000 Federal fund. With a winter ahead of us when need will unquestionably be greater than ever before, it seems probable that the remainder of this Federal fund will be exhausted by February.

In spite of the fact that unemployment had decreased by nearly 2,000,000 between March and July, and that the number out of work in August this year

was at least 5 per cent below last August, the number of families receiving public relief in our principal cities in August, 1933, was between 85 and 90 per cent higher than last year. We cannot expect relief needs to be ended as soon as men begin to go back to work. On the contrary, even if unemployment is reduced in the next months, relief needs must be expected to continue near or even above the present level. Since employers tend to reemploy those most recently laid off, the first jobs are not necessarily given to those who need them most, and we have a situation where thousands are finding their resources exhausted by long unemployment and are becoming dependent on relief, while other thousands are going back to work.

Relief given from Federal funds this summer was higher in August than in July: \$48,721,713 in July and \$49,882,034 in August. The following figures show relief given from all public sources since April according to the National Emergency Relief Administration (August figures not available):

Relief from Public Sources			
	<i>Families Helped</i>	<i>Amount Given</i>	<i>Average per Family</i>
April	4,467,000	\$72,600,000	\$16.25
May	4,247,000	70,400,000	16.57
June	3,789,000	66,200,000	17.47
July	3,500,000	60,000,000	17.14
			} Average \$16.85

In making grants from the \$500,000,000 fund, the Federal Administration adheres to the principles of Federal-state cooperation laid down in the Emergency Relief Act. The ability of states to contribute is investigated and state contributions required on a matching basis where possible. Texas, Illinois, Michigan, Kentucky, are among those required to raise funds through the action of their legislatures before receiving a Federal grant.

Although the field agents of the Federal Relief Administration are instructed to raise standards of relief, the amounts given are seriously inadequate in very many cases. While relief given per family averaged \$16.85 a month from April to July, amounts vary between different states from \$4.00 per family per month in Mississippi to \$30.00 in New York state. The average family receiving relief has between four and five members (4.4 members); when it is considered that, at June 1933 prices, \$21.50 a week was the necessary budget to give a family of four even a bare subsistence, the serious inadequacy of even the highest relief of \$30 a month—\$7.50 a week—is obvious. The social consequences of a living at this level for 3,500,000 people are the more striking when it is realized that many of the recipients of relief are children. Reports from Philadelphia and New York state show that 44 per cent of the persons on relief rolls are children under 16 years of age.

The Federal Emergency Relief Administration, in its rules for administering relief, states as follows:

Relief shall be given as provided in this act to all needy unemployed persons and/or their dependents.

This imposes an obligation on the State emergency relief administration and on all the political subdivisions of the States administering relief,

insofar as lies in their power, to see to it that all such needy unemployed persons and/or their dependents shall receive sufficient relief to prevent suffering and to maintain minimum living standards.

While the provisions of the Relief Administration allow payments for rent, fuel and light, clothing, medical care and other necessities, since local funds, even when supplemented by Federal grants, are all too often totally inadequate to supply these needs, relief in most cases is limited to immediate needs for food. Rent is paid in some cases—in Milwaukee up to \$25 a month, and rent payments are also made in Boston and in New York state, although not in all cases, and in other localities—and clothing and medical care are sometimes included.

Relief furnished by public funds is being supplemented to some extent by distributing the surplus agricultural products taken over by the government. Of five million hogs slaughtered, those which can be used for food are being distributed by the Relief Administration, but nothing has yet been done to provide for distributing surplus cotton, wheat, rice, eggs, poultry, butter and other products. Of the supplies of Farm Board wheat and cotton given the Red Cross for distribution, the wheat was exhausted by the middle of September, and very little is left of the cotton. Therefore, whatever surplus agricultural product is to be made available to the unemployed must be designated for that purpose by the Agricultural Adjustment Administration and the Federal Emergency Relief Administration.

In view of the great need which faces the unemployed this winter, your Executive Council makes the following recommendations:

1. That the American Federation of Labor insist on adequate relief appropriations from Federal funds by Congress immediately after its reconvening in January, so that funds may be available by February when it is expected the present appropriations will be exhausted.

2. That we insist that the surplus agricultural product be made available for distribution to the unemployed.

3. That the American Federation of Labor and all state and local Federations of labor do all in their power to educate public opinion to the immensity of the relief need this winter. There is danger that taxation and appropriations for relief may not have the necessary public support, since there is widespread belief that the reemployment of millions has greatly reduced relief needs, and that relief needs are therefore less than last winter.

4. That special consideration be given to the character of taxation which is being passed by state governments in order to raise funds for relief. Higher incomes and surplus profits should be made to bear their fair share of the burden.

DISCRIMINATION AGAINST THE OLDER WORKER

The policy of establishing an age limit for hiring workers is a grave menace to the older worker. Developments of the last few years have brought no relief. In fact, this policy is, if anything, becoming more widespread. It had at the start a definite connection with the spread of employee benefit plans financed by the employer, such as group insurance or old-age pensions; but age limits have now extended far beyond the field of such benefit plans. The practice is so

general that workers over 45 in many localities find it practically impossible to get a job, and workers of 40 and even 35 are also finding age limits applied against them.

The far-reaching effect of this injustice to the worker is not fully realized. Men who have spent their lives in honest, conscientious work for an employer, who have developed skill and experience with the years, may be laid off and literally thrown on the scrap heap at 40 or 45. By the time a man has reached this age, his children are at the age when education and preparation for the future will determine the course of their lives. If he loses his job and income, the children are forced to leave school and go to work. Many a young man of ability has thus been forced to abandon the trade or career for which he was training and has never again been able to rise out of drudgery.

The age limit also means a loss to industry, in that it eliminates workers who have reached an age of responsibility and who have twenty or thirty years' training in industrial work. Experience and responsibility are essential in any work where the quality of the product is concerned.

The American Federation of Labor is opposed to discriminating against workers in industry on a basis of age as well as in other unfair discriminations. We also oppose the Government's setting any maximum age for applicants for employment. The employment or retention of workers should be based upon competence to perform work, and not on arbitrary age limit.

TRADE UNION BENEFITS

Last year the Executive Council in its annual report to the convention showed the payment of \$39,961,873.14 in all forms of benefits by our affiliated and recognized trade union organizations. This year we report a substantial increase over the figures shown last year and a total which will astonish even those who have had some knowledge and experience of the benefit systems of our trade union movement.

The total sum paid in all forms of benefits for the year 1932 reached the astonishing figure of \$51,448,348.73, an average expenditure of approximately \$1,000,000 a week. The greatest individual benefit payment was that of unemployment benefits, a total of \$19,970,556.86 having been expended in this one form of benefit alone. This represents a spirit and degree of self-sacrifice unknown in any circles other than trade union circles. It represents the extent to which members of the trade union movement have voluntarily assessed themselves in a substantial form to provide out-of-work benefits for their idle brothers. It is a splendid manifestation of trade union self-sacrifice.

Over \$17,500,000 were expended in death benefits, over \$2,000,000 in sick benefits, over \$6,000,000 in old age pensions and over \$4,000,000 in disability benefits.

The showing of this substantial increase in benefit payments this year is partly made possible because of the spirit of cooperation exhibited by our national unions in securing benefit payment figures from their affiliated local unions. Your Executive Council has long been of the opinion that were it possible to secure such figures the results would be astonishing. This statement is borne out by the

figures presented in this report to you. However, there is still room for improvement and it is again urged that national unions which have not yet endeavored to secure such figures from their local unions should do so immediately.

A summary of the benefits paid follows and a statistical table will be found on pages 70-73.

Death Benefits.....	\$17,674,383.64
Sick Benefits.....	2,308,040.08
Unemployment Benefits.....	19,970,556.86
Old Age Pensions.....	6,148,302.12
Disability Benefits.....	4,006,890.68
Miscellaneous Benefits.....	1,340,175.35
Total Benefits.....	<u>\$51,448,348.73</u>

BENEFIT SERVICES OF STANDARD NATIONAL

Organization	Death	Sick	Unemployment	
1 American Federation of Labor				
2 Actors	NO	INTER	NATIONAL	BENEFITS
3 Air Line Pilots			5,450.00	
4 Asbestos Workers	NO	INTER	NATIONAL	BENEFITS
5 Int. Union Bakery & Confectionery Workers	29,326.65	111,811.62		
6 Int. Union Journeymen Barbers	100,680.03	195,670.00		
7 Int. Alliance Bill Posters & Billers			50,000.00	
8 Int. Brotherhood Blacksmiths, etc.	10,925.90			
9 Int. Brotherhood Boiler Makers, Ship Builders, etc.	1,282,827.80	12,507.50		
10 Int. Brotherhood Bookbinders	154,805.55	1,800.00	54,995.74	10.00
11 Boot & Shoe Workers Union	28,050.00	48,648.02		
12 Int. Union United Brewery, Flour, etc.	6,121.75	8,103.00	4,170.00	
13 Int. Union Bricklayers, Masons, etc.	369,138.59		376,038.84	618,125.00
14 United Brick & Clay Workers of A.	1,530.00			142,180.00
15 Int. Assn. Bridge & Structural Iron Workers	49,950.00			
16 Int. Broom & Whisk Makers Union	NO	INTERN	ATIONAL	BENEFITS
17 Int. Union Building Service Employees	NO	INTERN	ATIONAL	BENEFITS
18 Brotherhood Railway Carmen of America	123,000.00			
19 United Bro. Carpenters & Joiners of America	584,284.80			870,090.00
20 Int. Wood Carvers of North America	8,400.00		8,128.00	
21 Int. Union of Cigar Makers of America	78,500.00			
22 Nat. Federation of P. O. Clerks	46,000.00	18,761.40		
23 Bro. of Railway Clerks	227,341.55	3,708.71		
24 Int. Pro. Assn. Retail Clerks	4,850.00			
25 Int. Union Cloth Hat, Cap & Millinery		1,200.00	6,779.67	
26 Conductors, Order of Railway	1,130,400.00	167,096.00		
27 Conductors, Sleeping Car	15,000.00			
28 Coopers' Int. Union of North America	3,000.00			
29 Diamond Workers' Protective Union	2,250.00	4,467.00		
30 Draftsmen's Union, Int. Fed. of America	NO	INTERN	ATIONAL	BENEFITS
31 Electrical Workers of America	341,491.66			104,404.00
32 Elevator Constructors Int. Union			400,000.00	
33 Engineers, Brotherhood of Locomotive	3,388,856.65		9,000,000.00	971,834.95
34 Engineers, Int. Union of Operating	69,310.00			
35 Engravers' Union, Int. Metal	NO	INTERN	ATIONAL	BENEFITS
36 Engravers' Union No. America, Int. Photo	135,216.48	52,204.59	1,945,457.48	
37 Fire Fighters, Int. Assn. of	49,000.00			
38 Firemen & Enginemen, Brotherhood	1,123,135.96		171,189.73	602,275.25
39 Firemen & Oilers, Int. Bro. of	15,025.00			
40 Foundry Employees, Int. Bro. of	700.00			
41 Fur Workers' Union U. S. & Canada	3,550.00	4,389.40		4,160.00
42 Garment Workers of America, United	24,600.00			
43 Garment Workers' Union, Int. Ladies	3,050.00	17,000.00	24,100.00	8,100.00
44 Glass Bottle Blowers, Assn. of	35,500.00			
45 Glass Cutters League of America	4,500.00			
46 Glass Workers Union, American Flint	12,900.00			
47 Glove Workers' Union of America, Int.			1,000.00	
48 Govt. Employers, Amer. Fed. of	NO	INTERN	ATIONAL	BENEFITS
49 Granite Cutters, Int. Assn. of	58,566.75			8,935.00
50 Hatters of North America, United	36,634.00			
51 Hod Carriers, Building, etc.	8,647.50	942.00	4,225.70	700.00
52 Horse Shoers of North America	NO	INTERN	ATIONAL	BENEFITS
53 Hotel & Restaurant Employees	34,913.35	36,809.97		
54 Iron, Tin & Steel Workers	25,718.00			
55 Jewelry Workers' Union, Int.			NO REPORT	RECEIVED
56 Lathers, Int. Union of Wood, etc.	17,252.58			
57 Laundry Workers Int. Union			NO REPORT	RECEIVED
58 Leather Workers, United Int.	500.00	494.00	3,000.00	
59 Letter Carriers, Nat. Assn. of	346,192.24	317,185.91		
60 Letter Carriers, Rural	NO	INTERN	ATIONAL	BENEFITS
61 Lithographers Int. Pro. Ben. Assn.	33,800.00	9,048.00	231,578.68	
62 Longshoremen's Assn., Int.	NO	INTERN	ATIONAL	BENEFITS
63 Machinists, Int. Assn. of	30,000.00	242,432.48	182,100.00	
64 Maintenance of Way Employees	231,697.26			
65 Marble, Slate & Stone Polishers	8600.00	9,000.00	63,746.06	42.00
66 Masters, Mates & Pilots of America	1,250.00		370.00	
67 Meat Cutters & Butcher Workers	37,150.00	13,537.01	20,576.68	
68 Metal Workers, Int. Assn. of Sheet	56,850.00			
69 Mine Mill Smelters Workers, Int. Union	2,958.00	6,333.00	496.25	
70 Mine Workers of America, United	1,000,000.00			
71 Molders Union of North America	312,877.93	138,172.90	230,922.00	
72 Musicians, Amer. Fed. of	162,000.00			
73 Oil Field, Gas Well & Refinery Workers of America	2,100.00		3,000.00	
74 Painters, Decorators, Paperhangers	242,527.50		110,856.00	

AND INTERNATIONAL UNIONS FOR 1932

Disability	Miscellaneous	Total	Average Wage	Average Work Day	Average Work Week	5-Day Week	
	1,659.00	1,659.00					1
		5,450.00					2
	1,900.00	142,538.27					3
		296,350.03	\$9.95 per hr.	8 hours	40 hrs., 5 days	2,000	4
	5,000.00	55,000.00	\$50.00 per week	8 hours	44 hrs., 5½ days	500	5
		10,925.90		8 hours	44 hrs., 5½ days		6
		550.00	\$50 per hour	8 hours	48 hrs., 6 days	10,500	7
30.20	5,348.66	110,900.15	Men—\$41 per wk. Women—\$20 per wk.	8 hours	44 hrs., 5½ days	850	8
9,150.00		85,848.02		7½ hours	40 hrs., 5½ days		9
	15,049.62	33,444.37	\$32.00 per week	8 hours	46 hrs., 5½ days	166	10
		1,363,362.23		8 hours	40 hrs., 5 days	35,000	11
		9,550.00	\$1.00 per hour	8 hours	40 hrs., 5 days	12,544	12
		192,110.00	\$5.00 per day	8 hours	44 hrs., 5½ days	400	13
13,650.00		136,650.00	73-80 cents per hour	8 hours		1,500	14
44,700.00		1,490,074.80	\$8.00 per day	8 hours	40 hrs., 5 days	140,000	15
1,716.87	1,306.00	17,834.00					16
		80,016.87	Piece work	8 hours	44 hrs., 5½ days		17
		62,761.40	\$1,900 per year	8 hours	44 hrs., 5½ days		18
	10,929.83	241,880.09	\$14-\$25 per week	8 hours	48 hrs., 6 days		19
		4,350.00	Capmakers \$25-35p. wk. Millinery \$35-75 p. wk.	8 hours	40 hrs., 5 days	12,000	20
298,301.25	6,960.00	1,602,847.25					21
6,000.00	8,274.54	29,274.54	\$158.85 per month	8 hours	56 hrs., 7 days		22
	320.00	3,000.00	\$22-\$39 per week	8 hours	44 hrs., 5½ days		23
		7,637.00	\$70.00 per week	8 hours	44 hrs., 5½ days		24
		448,308.66					25
		400,000.00	Journeyman \$11.00 Helpers \$7.70 per day	8 hours	40 hrs., 5 days	37,000	26
106,087.24	190,272.88	13,657,051.72	\$207.00 per month				27
	63.00	69,373.00	\$1.00-\$1.25 per hour	8 hours	40-48 hrs., 5-6 da.	10,000	28
4,771.41	181,409.83	2,319,059.79	\$1.75 per hour	8 hours	40 hrs., 5½ days	8,000	29
1,075,066.76	34,320.00	3,004,187.79	\$2,200.00 per year	12 hours	54 hrs., 7 days		30
	854.10	15,849.10	\$7.75 per hour	8 hours	48 hrs., 6 days	1,000	31
		700.00	\$4.45 per hour	7 hours			32
	25,912.00	38,011.40		7-8 hours	35-40 hrs., 5 days	5,000	33
		24,600.00		8 hours	40-44 hrs., 5-5½ da	15,000	34
		52,250.00	\$50.00 per week	8 hours	40 hrs., 5 days	80,000	35
		35,500.00	\$6.00 per day	8 hours	45 hrs., 5½ days	352	36
		4,500.00					37
	67,700.42	80,600.42	\$17.90 per week	8½ hours	46 hrs., 5½ days	75	38
		1,000.00	Men \$25 per week. Women \$16 per week.	8½ hours		300	39
4,292.65	2,150.75	73,945.15	\$1.00 per hour	8 hours	40 hrs., 5 days		40
		36,634.00	\$44.00 per week	8 hours	44 hrs., 5½ days	3,000	41
777.00	6,032.87	21,385.07	\$7 per hour	8 hours	40 hrs., 5 days	1,903	42
		102,629.86	\$55.00 per week	8½ hours	47½ hrs., 5½ days		43
	100,000.00	125,718.00	\$7.75 per hour	8-9 hours	48-56 hours		44
		17,252.88	\$1.135 per hour	8 hours	40 hrs., 5 days		45
		3,934.00					46
		663,378.15	\$1,150-\$2,100 per yr.	8 hours	44 hrs., 5½ days		47
		284,924.98	\$1,800 per year	7 hours	42 hrs., 6 days		48
		499,032.48	\$50.00 per week	8½ hours	46 hrs., 5½ days	2,000	49
6,500.00	38,000.00	231,697.26	\$7.75 per hour	8 hours	44 hrs., 5½ days	25,000	50
95.00	11,952.07	85,435.13	\$9.20 per day	8 hours	48 hrs., 6 days		51
		1,620.00		8 hours	40 hrs., 5 days	6,000	52
	4,165.00	70,863.69	\$35.00 per week	8-9 hours			53
		61,015.00					54
		9,787.25					55
		1,000,000.00	\$5.10 per day	8 hours	48 hrs., 6 days		56
19,375.00		710,347.83	\$6.60 per day	8 hours	48 hrs., 6 days		57
23,095.00		185,095.00					58
		5,100.00		12 hrs., 8 hrs. on Pacific Coast.	84 hrs., 46 hrs. on Pacific Coast.		59
41,200.00		304,383.50	\$1.023 per hr.	8 hours	40 hrs., 5 days	58,698	60

BENEFIT SERVICES OF STANDARD NATIONAL

Organization	Death	Sick	Unemployment	Old Age
75 Paper Makers, Int. Bro. of.....	5,028.55			
76 Pattern Makers League.....	1 8,000.00	4,014.78	22,867.10	
77 Pavers, Hammermen, Flag Layers, etc.....	NO	INTERN	ATIONAL	BENEFITS
78 Paving Cutters Union.....	4,375.00		7,100.00	
79 Piano & Organ Workers Union.....	NO	INTERN	ATIONAL	BENEFITS
80 Plasterers, Int. Assn. of U. S. & Canada.....	51,325.00			
81 Plumbers & Steam Fitters of U. S. & Canada.....	140,112.00	168,805.00	750,000.00	
82 Polishers, Int. Union of Metal.....	9,850.00			
83 Pottery, Nat. Bro. of Operative.....	20,785.00	4,966.99		
84 Powder & High Explosive Workers.....	NO	INTERN	ATIONAL	BENEFITS
85 Printers, Die Stammers & Engravers Union.....	11,000.00			
86 Printing Pressmen's & Assistants Unions of North America.....	\$1,152,395.88		\$3,102,141.01	
87 Pulp, Sulphite & Paper Mill Workers.....			600.00	
88 Quarry Workers, Int. Union of.....	3,624.00		1,744.32	1,450.00
89 Railway Employees of America, Street.....	\$909,711.61	\$76,805.12		168,800.00
90 Railway Mail Assn.....	93,291.00			
91 Roofers Damp & Waterproof Workers.....	11,400.00	6,000.00		
92 Seamen's Union of America, Int.....				1,850.00
93 Sheep Shearers Union of North America.....	1,000.00	1,161.59		BENEFITS
94 Siderographers, Int. Assn. of.....	NO	INTERN	ATIONAL	
95 Stage Employes Moving Picture, etc.....	98,178.12			
96 Stereotypers & Electrotypers Union.....	\$104,454.00	\$10,151.55	\$680,072.31	
97 Stonecutters Assn. of North America.....	22,700.00			
98 Stone Mounters Int. Union.....	6,000.00			
99 Switchmen's Union of North America.....	155,350.00			
100 Tailors Union of America, Journeymen's.....	6,011.00	5,091.50	1,675.00	
101 Teachers, Amer. Fed. of.....	NO	INTERN	ATIONAL	BENEFITS
102 Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen, etc.....				
103 Telegraphers, Order of Railroad.....	298,806.66	7,080.00		
104 Telegraphers Union of North America Commercial.....	2,500.10			
105 Textile Workers of America.....	3,200.00			
106 Tobacco Workers Int. Union.....	400.00	2,744.00		
107 Trainmen, Brotherhood of Railroad.....	2,917,865.36	518,190.68		805,535.61
108 Typographical Union, Int.....	\$621,397.08	\$96,013.50	\$2,247,966.36	\$1,829,272.01
109 Upholsters Int. Union of North America.....	30,000.00		250,000.00	
110 Wall Paper Crafts of North America.....	1,500.00	\$3,200.00	\$50.00	
111 Weavers Protective Assn., Wire.....	200.00	323.00		
TOTAL.....	17,674,383.64	2,308,040.08	19,970,556.86	6,148,302.12

RECAPITULATION

Death Benefits.....	\$17,674,383.64
Sick Benefits.....	2,308,040.08
Unemployment Benefits.....	19,970,556.86
Old Age Pensions.....	6,148,302.12
Disability Benefits.....	4,006,896.88
Miscellaneous Benefits.....	1,540,175.35
Total Benefits.....	\$51,448,348.73

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

99

AND INTERNATIONAL UNIONS FOR 1932—Continued

Disability	Miscellaneous	Total	Average Wage	Average Work Day	Average Work Week	5-Day Week	
	3,250.00	8,278.55	\$6.40 per day	8 hours	48 hrs., 6 days	393	75
		34,381.88	\$3.94 per hour	8 hours	40 hrs., 5 days	1,000	76
	1,556.13	13,031.13	\$11.00 per day	8 hours	44 hrs., 5½ days	200	77
4,000.00		55,325.00	\$11.00 per day	8 hours	42 hrs., 5 days	21,438	78
	29,692.00	1,083,609.00	\$10.00 per day	8 hours	40 hrs., 5 days	40,000	80
		9,650.00	\$1.00 per hour	8 hours	44 hrs., 5½ days		81
	57,711.90	83,463.89					82
		11,000.00	\$5.25 per day	8 hours			83
		4,254,536.89	\$50.00 per week	8 hours	40 hrs., 5 days		84
	3,063.12	2,663.12	\$3.50 per Day	8 hours	48 hours, 6 days		85
		6,818.25					86
23,800.00		1,178,316.79					87
109,970.00	10,352.00	213,613.00	\$2,370.12 per yr.	7 2/3 hours	44 hrs., 6 days		88
		17,400.00	\$1.30 per hr.	8 hours	40 hrs., 5 days	3,900	89
	75.00	4,086.39	\$50.00 per month	8 hours	40 hrs., 5 days		90
							91
							92
5,302.00	13,804.36	313,785.62				700	93
	1,100.00	23,800.00	\$30-\$1.125 per hr.	8 hours	40 hrs., 5 days		94
		6,000.00	\$3.96 per hour	8 hours		60	95
34,850.00	14,875.00	205,075.00	\$6.52 per day	8 hours	48 hrs., 6 days		96
		12,717.50		8-10 hrs.	48-60 hrs., 6 days		97
	64,310.00	64,310.00		5 hrs.	30 hrs., 5 days	7,000	98
		93,178.12					99
		305,346.66	\$6.15 per hr.	7 hours	40 hrs., 7 days		100
		2,590.10					101
		3,200.00	\$9.00 per week	8½-9½ hours	52 hrs., 6 days		102
		3,144.00	\$18.00 per week	8 hours	48 hrs., 6 days		103
2,176,269.40	66,475.54	6,484,336.59					104
	272,677.66	5,067,326.61					105
	10,000.00	290,000.00	\$10 per day	8 hours	40 hrs., 5 days	4,500	106
		4,750.00	\$3.80 per hr.	8 hours	37½ hrs., 3 days		107
	25,459.95	25,982.95	\$9.95 per hour	7-8 hours		20	108
							109
							110
4,006,899.68	1,340,175.35	51,448,348.73				556,695	111

1 Includes disability benefits.
 2 Includes old age pensions.
 3 Includes local union benefits.
 4 Paid by local unions.

NATIONAL LEGISLATION

The special session of the 73rd Congress was perhaps the most notable ever held in a time of peace during our entire national life. Proposals of vast magnitude were considered and enacted into emergency legislation. Agriculture and industry as well as finance were embraced in these proposals and legislative enactments. Employment relations and conditions in public and semi-public as well as in private enterprise and service were equally involved. No former relationship was left undisturbed and the emergency legislation program includes changes that are fundamental in principle as well as in practice.

Though most of the legislation enacted was designed to meet the present emergency and is deemed, therefore, of a temporary character, it is firmly believed that many of the principles and practices involved will prove of a permanent nature and become the basis upon which future legislation will be predicated.

Outstanding in this emergency legislative program is the National Recovery Act, followed by legislation dealing with agriculture, finance and transportation. These subjects having been reported on separately, there is no occasion for further exposition of them in this part of our report. Attention, however, is directed to the fact that the National Recovery Act, aside from dealing with questions of industrial relations and conditions of employment in private enterprise, does include a "Public Works and Construction Projects" program of great significance and presents an unprecedented opportunity for employment opportunities of wage earners in the building industry and allied crafts if properly, efficiently and expeditiously administered. Special attention is directed to the fact that in this part of the Recovery Act the employment of convict labor in any manner is prohibited in the construction of public works of any nature.

Government economy—The short session of the 72nd Congress made no change in the wage reduction law enacted in 1932 of 8½ per cent with an exemption for those receiving less than \$1,000. It also remedied a very grievous clause in the law passed in 1932. This was that no matter how much an employee earned in a few days worked, if it was at a rate of more than \$1,000 per year, the wage reduction would apply. The change provides that any employee earning at a rate of \$83.33 in any month would not suffer a reduction.

The new administration taking office March 4th, being pledged to the reduction of expenditures by \$1,000,000,000, sponsored a new measure providing for reduction of 15 per cent in all salaries as well as reduction in veterans' compensation. Probably, no bill even in war time was passed through the House as rapidly as that proposed to reduce the wages of government employees 15 per cent instead of 8½ per cent. The bill had not been printed and no member of the House had seen a copy except those who handled the typewritten sheets. Only a short debate was permitted.

One of the outstanding features behind this legislation was the fact that Chairman Byrns of the House Appropriations Committee and leader of the Majority Party refused to handle the bill. Representative McDuffie, who had many times in the first session of the 72d Congress declared that wages of government employees should be cut in two, willingly handled the measure.

The only favorable features of the economy act were the restoration of vacations for 15 days and the repeal of the clauses that reduced the differential between night and day work, and that prohibited extra pay for overtime in the Government Printing Office and postal service. These amendments were secured only after the most vigorous appeals to members of Congress.

One of the most objectionable provisions of the law provides that the wages or salaries of all employes of the government irrespective of the amount they receive, would be reduced 15 per cent. This applied to substitute employes and many other employes who were fortunate if they earned \$200 or \$300 a year. Charwomen whose pay is approximately \$400 a year suffer this reduction. If a government employee earns only \$1 he will be cut 15 per cent. The extraordinary defense made by those who advocated including low paid employes was that they were receiving the same benefits from a lower cost of living as those who received much higher compensation.

The law provides for determining wages on the basis of cost of living. This plan of determining wages is probably the most indefensible action ever taken by Congress. It was imported from Denmark where the wages of government employes are based on the cost of four prime necessities—clothes, light, fuel and rent. Food there is not considered in the cost of living. Besides, persons are paid there according to whether they are married or single, separated from husbands or wives, and according to the number of children. This was explained in a report made to the 72d Congress. The plan was proposed in that Congress by Senator Gore but it was given little recognition because of its un-American character.

The Friday before the economy bill was taken up in the House, Senator Harrison called a meeting of the Finance Committee of the Senate and notified the President of the American Federation of Labor and others that a hearing would be held the next day, Saturday. Only three minutes were granted President Green, but he insisted on giving the attitude of the American Federation of Labor toward the proposed measure, and did so. It was very evident from the attitude of the Chairman of the Committee and others that the hearing was merely a gesture, as much criticism had followed the refusal of the House to have hearings held.

The authority for the furloughs provided in the law has caused much distress. A furlough of three days per month was ordered in July in the postal service. President Green in a conference with President Roosevelt protested against the furloughs and was told that he expected them to be eliminated in the postal service by September 30. It was announced by Postmaster Farley on Labor Day at the convention of the National Association of Letter Carriers held at Atlantic City, New Jersey, that the furloughs without pay would be discontinued September 30, 1933.

Reorganization plans submitted to the 73d Congress by the President caused the discharge of thousands of employees. Reductions in wages of government employes were seized upon by employers in private employment to reduce the wages of their own employees. When Congress fixed the reduction at 8½ per cent, employers reduced their employees 10 and 15 per cent. When the 15 per cent re-

duction went into effect by Presidential order, employers in private employment reduced the wages of their employees generally.

The American Federation of Labor is driving ahead for the purpose of restoring the pay of the government employees. During our meeting at headquarters in September the members of the Executive Council in a body called upon the President to urge him to restore the salary reduction at the earliest date possible. We urged that the restoration of the full salaries of the government employees would be in conformity with the purpose of the recovery program.

Independent Office Appropriation—This bill contained a clause that all persons who have served thirty years in the government service shall be "involuntarily" separated. We sought an amendment to include "voluntary" retirement for those who had served thirty years but had not yet reached the retirement age. The Senate accepted this amendment but it was stricken out in conference.

Farm Recovery—The Farm Recovery bill provides for a processing tax on certain farm products which undoubtedly will raise the cost of living. Labor, however, made no protest as it is in the interest of the farmers who sorely need financial aid.

Civilian Conservation Corps—Certain provisions of the law which created the Civilian Conservation Corps were not favored by us. Appropriations of \$148,000,000 had been made for public buildings and a number of contracts were waiting to be signed. Certain changes and amendments were made in the Act upon the recommendation of the representatives of the American Federation of Labor. The Act became law March 31, 1933. Under this law 1418 Civilian Conservation Camps have been established; 293,582 young men are now in the Civilian Conservation Service and established in these camps.

We opposed the compensation paid and the utilization of money appropriated for public building, for the purpose of meeting the expenses incident to the establishment of these Conservation Camps. It is the intent and purpose to continue to urge for higher payment and for the replacement of the funds for building purposes which were transferred for payment of expenses and compensation of the Civilian Conservation Corps.

Emergency Relief for Unemployment—The Wagner-Peyser Act "to provide for the cooperation of the federal government with the several states and territories and the District of Columbia in relieving the hardships and suffering caused by unemployment" is being administered in a more practical manner than that followed by the Reconstruction Finance Committee in relief measures. The law provides for an appropriation of \$500,000,000, half of which is given outright to the states under certain conditions. The other half is granted the states on the matching basis of one federal dollar for three dollars of public money spent within the state for unemployment relief during April and May of this year.

Harry L. Hopkins was appointed Federal Emergency Relief Administrator. In the beginning there was some complaint that strikers were refused relief and that very small wages were paid by the states from the funds appropriated by the government. This has been changed, however, for on July 21 Administrator Hopkins issued an order that the Federal Emergency Relief Administration would not attempt to judge the merits of labor disputes and relief should be

given the families of striking wage earners after careful investigation had shown that their resources were not sufficient to meet the emergency needs. If the Department of Labor determines that a strike is unreasonable and unjustified, the relief money is withheld. But under existing conditions no claim can be made that any strike is unjustified.

Mr. Hopkins also announced that the wages fixed in the supplementary blanket code to the National Recovery Act should apply to relief work.

The order stated that after August 1, these minimum wages should be paid: In cities of over 500,000 population, \$15 per week; between 250,000 and 500,000 population, \$14.50; between 2,500 and 250,000 population, \$14; less than 2,500 population, 20 per cent increase in all wages providing this does not raise the amount in excess of \$12.

All of these wages will apply also to the immediate trade areas of such cities and towns. The prevailing wage rate must be rigidly adhered to in each locality. If the prevailing wage is 40 cents or more per hour, that must be paid, but in no case shall payment be less than 30 cents per hour. Grants made under the Emergency Relief Act of 1933 can be used only in paying wages at or above 30 cents an hour.

These rates represent a slight improvement as in many cases local relief administrations were paying 50 cents to \$1 a day. The order also forbade persons under sixteen years of age being employed, or working anyone more than 40 hours in any one week except those in a managerial or executive capacity.

Immigration—Repeated warnings from friends in Congress that an organized attempt would be made to weaken the immigration laws made it imperative to give careful consideration to all immigration bills introduced in the 72d Congress and the special session of the 73d.

One very objectionable bill had for its purpose the canceling of the President's order prohibiting immigrants from coming into the country who would become public charges. Under this Presidential order at least 90 per cent of those who could have come in under the National Origins law were prevented from so doing. The same bill proposed to restore the old law permitting persons suffering from religious or political persecutions to freely enter the United States. There is not a country in the world where there is not religious or political persecutions and if the old law was restored many thousands would be permitted to come into the country.

We must strive in every way to prevent any modification of the immigration laws. There has never been a time when restricted immigration is more necessary than now.

Many complaints have come from border states regarding Mexicans entering the country illegally, because of the lack of sufficient immigration inspectors on the border. The census of 1930 credits California with a Mexican population of 368,000, 45 per cent of which are in Los Angeles County.

Since 1930 many thousands of Mexicans have been transported to the border at public expense to avoid supporting them permanently, but this loss has been offset to a large extent by a high birth rate and the drifting of Mexicans from other states. According to California's Mexican Fact Finding Report of 1930

the number of births over deaths in Los Angeles County was: Mexicans, 4,070; whites, 241.

A most vigorous campaign is in evidence in favor of placing Japan under the quota law. The matter will be brought up in Congress by a bill to repeal that clause in the immigration law which forbids the immigration of persons ineligible to citizenship, but those who favor placing Japan under the quota also wish the same to apply to China, India and all other countries in the Asiatic barred zone.

Lobbyists have been quietly at work and the astonishing thing is that certain public men who have heretofore violently opposed Japanese immigration are now advocating that legislation.

Home Mortgage Relief—Congress enacted a law to provide relief for home owners whose property is mortgaged and they are unable to pay either interest or principal and are unable to amortize their debt elsewhere.

The Home Owners Loan Corporation was created for this purpose and the Reconstruction Finance Corporation was authorized to advance \$200,000,000, or as much thereof as may be necessary to finance the Corporation.

The Corporation is authorized for a period of three years after date of enactment of the Act, to acquire in exchange for bonds issued by it home mortgages and other obligations and liens secured by real estate. The face value of the bonds so exchanged, plus accrued interest thereon and the cash so advanced, shall not exceed in any case \$14,000 or 80 per cent of the value of the real estate. If a home owner has a mortgage on his property and is unable to pay either the interest or principal, he can apply to the Home Owners Loan Corporation for relief. The home owner is given 15 years in which to pay off the mortgage in monthly payments and at an interest rate not exceeding 5 per cent per annum. The Government only insures the interest on the bond.

When the Home Loan Bank law was enacted in the 72nd Congress it contained no relief for a harassed home owner who could not pay even the interest on the mortgage on his property. The Home Owners Loan Corporation act was for the purpose of correcting this very grievous error.

Muscle Shoals—After years of effort Senator Norris succeeded in having a law enacted providing for government operation of Muscle Shoals. The law also contains provisions to improve the navigability and provide for flood control of the Tennessee River; for reforestation and the proper use of marginal lands in the Tennessee Valley. For the purpose of maintaining and operating the properties now owned by the United States in the vicinity of Muscle Shoals, Ala., in the interest of national defense and for agricultural and industrial development and to improve navigation in the Tennessee River, a Board was created to be known as the "Tennessee Valley Authority."

The Board is given power in the name of the United States to exercise the right of eminent domain, to acquire real estate for the construction of dams, reservoirs, transmission lines, power houses and other structures, and navigation projects at any point along the Tennessee River, or any of its tributaries.

The President is authorized, within 12 months after the passage of this Act, to lease to any responsible farm organization, or to any corporation organized by it, nitrate plant numbered 2 and Waco Quarry, together with the railroad connect-

ing said quarry with nitrate plant numbered 2, for a term not exceeding 50 years, at a rental of not less than \$1 per year. The lessee, however, is subject to the express condition that he shall use said property during the term of said lease exclusively for the manufacture of fertilizer, for a term of not exceeding 50 years.

Blue Sky Law—During the decade after the war many billions of new securities were floated in the United States and a substantial part proved to be worthless.

According to a report of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce of the House of Representatives "the flotation of such a mass of essentially fraudulent securities was made possible because of the complete abandonment by many underwriters and dealers in securities of those standards of fair, honest, and prudent dealing that should be basic to the encouragement of investment in any enterprise."

"High-pressure salesmanship," said the Committee, "rather than careful counsel was the rule in this most dangerous of enterprises."

The Committee further said:

Equally significant with these countless individual tragedies is the wastage that this irresponsible selling of securities has caused to industry. The result has been that investment bankers with no regard for the efficient functioning of industry forced corporations to accept new capital for expansion purposes in order that new securities might be issued for public consumption. Similarly, real estate developments would be undertaken, not on the basis of caring for calculated needs but merely as an excuse for the issuance of more securities to satisfy an artificially created market. Such conduct has resulted both in the imposition of unnecessary fixed charges upon industry and in the creation of false and unbalanced values for properties whose earnings cannot conceivably support them. Whatever may be the full catalogue of the forces that brought to pass the present depression, not least among these has been this wanton misdirection of the capital resources of the Nation.

A registration statement must be filed with the Federal Trades Commission in which the type of information required to be disclosed is of a character comparable to that demanded by competent bankers from their borrowers.

Beer Legislation—The remarkable haste with which forty-one states and the District of Columbia passed beer legislation can be credited to the agitation kept up persistently by the American Federation of Labor since 1919. In that year the convention declared against the Volstead Act and called upon President Wilson to veto the measure. He willingly complied but Congress passed the bill over the veto by a two-thirds vote.

The bill to provide revenue by the taxation of certain non-intoxicating liquors was introduced in the House March 14; passed the House the same day and was sent to the Senate where it was reported favorably by the Finance Committee on March 15, and passed the Senate on March 16. On March 22 it was approved by the President. The states and the District of Columbia which up to the writing of this report have enacted laws providing for the sale of beer are:

Arizona	Colorado	District of	Idaho
Arkansas	Connecticut	Columbia	Illinois
California	Delaware	Florida	Indiana

Iowa	Missouri	North Dakota	Texas
Kentucky	Montana	Ohio	Vermont
Louisiana	Nebraska	Oklahoma	Virginia
Maine	Nevada	Oregon	Washington
Maryland	New Hampshire	Pennsylvania	West Virginia
Massachusetts	New Jersey	Rhode Island	Wisconsin
Michigan	New York	South Carolina	Wyoming
Minnesota	North Carolina	Tennessee	

The law provides for the sale of lager beer, ale, porter, wine, similar fermented malt or vinous liquor and fruit juices containing not more than 3.2 per cent of alcohol by weight, brewed or manufactured.

Bank Deposits Guaranteed—For many years the people of the country have cried aloud for the guaranteeing of bank deposits. The bank moratorium, more than anything else, showed members of Congress that such protection should be given to depositors of the country. The law provides for the creation of a Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, which will insure the deposits in all banks entitled to the benefits of the law.

Every bank which is or which becomes a member of the Federal Reserve System on or before July 1, 1934, shall take all steps necessary to enable it to become a class A stockholder of the Corporation on or before July 1, 1934; and thereafter no state bank or trust company or mutual savings bank shall be admitted to membership in the Federal Reserve System until it becomes a class A stockholder of the Corporation.

On and after July 1, 1934, unless the President shall by proclamation fix an earlier date, the Corporation shall insure the deposits of all member banks and on and after such date, and until July 1, 1936, of all non-member banks, which are class A stockholders of the Corporation.

The amounts guaranteed for deposits are as follows: Not exceeding \$10,000, 100 per cent; from \$10,000 to \$50,000, 75 per cent; exceeding \$50,000, 50 per cent.

From January 1 to July 1, 1934, the Corporation will insure bank deposits of \$2500.

The Treasury Department is now examining all banks in the United States to learn their condition.

American Made Goods, Wares and Merchandise—An amendment presented by Senator Johnson to the Treasury-Post Office appropriation bill in the short session of the 72d Congress which became a law, provides that all heads of departments and independent establishments shall purchase only such manufactured articles, materials and supplies as have been mined or produced in the United States; such articles, materials and supplies to be mined, produced or manufactured in the United States from articles, materials or supplies mined, produced or manufactured in the United States.

If the purchaser finds that in respect to some of the articles purchased it would unreasonably increase the cost an exception can be made. This law applies also to the materials used in all public buildings which are purchased by contractors.

In the special session, however, a similar provision in the public works part of the National Recovery Act was stricken out by recommendation of the Finance Committee of the Senate.

Philippine Independence—The Hawes-Hare Philippine Independence Bill passed Congress but was vetoed by President Hoover. Both Houses passed the bill over the veto by a two-thirds vote.

The law provides that when the act has been accepted by the Philippine Legislature only fifty immigrants can come into the continental United States from the Philippines until independence has been consummated. After the Philippines become independent no Filipino can come into the United States as the islands are in the barred zone and they would not be eligible to citizenship.

After the bill became a law a great uproar arose in the islands against its provisions. A large committee headed by Quezon and Aguinaldo came to the United States to see if a law containing provisions more acceptable could be enacted.

Federal Employment Service—The Wagner bill to provide for the establishment of a National Employment System which failed in the 72d Congress became a law in the 73d. The Employment Service in existence in the Department of Labor was abolished.

The law appropriates \$1,500,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1934, and \$4,000,000 for each fiscal year thereafter up to and including the fiscal year ending June 30, 1938, and thereafter such sums annually as the Congress may deem necessary.

Seventy-five per cent of the amounts appropriated shall be apportioned by the director among the several states in proportion to their population. No payment shall be made to any state until a similar sum has been appropriated for that year by the state. The intent of the law is to aid the states in conducting employment agencies and at the same time relieve the government of that duty.

CONVICT LABOR

Unusual efforts were made by the Executive Council to have the model convict labor bill passed by the legislatures of the various states. Seventeen states now have laws satisfactory to the American Federation of Labor. Twelve of the states enacted the law in 1933. The states now having laws in conformity with the Hawes-Cooper Act are:

Arizona	Montana	Pennsylvania
California	New Hampshire	South Dakota
Colorado	New Jersey	Utah
Idaho	New York	Washington
Illinois	North Carolina	Wyoming
Massachusetts	Ohio	

The Indiana legislature passed two bills, one providing for state-use and the other forbidding the sale of convict-made goods from other states. The Governor vetoed the latter.

The Iowa legislature passed a branding bill and applied its regulations to outside products. Rhode Island has chosen a commission representing Labor, manufacturers and others to report to the 1934 session looking to the placing of that state on the state-use basis.

The fact that no convict-made goods can be shipped into seventeen states after January 19, 1934, for sale on the open market, will serve as a warning to states that have not enacted this law that they must adopt the state-use system.

A representative of a prison contractor of New York City entered suit for an injunction to restrain the attorney-general from enforcing the state law and contended that the Hawes-Cooper Act was unconstitutional. It is understood that the suit will be withdrawn.

Another suit was begun by the attorney-general of Alabama, who asked for an injunction restraining sixteen states from enforcing their convict labor laws. The states asked to be enjoined will fight the suit. The attorneys-general of those states met in Chicago and appointed a committee to draw up briefs in support of the constitutionality of the Hawes-Cooper Act. The hearing was set for October 9, 1933.

Many protests have been made by the citizens of Alabama and the Executive Council believes that the attorney general of that state will not succeed in his efforts to uphold convict labor competition with free labor.

The Oregon legislature passed the convict labor bill but it was vetoed by the Governor. As he is a department store owner and deals in a number of convict-made products, his action can be understood. The House of the Delaware legislature approved the measure, but the Senate refused to concur. The Maine legislature also refused to enact this legislation.

Contracts for shirts in Kentucky and Wyoming prisons were cancelled because the Hawes-Cooper Act would become effective after January 19, 1934.

ANTI-INJUNCTION LAWS

Nine states now have anti-injunction laws as approved by the American Federation of Labor. They are:

Colorado
Idaho
Indiana

Oregon
Pennsylvania
Utah

Wisconsin
Wyoming

Six legislatures enacted the laws this year. They all follow the provisions of the Norris-La Guardia Act. The New Hampshire Supreme Court declared the "anti-yellow dog" bill unconstitutional in an advisory opinion and, therefore, it did not pass the legislature.

California enacted an "anti-yellow dog" contract law. Illinois and Pennsylvania also enacted an "anti-yellow dog" law.

Numerous letters were sent by President Green to all state federations of labor where legislatures were in session, urging the officers to use every effort to have anti-injunction laws enacted.

CHILD LABOR AMENDMENT

Fifteen states have ratified the child labor amendment, while one House in several legislatures gave it approval. The states approving the amendment are:

Arizona	Michigan	Ohio
Arkansas	Montana	Oklahoma
California	New Hampshire	Oregon
Colorado	New Jersey	Washington
Illinois	North Dakota	Wisconsin

Before the legislatures met in January, President Green sent written appeals to all state federations of labor officials to urge the respective legislators to ratify the child labor amendment.

The House of the Minnesota state legislature voted almost unanimously in favor of ratification, but it failed in the Senate. Maryland refused to consider ratification. The West Virginia House voted favorably, but the Senate declined to consider ratification.

This is a wonderful step in advance as ten states ratified the amendment this year. During the depression the great number of unemployed adults and the increase in the number of child workers created strong sentiment in favor of the amendment. The fact that the codes approved by the National Recovery Act provide that no child under sixteen shall work in industry encourages Labor to believe that within the next two years 36 states will have given their approval.

The American Federation of Labor continued its drive for the approval of the child labor amendment. It was the only organization that appealed to state legislatures in the different states to approve the child labor amendment. Whenever state legislatures were in session, the state federations of labor and the city central labor unions actively and insistently urged upon the legislatures the adoption of the amendment. As a result of this effort specially put forth by the American Federation of Labor ten states approved the child labor amendment during the past year.

REPEAL OF THE EIGHTEENTH AMENDMENT

Twenty-nine states had ratified the amendment repealing the Eighteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States up to September 13th. Eight states will vote by November 7, and it is confidently believed that the amendment will be ratified by that date.

The following states had ratified the amendment up to September 13th:

Alabama	Maine	Oregon
Arizona	Maryland	Rhode Island
Arkansas	Massachusetts	Tennessee
California	Michigan	Texas
Colorado	Minnesota	Vermont
Connecticut	Missouri	Washington
Delaware	Nevada	West Virginia
Illinois	New Hampshire	Wisconsin
Indiana	New Jersey	Wyoming
Iowa	New York	

The states that will vote up to November 7 are: Idaho and New Mexico, September 19; Virginia, October 3; Florida, October 10; North Carolina, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Kentucky and South Carolina, November 7.

From the inception of this legislation we have opposed the enactment of the 18th Amendment and after its adoption manifested clearly that it was an un-

warrantable attempt in the enactment of organic law and would prove to be a failure. The experience under the operation of the law has fully demonstrated our claims. We are happy to note that the consistent attitude of the American Federation of Labor in opposition to the 18th Amendment is about to be realized in its complete repeal.

MINIMUM WAGE LAWS

The need for minimum wage laws for women and minors has become so necessary that seven states enacted such legislation this year. The publicity given to sweat shop wages has alarmed the legislators, and they more than ever believe that women and minors should have proper protection.

Sixteen states now have minimum wage laws. They are:

California	North Dakota	South Dakota
Colorado	New Hampshire	Washington
Connecticut	New Jersey	Wisconsin
Illinois	New York	Utah
Massachusetts	Ohio	
Minnesota	Oregon	

The wages vary in the different states.

OLD AGE SECURITY

Twenty-five states now have old age security laws. Nineteen of these are mandatory and 6 are voluntary. Old age security bills were presented in 34 state legislatures that met in January. The states having such laws are:

Arizona	Maryland	North Dakota
Arkansas	Massachusetts	Oregon
California	Minnesota	Utah
Colorado	Montana	Washington
Delaware	Nebraska	West Virginia
Idaho	Nevada	Wisconsin
Indiana	New Hampshire	Wyoming
Kentucky	New Jersey	
Maine	New York	

An old age security bill for the District of Columbia was introduced in the 72d Congress and reintroduced in the 73d. Because of the unemployment situation and the thirst for economy the Board of Commissioners of the District opposed any consideration of such legislation at the present time. Therefore, no hearings were held in either the 72d Congress or the special session of the 73d.

President Green sent copies of the model old age security measure approved by the American Federation of Labor to all state federations of labor with the request that the officers have them introduced.

A federal old age security bill was introduced in both Houses in the two Congresses. It provided financial aid to states paying pensions to their aged who are in need. The committees to which they were referred favored the bills but no action was taken by either House.

It is the opinion of the Council that the model bill heretofore approved might be revised in several sections and we believe that the Council should be advised accordingly.

While these trying years have forcefully demonstrated the need for security for those essentials upon which life itself depends, there has been comparatively little progress in establishing the means to provide security for the emergencies of living.

Wage-earners want most of all security of income during their producing years and assured income for old age.

During the past year through state federations of labor and city central bodies the American Federation of Labor has carried on an aggressive campaign in behalf of old age pension legislation. Some progress has been made but not as much as the urgency of the situation requires or as the workers hope could be recorded.

Social justice legislation providing for the payment of pensions to superannuated workers was introduced in a number of states. In some instances where legislators could not be persuaded to vote favorably for this character of legislation, they did vote for the creation of commissions to study the subject and report at some future sessions of the state legislatures. In every instance where votes were taken, even though the measures were defeated, the workers have reason for encouragement because the number of votes cast could only be interpreted as an indication of the development of favorable public opinion in support of this legislation.

It is the purpose and intention of the Executive Council to utilize every means at the command of the American Federation of Labor and to continue its efforts to secure the enactment of old age pension laws in the different states.

We urge as a social obligation that adequate provisions be adopted so that every producing worker may be assured, after his productive years, of an adequate income, at least equal to the income earned at the time of retirement. By providing honorably for our citizens who have served us in their prime, we shall make social and economic adjustments necessary to the maintenance of business prosperity. We recommend that plans be developed to carry out these suggestions.

RADIO ADVERTISING

Resolution No. 53, providing for an investigation of radio advertising and if feasible to secure national legislation prohibiting the long advertising lectures and speeches over the radio of the country, was referred to the Executive Council.

A thorough investigation of this subject has been made. In the first place, the most persistent advertisers over the radio are the largest advertisers in the newspapers and magazines. These include automobiles, cigars and cigarettes, tooth paste, ginger ale and many other articles.

The advertising broadcasts are necessarily accompanied by music. Actors and actresses furnish a program. Should advertising be eliminated or restricted to an extent that it would not be practical thousands of musicians, actors, and other employees would be thrown out of employment. If radio advertising was prohibited it would be necessary for the broadcasting stations to secure funds from some other source to carry on their broadcasts. In some countries where

the broadcasting stations are controlled by the government a tax is placed upon receiving sets. Naturally, that would be the main source of revenue that would have to be raised in the United States if advertising was prohibited or restricted.

There are 12,000 full-time employees of the broadcasting stations of the United States. This does not include the thousands of artists and musicians employed by program sponsors and by the networks. The annual payroll is approximately \$23,000,000.

It is doubtful if radio advertisers have materially decreased newspaper or magazine advertising. It is true that many newspaper publishers in asking for reductions in wages use this as an argument.

New inventions cause many changes in old established industries. This, of course, raises objections from those displaced. But were it not for the telephones, graphophones, electricity, automobiles and radios there would be many more idle in the United States.

The Executive Council believes that progress cannot be stopped. Inventions will continue in greater number than before. Labor's solution of this problem is reducing the hours in the workday and workweek at adequate wages. There is no other remedy and Labor uses every effort to organize the wage-earners in order that they can secure a comfortable living and more leisure. If the five-day week and six-hour day were in effect there would not be as many idle workers in the United States.

NON-PARTISAN POLITICAL POLICY

The Executive Council desires to impress upon the entire membership of the American Federation of Labor that they have a duty to perform in the elections of 1934 that must not be neglected. Thirty-five United States Senators are to be chosen and 435 members of the House of Representatives. The records of all the present members of Congress who will seek reelection and those candidates who have been members will be sent to the labor organizations in the respective states and congressional districts.

In order to be effective in the primaries and elections, every organization should prepare to acquaint the members with the records of the various candidates in order that they may vote for those who are fair and impartial.

The following declaration of the American Federation of Labor should be the slogan:

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.

Quite a number of members during the short session of the 72d Congress and the special session of the 73d Congress proved that they were unworthy of the support of the wage-earners. On the other hand, there were quite a number of members who in every instance defended and protected the rights of the workers.

The legislative committees of the various state federations of labor, city central bodies and local unions should become non-partisan political campaign committees. They should not only inform their membership of the candidates for

Congress who are acceptable, but should take an active interest in pointing out which candidates of the various state legislatures are entitled to the support of Labor.

It must be remembered that 1934 is an "off year" and that many voters will stay away from the polls. This should encourage all Non-Partisan Political Campaign Committees to impress repeatedly upon the rank and file that they owe a duty to themselves and to the country by going to the polls on primary and election days. In many states the success of a candidate in a primary is tantamount to an election. This is particularly true in some of the southern states. Therefore, it is necessary to make the big fight in the primary.

Every incentive should be given to wage-earners and their friends to register and vote. The most important part of an election campaign is to register. Failure to do so by a sufficient number of workers would sometimes result in the election of an unfavorable candidate. The duty, then, of these Non-Partisan Political Campaign Committees is to see that the wage-earners register and vote at the primaries and at the elections in November.

To the American Federation of Labor is delegated the duty of securing remedial legislation from Congress and defeating malevolent legislation. It is, therefore, absolutely necessary that the policies of the American Federation of Labor be upheld by the election of fair and impartial candidates for Congress.

It should not be said after the election that the organized wage-earners have not regarded it as their duty to elect fair candidates and defeat unfair candidates.

HATTERS—CAP MAKERS

We take great pleasure in recording herewith the joint statement issued by the officers of the two national unions which is the memorandum of agreement of amalgamation of these two bodies.

We are gratified to announce that the United Hatters of North America and the Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers International Union will be amalgamated into one organization consisting of all the workers employed in the men's hat and cap, and women's millinery industries.

The two unions which will be merged are affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. The new International Union will be similarly affiliated. It will have jurisdiction over 50,000 workers employed in the two industries.

Under the amalgamation agreement reached by us, the international union which will be formed through the merging of the two organizations of hat workers, will consist of two departments. Each department will have its own departmental president, but both will be component parts of the international union. One department will look after the conditions of the workers in the cloth hat, cap and millinery shops which are now under the jurisdiction of the Cap and Millinery Workers International Union. The conditions of the workers employed in the men's felt, straw and panama hat shops, now under the jurisdiction of the United Hatters of North America, will be taken care of by the other department.

The union members of both departments will jointly elect, through a convention, the international officers who will exercise control over the entire international union.

The agreement to amalgamate the two unions was reached after six months of conferences between the national officers of the United Hatters

and of the Cap and Millinery Workers International Union. The amalgamation will put an end to jurisdictional disputes between the two international unions, which on occasion tended to have an adverse effect on the conditions of the workers in affected shops.

The elimination of the jurisdictional controversies will be of great benefit to the workers in the men's and women's hat industries. It was this consideration, together with the realization that the amalgamation will extend the influence of the union, that was the deciding factor in reaching our agreement.

President William Green of the American Federation of Labor took a keen interest in our conferences. He contributed greatly to the satisfactory outcome of the move to amalgamate the two hat workers' organizations into one union.

As soon as the necessary arrangements can be made we will call special conventions of our respective organizations for the purpose of ratifying the amalgamation agreement. The two conventions will be held concurrently. A joint convention of the two unions will follow. The actual amalgamation will then be completed and the new international union launched.

M. F. GREENE, *President*, United Hatters of North America
 MARTIN LAWLOB, *Secretary*, United Hatters of North America
 M. ZARTSKY, *President*, Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers
 International Union.

At the time this report is being prepared each national union contemplates holding its convention, sometime late in September. The amalgamated body will then meet in convention. We anticipate submitting a supplementary report on this later.

JURISDICTIONAL TROUBLES

We reported to the last convention progress or failure of progress in adjusting disputed points of jurisdiction between contending organizations, among them being:

Pavers and Rammermen—Hod Carriers
 Flint Glass Workers—Glass Bottle Blowers
 Bridge and Structural Iron Workers—Pulp and Sulphite Workers
 Teamsters—Railway Clerks
 Theatrical Stage Employes—Electrical Workers
 Machinists—Carpenters

We have continued our efforts since the Cincinnati Convention but by reason of conditions growing out of the unprecedented industrial depression, and the terrible state of unemployment there has been little we could do.

We are making this brief reference here so as to continue our record. At the same time we recommend that the Executive Council continue to use its good offices as time and opportunity may appear favorable to adjust all matters of existing differences between affiliated organizations.

During the year questions of conflicting claims of jurisdiction developed between the Retail Clerks and the Upholsterers over window trimmers; also between the Friendly Society of Engravers to which we issued charter on June 5th, and the International Metal Engravers' Union. We are giving these situations our very best consideration and attention and we believe that eventually a satisfactory understanding will be reached.

We recommend that all these matters be left in the hands of the Executive Council to continue efforts toward an adjustment.

BREWERY WORKERS—TEAMSTERS—ENGINEERS—FIREMEN

At the meeting of the Executive Council, April 20-May 2, the representatives of the Brewery Workers, Teamsters, and Engineers presented their respective claims of jurisdiction with evidence in support thereof.

Extended hearings were held. Each organization was accorded the fullest opportunity to present its jurisdiction claim. We thereupon decided:

In view of the fact that by action and decision of previous conventions of the American Federation of Labor the International Union of Operating Engineers was granted jurisdiction over Engineers employed in Breweries, it is the opinion of the Executive Council that jurisdiction over Engineers employed in breweries is vested in the International Union of Operating Engineers and so decides.

We further decided:

In the case of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America vs. The International Union of the United Brewery, Flour, Cereal and Soft Drink Workers of America, the Executive Council is of the opinion and decides that teamsters and chauffeurs in the brewery industry properly belong to and come under the jurisdiction of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters and Chauffeurs.

We also decided:

In the dispute between the International Union of Firemen and Oilers and the International Union of the United Brewery, Flour, Cereal and Soft Drink Workers of America, it is the decision of the Executive Council that the firemen employed in breweries come under the jurisdiction of the International Brotherhood of Firemen and Oilers.

TRADE UNION AUXILIARIES

Since our last convention we have gone into the matter of the organization of a national group of women's trade union auxiliaries as dealt with by Resolution No. 76. There are differences of opinion between the different groups of these local auxiliaries. Our opinion is that the matter should be held in abeyance for further investigation and consideration.

PROPOSED AMALGAMATION

The amalgamation of the Cigar Makers and the Tobacco Workers has not as yet been effected. We believe, however, that in time the developing interests of the two organizations will inevitably bring them together as contemplated in the case of the Hatters and Cap Makers.

We recommend that the Executive Council continue its efforts along these lines.

COAL

The last annual convention of the American Federation of Labor indorsed the legislative program of the United Mine Workers of America for the economic reorganization of the bituminous coal industry. The legislative principles incor-

porated in the Davis-Kelly mining bill later became the basis for the National Industrial Recovery legislation.

The United Mine Workers of America, after the passage of the Industrial Recovery Act, conducted a comprehensive organizing campaign and the non-union mine workers of the country were inducted into membership. After months of negotiations and conferences, a code of fair competition for the bituminous coal industry was approved by the President on September 18th and basic wage agreements, covering large mining areas of the country, were negotiated between representatives of the coal operators and the United Mine Workers of America. Substantial progress has, therefore, been made in the initial steps of composing the economic processes of the bituminous coal industry.

DEVELOPMENTS FOR RAILROAD WORKERS

During the past year the Railway Employees' Department in cooperation with its affiliated organizations and the other standard railway labor organizations has been active in promoting the best interests of the membership by advocating and demanding the maintenance of high wages, the stabilization of employment, the shorter work-day and work-week, and the protection of railway employes in all legislation enacted under the Administration's program for industrial recovery. Under the latter program, the Department is devoting its efforts to organizing the railway employes, so as more effectively to protect their interests and carry on the functions that railway labor is expected to contribute.

Wages—As the result of a conference held in Chicago, Illinois, in January, 1932, between a committee of nine railroad presidents representing the railroads, and the Railway Labor Executives' Association representing the employes, an agreement was signed, effective February 1, 1932, which provided for a 10 per cent deduction from the pay-check of each employe for a period of one year, basic wages to remain unchanged, the arrangement to terminate twelve months after the effective date of the agreement; and "an earnest and sympathetic effort" on the part of railroad managements "to maintain and increase railroad employment."

Notwithstanding the tremendous decline that took place in railroad employment during the summer of 1932, with its resultant loss in the earnings of employes, in addition to the ten per cent deduction in wages that was being made from the pay-checks of those who were employed, reports appeared in the press announcing the intention of railroad managements to institute a movement having for its object a reduction of 20 per cent in basic rates of pay of railroad employes. No official notice, or any direct knowledge of the desire of the carriers to further reduce wages was given the Railway Labor Executives' Association until September 20, when Mr. W. F. Thiehoff, General Manager of the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy Railroad, invited the members of the Association who were meeting at the time, to hold an informal conference with a committee of nine railroad officials, of which committee he was chairman.

At the meeting which was held in Washington, D. C., Mr. Thiehoff referred to reports which had been appearing in the press and stated that he and his associates had been selected as a committee to consider the wage question and

had recommended that a movement be instituted to bring about a 20 per cent reduction in basic rates of pay and that such recommendation had been approved by the railroad president's conference. He stated further that the railroads were agreeable to handling the matter in a national conference, and indicated that his committee would like to have the Railway Labor Executives' Association secure authority to deal with the matter in that way. Mr. Thiehoff was advised that the Railway Labor Executives' Association was not in sympathy with his suggestion that a conference be arranged for the purpose of considering wage reductions, and could see no occasion for such a conference, but that the suggestion would be taken under consideration and he would be advised later. In a letter to Mr. Thiehoff dated September 21, 1932, the same position was taken.

On September 22, the Railway Labor Executives' Association conferred with President Hoover and after pointing out the plight of the railroad workers as the result of unemployment and wage reductions, urged him to prevent any further reduction in the wages of railroad employes, because it would delay recovery. The following announcement by Secretary of Labor Doak appeared in the press on September 26:

In the matter of the railway wage discussion now going on, the President last week expressed the view, both to the representatives of railway labor and to the leading railway presidents who have conferred with him, that he felt that it is desirable that this question should be deferred at the present time.

The present agreement does not expire until February 1, next. The President's view was that it might be well agreed to defer further discussion until the end of the year as the general economic situation would be much clearer at that time, and negotiations could be based on a better realization of the actual circumstances existing.

Meanwhile, Mr. Daniel Willard, President of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, and chairman of the committee of nine railroad presidents with whom the organizations negotiated in January, 1932, had informally suggested consideration of the matter of negotiating the question of extension of the agreement of January 31, 1932, beyond January 31, 1933. The Railway Labor Executives' Association gave consideration to Mr. Willard's suggestion, and on October 1, 1932, replied that if notice of a desire to change existing wage contracts were not served by the carriers and if management made its suggested proposal to extend the Chicago Agreement of January 31, 1932 (providing for a ten per cent deduction from pay-checks), then the members of the Association would proceed within the intervening period to ascertain (in accordance with the laws of the respective organizations) whether the membership desired to authorize participation after January 1, 1933, in a national conference for the purpose of negotiating to a conclusion with a committee duly authorized by carrier managements such a proposal of management to extend the Chicago agreement of January 31, 1932, beyond February 1, 1933, for such a period, if any, as might seem warranted by conditions at the time of such negotiations.

As a result of a series of informal conferences held in Chicago from October 13-15, at the request of Mr. Thiehoff, between his committee of nine and the Railway Labor Executives' Association, it was agreed that the railways would with-

hold the service of any reduction in rates of pay pending negotiations, and that the Railway Labor Executives' Association would seek authority in accordance with the laws of their respective organizations to enter into negotiations about December 10, 1932, on the proposal that the existing agreement be extended beyond the expiration date of January 31, 1933.

After securing the necessary authority to negotiate, the Railway Labor Executives' Association met Mr. Thiehoff and his committee of railroad executives, which was similarly vested on December 12, 1932, and entered into negotiations which extended for almost two weeks. Numerous proposals and counter-proposals were made, until finally on December 21, 1932, an agreement was reached and signed by the members of both committees, extending the original agreement entered into on January 31, 1932, in the following manner:

It is agreed between the parties hereto that the said original agreement is hereby extended, so that up to and including October 31, 1933, ten per cent (10%) shall be deducted from each pay check of each of the said employes covered by this agreement; that basic rates of pay shall remain as under the original agreement; that this agreement shall terminate automatically October 31, 1933, and that neither party prior to June 15, 1933, will serve notice of a desire to change or extend this agreement, or of an intended change in basic rates of pay, such change or extension to become effective on or after November 1, 1933; it being further agreed that in the event that such a notice should be served by any party hereto between June 15, 1933, and November 1, 1933, the proceedings thereunder shall be conducted pursuant to the provisions of the Railway Labor Act and such proceedings shall be conducted nationally in order that the matter may be handled to a conclusion as expeditiously as reasonably possible.

On June 17, 1933, the Conference Committee of Managers, through its chairman, Mr. W. F. Thiehoff, advised the Railway Labor Executives' Association that on June 15, notice was served on the general committees of all organizations, parties to the national agreement, dated December 21, 1932, advising them of the desire of the railroads to bring about a 22½ per cent reduction in basic rates of pay effective November 1, 1933. It was suggested that a conference be held on July 12, in Chicago, Illinois, to discuss the matter.

Before any action was taken, the Honorable Joseph B. Eastman, Federal Coordinator of Railroads, summoned both parties to Washington and on June 20, 1933, requested that the existing deduction agreement be extended for a reasonable period as the Federal Government was advancing its recovery program designed to increase employment, wages and purchasing power, and if the railroads persisted in their intentions to seek further wage reductions, this program of the Government would be seriously injured.

Both parties complied with the Coordinator's request and signed an agreement on June 21, 1933, providing for an extension of the agreement signed on December 21, 1932, as follows:

That the agreement signed at Chicago, Illinois, the 21st day of December, 1932, in behalf of the participating railroads and their employes, represented as therein set forth and who are further represented in the making of this agreement by the respective parties hereto, is hereby extended for a period of eight months from the expiration date thereof, so that up to and including June 30, 1934, ten (10) per cent shall be deducted from

each pay check of each of the said employes covered by said agreement of December 21, 1932, and by this agreement; that basic rates of pay shall remain as under the agreement of January 31, 1932; that the extended agreement shall terminate automatically June 30, 1934, and that no party prior to February 15, 1934, will serve notice of a desire to change or extend this extended agreement, or of an intended change in basic rates of pay; such change or extension to become effective on or after July 1, 1934; it being further agreed that in event that such a notice should be served by any party hereto between February 15, 1934, and July 1, 1934, the proceedings thereunder shall be conducted pursuant to the provisions of the Railway Labor Act, and such proceedings shall be conducted nationally in order that the matter may be handled to a conclusion as expeditiously as reasonably possible.

As provided in the agreement, each organization approved the action of its Chief Executive by a vote of the membership according to the rules of the respective organization.

The Canadian Situation—Notwithstanding the disposition that has been made of the wage question on railroads in the United States, the Canadian railways have seen fit to persist in their efforts to further reduce the wages of their employes.

During and after the War, the wages of Canadian railroad workers were adjusted in conformity with the adjustments made in the United States. Since 1923, however, the wages of Canadian railroad workers lagged with the result that by 1929, their rates were from five to seven per cent below rates established in the United States.

In the fall of 1931, the Canadian railways made an attack on the wages of the running trades, followed by similar attacks on those of the mechanical crafts clerks and others.

The Railway Labor Executives' Association adopted the following resolution on November 5, 1931, pledging their support to the Canadian employes:

In the Canadian wage question it is agreed that any one or more organizations whose members have been notified of proposed wage reductions shall on request of the Chief Executive or Executives to the Chairman of this Association, have the full cooperation of this Association on the same basis and program as agreed in dealing with the wage question in the United States.

The Engineers, Firemen, Conductors, Trainmen and Telegraphers on September 15, received a request from the management for a voluntary 10 per cent deduction in wages to be effective for one year. After the necessary negotiations, this request was refused making it by its own terms a formal notice required under agreements "for the revision of such agreements to bring about a reduction of 10 per cent in the rate of pay specified therein," whereupon the carriers submitted the dispute to a Board of Conciliation and Investigation under the Industrial Disputes Act. The Board rendered its report to the Minister of Labor on November 30, 1931. The majority report upheld the railways in their request for a reduction in wages to take effect after November 15, 1931.

Based on this report, the railways submitted a proposal for a 10 per cent reduction in wages effective for one year from December 1, 1931, which the employes declined to accept, notifying the management in the meantime, that wages

paid would be accepted only on account. As a result of the Chicago Agreement, however, an agreement was reached between the employees and the carriers on February 4, 1932, providing for a 10 per cent deduction from pay checks, basic rates to remain unchanged, and the agreement to be effective from December 1, 1931, to January 31, 1933, but "if on or after December 1, 1932, business conditions have not so improved as to enable the railways to terminate the agreement on January 31, 1933, notice to that effect will be given to the representatives of the employes, upon which the parties to this agreement will confer further and agree to make every reasonable effort to bring the matter to a conclusion before January 31, 1933."

The next to be approached were the mechanical crafts who on March 5, 1932, were notified that the management desired to meet with them for the purpose of discussing the acceptance by the employes of a "reduction in compensation on the same basis as has already been made effective for other classes of employes on the Canadian Railways, as well as for all classes of Railway Employes in the United States."

As in the United States, the committee representing the employes requested that stabilization of employment as well as wages be discussed. The management refused to discuss employment until after the wage question was disposed of, so, under the circumstances, an agreement similar to that for the running trades was signed on March 24, 1932, effective for one year after April 1, 1932. The stabilization of employment was then taken up between committees representing the management and the employes on the various properties that were parties to the agreement.

Similar agreements were signed by the other employes with whom the carriers had agreements in the past, each providing for a 10 per cent deduction to be effective for one year. It is important to note that the agreements for the various groups of employes did not run simultaneously.

During the early part of this year, the Canadian railways made a second attack on the wages of their employes, demanding a 20 per cent reduction in basic rates of pay.

The Engineers, Firemen, Conductors, Trainmen and Telegraphers were informed on November 30, 1932, that the carriers would be unable after January 31, 1933, to discontinue the 10 per cent deduction and suggested further that at an early date they would be compelled to seek "a further reduction in compensation or a revision of rates of pay." The mechanical trades were similarly informed on February 20, 1933, as were all the other employes as the date of expiration of their deduction agreements approached.

On January 28, 1933, the carriers served formal notice on the running trades of their intent and desire to put into effect, on or after March 3, 1933, wages calculated at the rate of 20 per cent below the basic rates of pay specified in the schedule of wages and working conditions in effect prior to December 1, 1931. The employes expressed themselves as agreeable to an extension of the 10 per cent deduction agreement until December 31, 1933, or to a settlement similar to that reached in December, 1932, between the United States Railways and the Standard Railroad Labor Organizations, but flatly refused to accept a 20 per cent reduction in wages.

This prompted the carriers to apply for a Board of Conciliation under the Industrial Disputes Act.

Hearings were conducted by the Board, which rendered its report to the Minister of Labor on April 25, 1933. The majority report recommended a 20 per cent deduction in wages, while the minority report stated that the 10 per cent deduction agreement effective December 1st, 1931, expired on January 31, 1933, that proper notice to change existing basic rates had not been given and, therefore, the proposal of the carrier should not be approved.

On May 1, 1933, the carriers put into effect an arrangement whereby 20 per cent is deducted from the pay check of each employe. Efforts have been made by the organizations to get management to rescind the order, but such efforts have proved futile with the result that at the present time a strike ballot is being taken to determine the attitude of the membership.

Under date of June 13, the carriers notified the mechanical crafts that effective July 16, the management desired that an additional 10 per cent be deducted from the pay checks of these employes, making a total deduction of 20 per cent. Similar requests were made of the Clerks, Maintenance of Way Employes, Firemen and Oilers, Shop Laborers and others. Negotiations on these requests are now in progress according to the latest information available, and although the time specified upon which the reduction should take effect has expired no change in wages will be made while negotiations are under way.

In view of the fact that the basic wage rates of Canadian railroad workers are lower than those of American workers, and that the Chicago agreement has been recently extended, the request of the Canadian railways for a 20 per cent deduction in wages is not justified particularly now when recovery is in progress. Everything possible is being done to get justice for the Canadian membership.

Employment—Employment has continued to decline during the past year as was the case in all of industry, but in recent months there have been signs of improvement due principally to the efforts of the President of the United States to increase employment and purchasing power under his program for national recovery. The railroads are dependent on the rest of industry for traffic, and, therefore, the status of industry in general is reflected in railroad employment.

According to reports of the Interstate Commerce Commission there were 1,048,568 persons employed on Class I Railroads and Switching and Terminal Companies in the United States during 1932, as compared to 1,273,175 in 1931 and 1,686,769 in 1929. This represents a reduction of 18.0 per cent under the employment of 1931 and 37.8 per cent below that for the year 1929. In March, 1933, according to the last report available, the number employed declined to 919,881 or 12.3 per cent below the average for 1932, and 16.1 per cent under the like month a year ago, when 1,006,506 workers were employed.

The maintenance forces suffered great losses from unemployment because of the retrenchment policy of the railroads during the past several years which has resulted in the accumulation of well over a year of deferred maintenance. The number of maintenance of equipment employes declined from 455,858 in 1929 to 344,033 in 1931. In 1932 the number employed was reduced to 282,971, or 17.7 per cent under that of 1931 and 37.9 per cent below the employment of 1929. Only

249,040 were employed in March, 1933, which is a reduction of 12.0 per cent under the average for 1932 and 18.9 per cent below the like month last year. The number of maintenance of way employes was even more greatly reduced. Of the 411,210 workers employed in 1929, only 275,486 were working on the average during 1931, and in 1932 this number was further reduced to 215,887 or 21.6 per cent below the employment in 1931 and 47.5 per cent under that of 1929. In March, 1933, the number employed declined to 175,453 or 18.7 per cent below the average employment during 1932, and 16.5 per cent under the like month last year.

The decrease in the employment of the maintenance forces is clearly reflected in the bad order situation confronting the railroads as a result of their severe retrenchment policy during the past few years. According to figures compiled by the American Railway Association Car Service Division the number of bad order freight cars increased from 136,396 or 6.1 per cent of those on line in 1929, to 231,435 cars or 10.8 per cent of those on line in 1932. For the first half of 1933, the number of cars unserviceable increased to 277,859 or 13.3 per cent of those on line, while on June 1, according to the latest report available, there were 303,758 freight cars unserviceable or 14.7 per cent of those on line. Locomotives in bad order and in need of repairs in 1929 numbered 4,460 or 7.7 per cent of those on line. During the first half of 1933, the bad order locomotives increased to 10,376 or 20.3 per cent of those on line, and on June 1, there were 11,103 locomotives in bad order or 21.9 per cent of those on line. The number of freight cars in bad order increased 103.7 per cent from 1929 to 1933, while the number of locomotives in bad order increased 132.6 per cent during the same period.

The same is true with respect to road maintenance. Rails applied in replacements and betterments were decreased from 3,610,455 tons in 1929 to 2,873,674 tons in 1930 and 1,714,909 tons in 1931. In 1932 only 500,000 tons were used. Cross-ties laid in previously constructed track declined from 74,679,375 in 1929 to 63,353,826 in 1930 and 51,487,000 in 1931, while in 1932 only 40,000,000 ties were used. In 1932, 86.2 per cent less rail was applied and 46.4 per cent fewer ties were laid than in 1929.

It naturally follows that the maintenance expenses and the compensation paid to maintenance forces would be greatly reduced. Maintenance of equipment expenses was reduced from \$1,202,912,000 in 1929 to \$623,551,000 in 1932 or 48.2 per cent, while maintenance of way expenses declined from \$855,355,000 to \$354,921,000 or 58.5 per cent during the same period. Compensation paid to the maintenance of equipment forces declined from \$760,472,016 in 1929 to \$349,943,320 in 1932 or 54.0 per cent. The maintenance of way forces received \$468,025,254 in 1929 and only \$195,953,898 in 1932, which is a decrease of 58.1 per cent.

Thus a considerable amount of deferred maintenance has been accumulated as a result of the efforts of railroad management to reduce expenses, causing great losses in employment and wages. The significant thing to observe in these figures is the fact that the greater portion of the reduction in maintenance expenses came out of the pay envelope of these employes.

The increased industrial activity of the past few months has caused the railroad traffic to increase considerably, with the result that some men have been called back to work, according to the press and reports received by the Railway Employes' Department, in order to put the roads and equipment in good order

so as to facilitate the handling of the present increase in traffic. It is hoped that this trend will continue.

The Shorter Workday and Workweek—Through the efforts of the Standard Railway Labor Organizations, the Interstate Commerce Commission was ordered by a resolution of Congress (Public Resolution No. 113, Seventy-Second Congress, approved March 13, 1932) to investigate what would be the effect upon operation, service, and expenses of applying the principle of the 6-hour day in the employment of all classes and each particular class of railway employes because of such application. After extended hearings, the Commission rendered its report to Congress on December 6, 1932. It should be observed that this was purely a fact-finding body, and, therefore, no recommendations were made. The report of the Commission was as follows:

Operation—There would be no material effect, adverse or otherwise, upon operation of the several carriers, assuming that revenues would be sufficient to cover any added operating expense and still maintain credit.

Service—There would be no material effect, adverse or otherwise, upon the service of the several carriers, subject to the same qualifications as shown above with respect to operation.

Expenses—(a) Assuming the same volume of traffic and operations as in 1930, and assuming no reduction in the then-existing compensation for an 8-hour or other basic day's work, the initial effect would be to increase operating expenses of the carriers collectively, including the express and sleeping-car companies, at the rate of approximately \$630,000,000 per year, or about 14.6 per cent of the operating expenses, and approximately 22.2 per cent of the payroll expenses in 1930. However, the compensation of steam railway, express, and sleeping-car employes was on February 1, 1932, reduced 10 per cent by an agreement which expires on January 31, 1933. Various reductions in wages of electric railway employes have also been made. If the wage reductions are continued, the above estimate of \$630,000,000 would be reduced to something less than \$570,000,000 per year.

(b) Assuming the same volume of traffic and operations as in 1930, and a reduction in the then-existing compensation pro rata to the reduction in the basic day's work, and excluding road, train and engine service from consideration, for reasons stated in the report, the initial effect would be to decrease operating expenses of the carriers collectively, including the express and sleeping-car companies, at the rate of approximately \$26,000,000 per year, or about 0.6 per cent of the operating expenses, and approximately 0.9 per cent of the payroll expenses in 1930. Allowing for the wage reductions above mentioned, this estimate would be reduced to something less than \$24,500,000 per year.

(c) Using the same percentages of operating expense, and assuming the same volume of traffic and operations as in the 12 months ended with September, 1932, the initial effect would be an increase at the rate of approximately \$414,000,000 per year under the first assumption with reference to wages and a decrease at the rate of approximately \$20,000,000 per year under the second assumption. The estimates of \$414,000,000 and \$20,000,000 above given are probably both somewhat too high, if wage reductions are to be continued.

(d) The increase in expenses at the outset under the first wage assumption would gradually be lessened and the decrease in expenses at the outset under the second wage assumption would gradually be increased as the result of experience with the proposed new arrangement and by technological developments.

Upon either basis of compensation the application of the principle of a 6-hour day would render necessary between 300,000 and 350,000 additional carrier employes in a year such as 1930 and between 60,000 and 100,000 additional employes in a year of abnormal economic conditions such as now exist.

The object of the Commission's investigation was to provide Congress with the facts so as to provide a sound basis for action on the Pittman-Crosser Bill, providing for the establishment of the principle of the six-hour day. The great amount of legislation before Congress prevented action on this bill before adjournment.

At the special session of Congress the six-hour bill was re-introduced in the Senate by Senator Hugo L. Black (Bill No. S. 1181) and in the House by Congressman Crosser (Bill No. H. R. 4596). It developed that the Black Thirty-Hour-Week Bill took precedence before Congress, and, therefore, some consideration was given to the thought of amending this bill so as to include the six-hour bill of the railway labor organizations. After much consideration, however, an amendment was introduced to the Emergency Railroad Transportation Act, 1933 (S. 1580 and H. R. 5500), but because of the possibility that such an amendment would prevent the passage of this important measure and in an attempt to cooperate with President Roosevelt in promoting his recovery program, the amendment was withdrawn. It is expected that another six-hour bill will be introduced in the next session of Congress.

The standard railway labor organizations also indorsed and supported the Black Thirty-Hour-Week Bill.

Legislation—During the past three years the Railway Labor Executives' Association has consistently endeavored to promote legislation for the relief of unemployment and has proposed other kindred programs in the interest of railway employees particularly, and in the interest of all workers generally. It has been the consistent belief of the Association that the remedy for relief of the unfortunate conditions confronting this country was to be found in the increased purchasing power of the masses, and that unless this was brought about all other efforts to restore the country to its former prosperous condition would prove unavailing.

On March 16th of this year, when it was known that Congress would sit in special session, the Association in session in Washington, D. C., adopted the following consolidated program which authorized its attorney, Mr. Donald R. Richberg, under the direction of the executive committee, to devote his energies in the promotion of the necessary legislation that would afford the relief desired:

RELIEF AND RECOVERY PROGRAM—RAILWAY LABOR EXECUTIVES' ASSOCIATION

WASHINGTON, D. C., *March 16, 1933.*

IMMEDIATE EMERGENCY MEASURES

1. Federal appropriation \$500,000,000 for direct relief administered through state and local agencies.
2. Federal program of economic recovery which may include public works construction to the extent of \$5,000,000,000; expansion of purchasing power through advances to normally self-supporting heads of fam-

illies, to be repaid directly or through appropriate taxation; creation of employment and market for products through government support or operation of enterprises of production and exchange; and other methods of using governmental aid to bring about increase of purchasing power and employment; also appropriate measures for distribution of opportunities of employment, increase of mass purchasing power, and rise in standard of living.

3. Federal protection or provision for a safe and adequate banking system and transportation system.

SUPPLEMENTARY MEASURES.

As opportunity is afforded in economic recovery carry forward the principles and measures heretofore approved for the particular protection of railway employes and advance in the general welfare.

MACHINERY.

Authorize the executive committee to take necessary steps to carry forward this program.

Authorize the counsel to work under direction of executive committee and with those co-operating to devise relief and recovery program and prepare legislative measures and promote program.

Expand organization of industrial and agricultural workers in support of program. In co-operation with the A. F. of L. and farm, church, welfare and other sympathetic organizations create some form of delegate body authorized by meetings throughout the country to represent the masses of employed and unemployed workers to demand enactment by Congress of a constructive, comprehensive and adequate program of unemployment relief and economic recovery.

The Association at its meeting on April 28th named a special committee, composed of the following executives: B. M. Jewell, President Railway Employes Department, A. F. of L.; Geo. M. Harrison, President Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks, Freight Handlers, Express and Station Employes; D. B. Robertson, President, Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen; S. N. Berry, President, Order of Railway Conductors; A. F. Whitney, Chairman, Railway Labor Executives' Association; and Attorney Donald R. Richberg, and authorized such special committee to work in conjunction with their attorney in furthering such interests.

On May 1st, 1933, there was introduced in the Senate and the House of Representatives of the United States a bill entitled "Emergency Railroad Transportation Act, 1933," which had been prepared at the instance of the railroads with the aid and assistance of Government advisors. This bill in its original form, permitted of consolidation of lines, terminals and facilities, which if carried to the ultimate possible limits would have abolished an estimated total of 400,000 positions of railroad employes. It offered no protection to these employes in their rights to an opportunity to earn a livelihood or in relief from the destruction of their individual property values which they have given years to the building.

It provided no means of dealing with the chaotic condition of seniority rights which would be brought about by such consolidations.

It did not give adequate recognition to the rights of employes through proper representation by their chosen organizations.

In short, it contemplated further railroad economy of operation at the expense and in total disregard of the rights of the railroad employes.

With the assistance of their attorney, the Association prepared a number of amendments to the bill intended to protect the interests of the railroad employes against the adverse effects of the operation of the bill.

These amendments were presented to the Senate and House Committees on Interstate Commerce beginning on May 8, 1933.

The Senate Committee accepted most of the amendments and reported the bill, as amended, to the Senate, and it was adopted by the Senate on Saturday, May 27th.

In the House Committee differences arose which culminated in a joint conference with President Roosevelt on May 31, 1933, with the following present: Senator Dill, Chairman Senate Committee; Congressman Reyburn, Chairman House Committee; Secretary of Commerce Roper; Commissioner Joseph Eastman; Dr. Splawn, I. C. C.; Mr. Cummings, from the Secretary of the Treasury's Office; A. F. Whitney, Chairman Railway Labor Executives' Association; Geo. M. Harrison, Vice Chairman, Railway Labor Executives' Association; and Attorney Donald R. Richberg.

At this conference President Roosevelt approved all the amendments with such minor changes in language as he felt necessary to clarify their meaning.

The House Committee reported the bill out on Thursday, June 1st, with these amendments intact. The bill passed the House on Monday, June 5th, and it then went to a conference between the House and Senate Committees. The bill was finally passed by both Houses and signed by the President on June 16, 1933, 12:05 p. m.

The provisions of this measure are set forth under two titles, viz., I. Emergency Powers, and II. Amendments to Interstate Commerce Act. Section I is of particular interest to railway labor, and is submitted herewith. The amendments to the bill resulting from the activities of the Railway Labor Executives' Association are embodied in paragraphs (a), (b), (c), (d), and (e) of Section 7, and Sections 8, 11, 12, and 13 of the bill.

(Public—No. 68—73d Congress)

(S. 1580)

AN ACT

To relieve the existing national emergency in relation to interstate railroad transportation, and to amend sections 5, 15a, and 19a of the Interstate Commerce Act, as amended.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That this Act may be cited as the "Emergency Railroad Transportation Act, 1933."

TITLE I—EMERGENCY POWERS

SECTION 1. As used in this title—

(a) The term "Commission" means the Interstate Commerce Commission.

(b) The term "Coordinator" means the Federal Coordinator of Transportation hereinafter provided for.

(c) The term "committee" means any one of the regional coordinating committees hereinafter provided for.

(d) The term "carrier" means any common carrier by railroad subject to the provisions of the Interstate Commerce Act, as amended, including any receiver or trustee thereof.

(e) The term "subsidiary" means any company which is directly or indirectly controlled by, or affiliated with any carrier or carriers. For the purpose of the foregoing definition a company shall be deemed to be affiliated with a carrier if so affiliated within the meaning of paragraph (8) of Section 5 of the Interstate Commerce Act, as amended by this Act.

(f) The term "employee" includes every person in the service of a carrier (subject to its continuing authority to supervise and direct the manner of rendition of his service) who performs any work defined as that of an employee or subordinate official in accordance with the provisions of the Railway Labor Act.

(g) The term "State commission" means the commission, board, or official, by whatever name designated, exercising power to regulate the rates or service of common carriers by railroad under the laws of any State.

SEC. 2. In order to foster and protect interstate commerce in relation to railroad transportation by preventing and relieving obstructions and burdens thereon resulting from the present acute economic emergency, and in order to safeguard and maintain an adequate national system of transportation, there is hereby created the office of Federal Coordinator of Transportation, who shall be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, or be designated by the President from the membership of the Commission. If so designated, the Coordinator shall be relieved from other duties as Commissioner during his term of service to such extent as the President may direct; except that the Coordinator shall not sit as a member of the Commission in any proceedings for the review or suspension of any order issued by him as Coordinator. The Coordinator shall have such powers and duties as are hereinafter set forth and prescribed, and may, with the approval of the President, and without regard to the civil service laws and the Classification Act of 1923, as amended, appoint and fix the compensation of such assistants and agents, in addition to the assistance provided by the Commission as may be necessary to the performance of his duties under this Act. The office of the Coordinator shall be in Washington, District of Columbia, and the Commission shall provide such office space, facilities, and assistance as he may request and it is able to furnish. The Coordinator shall receive such compensation as the President shall fix, except that if designated from the Commission, he shall receive no compensation in addition to that which he receives as a member of the Commission.

SEC. 3. The Coordinator shall divide the lines of the carriers into three groups, to wit, an eastern group, a southern group, and a western group, and may from time to time make such changes or subdivisions in such groups as he may deem to be necessary or desirable. At the earliest practicable date after the Coordinator shall have initially designated such groups, three regional coordinating committees shall be created, one for each group, and each committee shall consist of five regular members and two special members. The carriers in each group, acting each through its board of directors or its receiver or receivers or trustee or trustees or through an officer or officers designated for the purpose by such board, shall select the regular members of the committee representing that group, and shall prescribe the rules under which such committee shall operate; but no railroad system shall have more than one representative on any such committee. In such selection each carrier shall have a vote in proportion to its mileage lying within the group. The two special members of each committee shall be selected in such manner as the Coordinator may approve, one to represent the steam railroads within the group which had in 1932 railway operating revenues of less than \$1,000,000 and the other

to represent electric railways within the group not owned by a steam railroad or operated as a part of a general steam railroad system of transportation. Each such special member shall have reasonable notice of all meetings of his committee at which any matter affecting any carrier which he represents is to be considered, and may participate in the consideration and disposition of such matter. Members of the committees may be removed from office and vacancies may be filled in like manner.

SEC. 4. The purposes of this title are (1) to encourage and promote or require action on the part of the carriers and of subsidiaries subject to the Interstate Commerce Act, as amended, which will (a) avoid unnecessary duplication of services and facilities of whatsoever nature and permit the joint use of terminals and trackage incident thereto or requisite to such joint use: Provided, That no routes now existing shall be eliminated except with the consent of all participating lines or upon order of the Coordinator, (b) control allowances, accessorial services and the charges therefor, and other practices affecting service or operation to the end that undue impairment of net earnings may be prevented, and (c) avoid other wastes and preventable expense; (2) to promote financial reorganization of the carriers, with due regard to legal rights, so as to reduce fixed charges to the extent required by the public interest and improve carrier credit; and (3) to provide for the immediate study of other means of improving conditions surrounding transportation in all its forms and the preparation of plans therefor.

SEC. 5. It shall be the duty of the committees on their own initiative, severally within each group and jointly where more than one group is affected, to carry out the purposes set forth in subdivision (1) of section 4, so far as such action can be voluntarily accomplished by the carriers. In such instances as the committees are unable, for any reason, legal or otherwise, to carry out such purposes by such voluntary action, they shall recommend to the Coordinator that he give appropriate directions to the carriers or subsidiaries subject to the Interstate Commerce Act, as amended, by order, and the Coordinator is hereby authorized and directed to issue and enforce such orders if he finds them to be consistent with the public interest and in furtherance of the purposes of this title.

SEC. 6. (a) The Coordinator shall confer freely with the committees and give them the benefit of his advice and assistance. At his request, the committees, the carriers, the subsidiaries, and the Commission shall furnish him, or his assistants, and agents, such information and reports as he may desire in investigating any matter within the scope of his duties under this title; and the Coordinator, his assistants, and agents, and the Commission, shall at all times have access to all accounts, records and memoranda of the carriers and subsidiaries. If, in any instance, a committee has not acted with respect to any matter which the Coordinator has brought to his attention and upon which he is of the opinion that it should have acted, under the provisions of Section 5, he is hereby authorized and directed to issue and enforce such order, giving appropriate directions to the carriers, and subsidiaries subject to the Interstate Commerce Act, as amended, with respect to such matter, as he shall find to be consistent with the public interest.

(b) Insofar as may be necessary for the purposes of this title, the Commission and the members and examiners thereof shall have the same power to administer oaths and require by subpoena the attendance and testimony of witnesses and the production of books, papers, tariffs, contracts, agreements, and documents and to take testimony by deposition, relating to any matter under investigation, as though such matter arose under the Interstate Commerce Act, as amended and supplemented; and any person subpoenaed or testifying in connection with any matter under investigation under this title shall have the same rights, privileges, and

immunities and be subject to the same duties, liabilities and penalties as are provided in the case of persons subpoenaed or testifying in connection with any matter under investigation under the Interstate Commerce Act, as amended.

Sec. 7. (a) A labor committee for each regional group of carriers may be selected by those railroad labor organizations which, as representatives duly designated and authorized to act in accordance with the requirements of the Railway Labor Act, entered into the agreements of January 31, 1932, and December 21, 1932, with duly authorized representatives of the carriers, determining the wage payments of the employes of the carriers. A similar labor committee for each regional group of carriers may be selected by such other railroad labor organizations as may be duly designated and authorized to represent employes in accordance with the requirements of the Railway Labor Act. It shall be the duty of the regional coordinating committees and the Coordinator to give reasonable notice to, and to confer with, the appropriate regional labor committee or committees upon the subject matter prior to taking any action or issuing any order which will affect the interest of the employes, and to afford the said labor committee or committees reasonable opportunity to present views upon said contemplated action or order.

(b) The number of employes in the service of a carrier shall not be reduced by reason of any action taken pursuant to the authority of this title, below the number as shown by the pay rolls of employes in service during the month of May, 1933, after deducting the number who have been removed from the pay rolls after the effective date of this Act by reason of death, normal retirements, or resignations, but not more in any one year than 5 per centum of said number in service during May, 1933; nor shall any employe in such service be deprived of employment such as he had during said month of May or be in a worse position with respect to his compensation for such employment, by reason of any action taken pursuant to the authority conferred by this title.

(c) The Coordinator is authorized and directed to establish regional boards of adjustment whenever and wherever action taken pursuant to the authority conferred by this title creates conditions that make necessary such boards of adjustment to settle controversies between carriers and employes. Carriers and their employes shall have equal representation on such boards of adjustment for settlement of such controversies, and said boards shall exercise the functions of boards of adjustment provided for by the Railway Labor Act.

(d) The Coordinator is authorized and directed to provide means for determining the amount of, and to require the carriers to make just compensation for, property losses and expenses imposed upon employes by reason of transfers of work from one locality to another in carrying out the purposes of this title.

(e) Carriers, whether under control of a judge, trustee, receiver, or private management, shall be required to comply with the provisions of the Railway Labor Act and with the provisions of Section 77, paragraphs (o), (p), and (q), of the Act approved March 3, 1933, entitled "An Act to amend an Act entitled 'An Act to establish a uniform system of bankruptcy throughout the United States,' approved July 1, 1898, and Acts amendatory thereof and supplementary thereto."

Sec. 8. Any order issued by the Coordinator pursuant to this title shall be made public in such reasonable manner as he may determine and shall become effective as of such date, not less than twenty days from the date of such publication, as the Coordinator shall prescribe in the order; and such order shall remain in effect until it is vacated by him or suspended or set aside by the Commission or other lawful authority, as

hereinafter provided, and such order may include provision for the creation and administration of such just pooling arrangements or for such just compensation for the use of property or for carrier services as he may deem necessary or desirable and in furtherance of the purposes of this title.

SEC. 9. Any interested party, including, among others, any carrier, subsidiary, shipper or employe, or any group of carriers, shippers or employes, or any State commission, or the Governor of any State, or the official representative or representatives of any political subdivision thereof, dissatisfied with any order of the Coordinator may, at any time prior to the effective date of the order, file a petition with the Commission asking that such order be reviewed and suspended pending such review, and stating fully the reasons therefor. Such petition shall be governed by such general rules as the Commission may establish. If the Commission upon considering such petition and any answer or answers thereto, finds reason to believe that the order may be unjust to the petitioner or inconsistent with the public interest, the Commission is hereby authorized to grant such review and, in its discretion, the Commission may suspend the order if it finds immediate enforcement thereof would result in irreparable damage to the petitioner or work grave injury to the public interest, but if the Commission suspends an order, it shall expedite the hearing and decision on that order as much as possible. Thereupon the Commission shall, after due notice and a public hearing, review the order and take such action in accord with the purposes of this title as it finds to be just and consistent with the public interest either confirming the order of setting it aside or reissuing it in modified form, and any order so confirmed or reissued shall thereafter remain in effect until vacated or modified by the Commission.

SEC. 10. (a) The carriers or subsidiaries subject to the Interstate Commerce Act, as amended, affected by any order of the Coordinator or Commission made pursuant to this title shall, so long as such order is in effect, be, and they are hereby relieved from the operation of the antitrust laws, as designated in section 1 of the Act entitled "An Act to supplement existing laws against unlawful restraints and monopolies and for other purposes," approved October 15, 1914, and of all other restraints or prohibitions by law, State or Federal, other than such as are for the protection of the public health or safety, in so far as may be necessary, to enable them to do anything authorized or required by such order made pursuant to this title: Provided, however, That nothing herein shall be construed to repeal, amend, suspend, or modify any of the requirements of the Railway Labor Act or the duties and obligations imposed thereunder or through contracts entered into in accordance with the provisions of said Act.

(b) The Coordinator shall issue no order which shall have the effect of relieving any carrier or subsidiary from the operation of the law of any State or of any order of any State commission until he has advised the State commission of said State, or the Governor of said State if there be no such commission, that such order is in contemplation, and shall afford the State commission or Governor so notified reasonable opportunity to present views and information bearing upon such contemplated order, nor unless such order is necessary, in his opinion, to prevent or remove an obstruction to or a burden upon interstate commerce.

SEC. 11. Nothing in this title shall be construed to relieve any carrier from any contractual obligation which it may have assumed, prior to the enactment of this Act, with regard to the location or maintenance of offices, shops, or roundhouses at any point.

SEC. 12. The willful failure or refusal of any carrier or subsidiary or of any officer or employe of any carrier or subsidiary to comply with the terms of any order of the Coordinator or of the Commission made pursuant to this

title shall be a misdemeanor, and upon conviction thereof the carrier, subsidiary or person offending shall be subject to a fine of not less than \$1,000 or more than \$20,000 for each offense, and each day during which such carrier, subsidiary or person shall willfully fail or refuse to comply with the terms of such order shall constitute a separate offense. It shall be the duty of any district attorney of the United States to whom the Coordinator or the Commission may apply to institute in the proper court and to prosecute under the direction of the Attorney General of the United States all necessary proceedings for the enforcement of the provisions of this title and for the punishment of all violations thereof, and the costs and expenses of such prosecution shall be paid out of the appropriation for the expense of the courts of the United States: Provided, That nothing in this title shall be construed to require any employe or officer of any carrier to render labor or service without his consent or to authorize the issuance of any orders requiring such service, or to make illegal the failure or refusal of any employe individually, or any number of employes collectively, to render labor or services.

Sec. 13. It shall further be the duty of the Coordinator, and he is hereby authorized and directed forthwith to investigate and consider means, not provided for in this title, of improving transportation conditions throughout the country, including cost finding in rail transportation and the ability, financial or otherwise, of the carriers to improve their properties and furnish service and charge rates which will promote the commerce and industry of the country and including, also, the stability of railroad labor employment and other improvement of railroad labor conditions and relations; and from time to time he shall submit to the Commission such recommendations calling for further legislation to these ends as he may deem necessary or desirable in the public interest. The Commission shall promptly transmit such recommendations, together with its comments thereon, to the President and to the Congress.

Sec. 14. The expenses of the Coordinator except so far as they are borne by the Commission in accordance with the provisions of section 2, but not including the expenses of the coordinating committees, shall be allowed and paid, on the presentation of itemized vouchers therefor approved by the Coordinator, out of a fund obtained from assessments on the carriers, and said fund is hereby appropriated for the payment of such expenses. It shall be the duty of each carrier within thirty days after the date of enactment of this Act, to pay into this fund, for the first year of the operation of this title, one and one-half dollars for every mile of road operated by it on December 31, 1932, as reported to the Commission and to pay into said fund within thirty days after the expiration of such year a proportional amount covering any period of extension of this title by proclamation of the President under section 17, and it shall be the duty of the Secretary of the Treasury to collect such assessments. Any amount remaining in the fund when this title ceases to have effect shall be returned by the Secretary of the Treasury to the carriers in proportion to their contributions. The carriers and the Pullman Company shall be permitted, anything in the Interstate Commerce Act, as amended, to the contrary notwithstanding, to provide free transportation and other carrier service to the Coordinator and his assistants and agents and to the employes of the Commission when engaged in the service of the Coordinator.

Sec. 15. The Commission shall not approve a loan to a carrier under the Reconstruction Finance Corporation Act, as amended, if it is of the opinion that such carrier is in need of financial reorganization in the public interest: Provided, however, That the term "carrier" as used in this section shall not include a receiver or trustee.

Sec. 16. Any final order made under this title shall be subject to the same right of relief in court by any party in interest as is now provided in

respect to orders of the Commission made under the Interstate Commerce Act, as amended. The provisions of the Urgent Deficiencies Appropriation Act of October 22, 1913 (38 Stat. L. 219), shall be applicable to any proceeding in court brought to suspend or set aside any order of the Coordinator or of the Commission entered pursuant to the provisions of this title.

Sec. 17. This title shall cease to have effect at the end of one year after the effective date, unless extended by a proclamation of the President for one year or any part thereof, but orders of the Coordinator or of the Commission made thereunder shall continue in effect until vacated by the Commission or set aside by other lawful authority, but notwithstanding the provisions of section 10 no such order shall operate to relieve any carrier from the effect of any State law or of any order of a State commission enacted or made after this title ceases to have effect.

Clause (e) of Section 7 places in the law the provisions contained in Section 77, paragraphs (o), (p), and (q) of what is known as the Bankruptcy Act, making them applicable to all railroads for the duration of this Law. These provisions which were originally placed in the Bankruptcy Act through the efforts of the Railway Labor Executives' Association, through its Special Committee and Attorney Richberg, are as follows:

"(o) No judge or trustee acting under this Act shall change the wages or working conditions of railroad employes, except in the manner prescribed in the Railway Labor Act, or as set forth in the memorandum of agreement entered into in Chicago, Illinois, on January 31, 1932, between the executives of twenty-one standard labor organizations and the committee of nine authorized to represent Class I railroads.

"(p) No judge or trustee acting under this Act shall deny or in any way question the right of employes on the property under his jurisdiction to join the labor organization of their choice, and it shall be unlawful for any judge, trustee or receiver to interfere in any way with the organizations of employes, or to use the funds of the railroad under his jurisdiction, in maintaining so-called company unions, or to influence or coerce employes in an effort to induce them to join or remain members of such company unions.

"(q) No judge, trustee or receiver acting under this Act shall require any persons seeking employment on the property under his jurisdiction to sign any contract or agreement promising to join or to refuse to join a labor organization; and if such contract has been enforced on the property prior to the property coming under the jurisdiction of said judge, trustee, or receiver then the said judge, trustee or receiver, as soon as the matter is called to his attention shall notify the employes by an appropriate order that said contract has been discarded and is no longer binding on them in any way."

The necessary organization machinery is being set up to carry out organized railway labor's part of the law.

The Association used its influence and lent its assistance, both through its committee and its attorney, in support of other legislation provided for in the legislative program heretofore set out. The principles of most of the emergency measures have been written into law in the National Industrial Recovery Act. It has contributed to the preparation of this law through the able services of its attorney, and in cooperation with the American Federation of Labor brought about its enactment to protect the rights and interests of organized labor in all industries.

Although every effort was made to enact into law the Retirement Insurance Bill, the Six-hour Day Bill, and the Full-Crew Bill, the other pressing matters

before Congress prevented action on these measures during the special session. They will be reintroduced at the next regular session of Congress and every effort will be made to secure their passage.

Organizing Activities—The provisions of the Railway Labor Act and other more recent legislation particularly the National Industrial Recovery Act, Emergency Railroad Transportation Act, Anti-Injunction Act, and the Bankruptcy Act guaranteeing railroad employes their right to organize and join the union of their own choice without coercion or restraint from their employers has given the organizing activities of the Railway Employes' Department and the standard railroad labor organizations a great deal of impetus during the past month. The interest in and the desire to join these organizations is clearly evidenced by the numerous communications being received daily from non-members or members of company unions. They have caught the spirit that their right to organize will surely result in a "new deal" for them so they are anxious to join the organization that will make this possible under the President's program for national recovery.

Owing to the limited means and men available, the Railway Employes' Department and its affiliated organizations have agreed to an organizing campaign that has as its first object the organization of certain large key roads in each region. These activities will be confined to the New York, New Haven and Hartford and the Boston and Maine Railroads in the East, the Illinois Central and the Rock Island systems in the West, and in the Southwest, the Atlantic Coast Line, Central of Georgia, and the Florida East Coast Railroads. The purpose of this initial concentration is to establish by interpretations to the law the right of railroad workers to join their national unions.

With the realization of these objectives, the organizing activities will be spread to other roads in each region, all crafts cooperating.

Men have already been assigned to conduct organizing activities on each of the above roads, and from reports that have been received, the progress thus far is most encouraging.

On the Rock Island Railroad the Railway Employes Department has succeeded in getting a statement from the carrier in which the management agreed to abide by the law by allowing the employees to choose their own organizations without coercion or intimidation, and to discontinue to support or foster the company union. It is hoped that this will pave the way for the complete organization of this property in the near future.

In the organizing activities of the Department and the standard railroad organizations many cases of discrimination have been reported, which are in violation of the Emergency Railroad Transportation Act and the Revised Bankruptcy Act. On July 28, 1933, a committee representing the Railway Labor Executives' Association had a conference with the Coordinator at which the provisions of the Emergency Railroad Transportation Act of 1933 with respect to company unions, the support of company unions by the management and coercion, intimidation and interference with employees joining the organization of their choice was discussed. Under date of August 16, the Railway Labor Executives' Association filed with the Coordinator a document containing "Evidence of Ex-

penditures of Railroad Funds to Coerce Employees and Maintain Company Unions." This subject matter was also discussed on August 18th with the President of the United States by a sub-committee representing the Railway Labor Executives' Association.

Under date of August 23, 1933, the President of the United States wrote the following letter to Mr. A. F. Whitney, Chairman of the Railway Labor Executives' Association:

The White House
Washington

Hyde Park, New York,
August 23, 1933.

MY DEAR MR. WHITNEY:

At the conference which you and other representatives of the Railway Labor Executives' Association had with me on August 18, you left with me a document containing "Evidence of Expenditures of Railroad Funds to Coerce Employees and Maintain Company Unions." I referred this, with other matter discussed at our conference, to the Federal Coordinator of Transportation. He calls my attention to the fact, of which you are of course aware, that section 7(e) of the Emergency Railroad Transportation Act, 1933, by reference to the amendment to the Bankruptcy Act Approved March 3, 1933, prohibits carriers by railroad, among other things, from denying or in any way questioning the right of their employees to join the labor organization of their choice, from interfering in any way with the organization of employees, from using their funds in maintaining so-called company unions, and from influencing or coercing employees in an effort to induce them to join or remain members of such company unions.

The Coordinator further summarizes action which he has taken or is about to take in enforcement of these provisions, as follows:

1. On August 7, you advised him by wire that the Pacific Electric Railway had dismissed employees for joining the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen or for attending its meetings. The Coordinator took this up by wire with the President of the Pacific Electric and after some interchange of telegrams, was advised by the latter on August 11, that the company was returning the dismissed employees to service and would proceed with an effort with its employees to reach a satisfactory understanding.

2. On August 1, Mr. B. M. Jewell, President of the Railway Employees Department of the American Federation of Labor, wrote the Coordinator calling attention to a situation which had arisen in the Portland (Brooklyn) shops of the Southern Pacific Company where the company is alleged to have interfered with the rights of the workers to join a labor organization of their choice. The Coordinator thereupon undertook an investigation of this matter through the Service Agent of the Commission at Portland, Oregon, from whom he received a complete report dated August 11. As a result of this report, the Coordinator has written the President of the Southern Pacific Company, stating, among other things, that a consideration of the evidence leads him to the "conclusion that the company did in fact violate the law by denying and questioning the right of its employees to join the labor organization of their choice and by influencing and coercing them to remain members of a company union;" indicating the basis for this conclusion; and giving said president the opportunity, before further action is taken, to make such representations with respect to the matter as he may care to make, "particularly with reference to action for the future and whether or not steps will be taken to notify the employees publicly that they are free to join the labor organizations of their choice and need not

fear any adverse action on the part of the company because of any such choice that they may make."

3. On August 16 you wrote the Coordinator furnishing him a copy of the document above mentioned, entitled "Evidence of Expenditures of Railroad Funds to Coerce Employees and Maintain Company Unions," and asked him "to promptly review the information submitted and thereafter to take such action, or make such order, as may be necessary to cause the law to be complied with in this respect." The information submitted is voluminous and relates to many different carriers. The Coordinator has not at his command a force of investigators sufficient to cover all of this ground by direct examination of the records. He plans, therefore, to send a questionnaire, to be answered under oath, to all carriers by railroad where so-called company unions exist, covering each and every one of the practices alleged in your communication, and asking in detail whether or not such practice is or has been in effect. This questionnaire will be supplemented, if found practicable, by test examinations of records in typical cases through Commission investigators. To the extent that such practices are admitted or are otherwise found to exist, the carriers will be given an opportunity to make a legal defense in the form of a brief, if they so desire. If important legal questions are raised in such briefs, the labor organizations which you represent will be given an opportunity to present their views upon such questions. By the information as finally developed the Coordinator's action will be governed. Every effort will be made to expedite this inquiry.

Very sincerely yours,

(Signed) FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT.

With reference to the situation on the Southern Pacific Railroad, discussed in paragraph two of the President's letter, the following bulletin was posted on the bulletin boards in the shops on Friday afternoon, August 25:

Employees are hereby notified that pursuant to laws passed by Congress, they are free to join any organization of their choice, or should they so elect not to join any organization at all, in neither case will their status as employees be thereby affected.

This notice was signed by A. B. Wilson, Master Mechanic of the Portland Division of the Southern Pacific Company.

On September 7, 1933, the Federal Coordinator, Joseph B. Eastman, issued a statement to "All Carriers by Railroad Subject to the Emergency Railroad Transportation Act, 1933," in which he emphasized the right of railroad employees to organize, and indicated that it was unlawful for carriers to coerce or intimidate employees in any manner that would interfere with this right. This was accompanied by a questionnaire, asking that the inquiries with regard to the history and extent of company unions contained therein be answered under oath and returned to him on or before October 1, 1933. The Coordinator's statement of September 7, was as follows:

To All Carriers by Railroad Subject to the Emergency Railroad Transportation Act, 1933:

The many complaints which I have received lead me to believe that one important feature of the Emergency Railroad Transportation Act, 1933, has been overlooked or misunderstood. Section 7(e) makes applicable to all railroads certain paragraphs in the Bankruptcy Act which there apply

to railroads operated by a judge or trustee. The result is that it is now unlawful for any railroad to:

- (1) Deny or in any way question the right of its employees to join the labor organization of their choice.
- (2) Interfere in any way with the organizations of its employees.
- (3) Use its funds in maintaining so-called company unions.
- (4) Influence or coerce its employees in an effort to induce them to join or to remain members of such company unions.
- (5) Require any person seeking employment to sign a contract or agreement promising to join or not to join a labor organization. And if such a contract has been enforced, the railroad is required to notify its employees by an appropriate order that said contract has been discarded and is no longer binding on them in any way.

It will be noted that these provisions do not prohibit any particular variety of labor organization, but they do give the railroad employees absolute freedom of choice in joining such organizations without coercion or influence of any description on the part of the railroad managements; and they prohibit the latter from using railroad funds to maintain any labor organizations. In other words, managements must keep their hands off, so far as labor organizations are concerned.

I deem it my duty to see to it, so far as possible, that all provisions of the Emergency Railroad Transportation Act, 1933, are enforced, including the provisions above described. As a step in the enforcement of the latter, I am herewith sending to all carriers by railroad subject to that Act a questionnaire designed to develop the facts with respect to this matter. In addition and as a check I expect, through my staffs, to make investigations of particular situations on the ground.

In the questionnaire I have included certain inquiries going to some extent into the history of the so-called company unions, in view of the fact that in connection with my research into the need for further legislation to improve transportation conditions throughout the country, Section 13 of the Act makes it my duty to consider the "improvement of railroad labor conditions and relations."

JOSEPH B. EASTMAN,
Federal Coordinator of Transportation.

The issuance of this letter and questionnaire by the Coordinator will go a long way toward removing the doubt that still seems to exist in the minds of the men employed by the Company Union roads, and should result in their enlistment under the banner of the American Federation of Labor.

PAN-AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

Our Principles—The thought underlying the establishment and maintenance of the Pan-American Federation of Labor, has very many high purposes and high aspirations for the protection and promotion of the rights, interests and the welfare of the masses of the people of all Pan-American countries.

The success of this great movement, the permanency of the Pan-American Federation of labor, depends, first, on the protection of the rights of humanity, the promotion of the welfare of the wage-earners, the producing masses of our respective countries in all the Americas; on exerting our moral influence and our citizens' rights, that the rights of the people in our respective countries shall be

protected; and upon the establishment of good will among the peoples of our respective countries, and upon our doing all that lies in our power in our own country to prevent tyranny and oppression imposed upon other peoples by their own governments and ours.

It is indeed very regrettable that owing to the general economic depression, the affiliated labor centers of Pan-America, though in great need of solidarity and help from the labor movement, have not been able in the past to finance a representative delegation that could have visited the most important labor centers of the Pan-American countries, to explain the ideals and obligations of close cooperation between the affiliated labor movements. It is more than certain that if such good-will delegation had made that visit, a better understanding of cooperation could have been obtained, the labor solidarity affecting both hemispheres would have been closer, and substantial results obtained. We have been in constant correspondence with all the labor centers and have assisted them whenever it was possible to do so.

Cuba—Owing to the resolutions approved in the past, the office of the Pan-American Federation of Labor was prevented from taking action on protests from Cuban organizations which denounced the political tyranny and oppression existing in that country and from asking for a civil or moral intervention.

The office of the Pan-American Federation of Labor has been ready at all times to render all possible services in behalf of affiliated organizations of Cuba.

The Railroad Brotherhood of Cuba requested our support in their efforts for the modification of the railway and street railway pension law, which had been approved by the Senate of Cuba but not by the House of Representatives. The railroad workers claimed that the Cuban Electric and Gas Company was opposing the passage of the law and using all its influence to defeat it in the House. According to the statement of the Railroad Brotherhood the law would protect 20,000 persons who are widows, orphans and invalids.

President Green addressed an important communication to the Railroad Brotherhood which was made public in the newspapers of Cuba, condemning the tactics of the Cuban Electric and Gas Company. He said in part:

My impression is that such a legislative measure should have the whole-hearted support of the Congress of Cuba to do justice and help the great mass of workingmen of your island.

We hope that the members of the House of Representatives will become aware of the relief that this measure will bring to their people and following the example of the Senate unanimously approve the same.

The "Free Union of Cigar Makers" with headquarters in Havana, Cuba, stated the following:

We are enthusiastic and decided admirers of the Pan-American Federation of Labor and it is our most desired ideal to be affiliated with your organization, which joins the United States labor movement with Latin American labor organizations with common ties of mutual affinity and affection and the same views with regard to labor problems and their solution.

In the near future we hope to form a new Federation and it is our wish to become part of the Pan-American Federation of Labor.

Mexico—The Mexican Federation of Labor informed us that a so-called Chamber of Labor had been created in Mexico, led by men who were expelled from the Federation, whose principal aim was to disrupt the Mexican Federation of Labor and build a new international organization of the Latin American labor movements in opposition to the Pan-American Federation of Labor.

In this connection the Mexican Federation of Labor informed us that the Chamber of Labor, through its influence with the national revolutionary party, was seeking the appointment of one of its members to represent the workmen of Mexico at the Labor Conference of Geneva.

The Mexican Federation of Labor requested the officials of the Pan-American Federation of Labor to meet the representatives of the International Labor Office, Mr. E. J. Phellan and Mr. J. L. Childs, who visited Washington and informed them of the situation of the labor movement in Mexico. President William Green and Secretary Iglesias conferred with Messrs. Phellan and Childs on the matter and they promised to cooperate with the workmen of Mexico in order to bring about a harmonious settlement of the question of the nomination of the delegate to the International Labor Conference.

Nevertheless, Mr. Elias F. Hurtado was appointed representative of the labor movement of Mexico to the Conference in spite of the objections of the Mexican Federation of Labor, on the ground that Mr. Hurtado did not represent the *bona fide* labor movement of Mexico.

The Mexican Federation of Labor also requested our cooperation in the settlement of a strike of nearly 5,000 Mexican workers in Los Angeles County, California, caused by the refusal of their Japanese patrons to pay more than fifteen cents an hour for their labor.

Through the valuable cooperation of the American Federation of Labor the strike was satisfactorily settled.

Other Countries—Communications from El Salvador, Colombia, Peru, Chile, Guatemala and Santo Domingo show that the workmen in these countries have borne the brunt of the general economic depression. Nevertheless, in all these countries an awakening of labor organization has been started through the efforts of leaders who have been in close communication with the Pan-American Federation of Labor.

Pan-American Congress—The Executive Council at its meeting at headquarters April 20-May 2, 1933, considered the question of the possibility of holding in the near future the Sixth Congress of the Pan-American Federation of Labor. Taking in consideration the financial condition of the Pan-American Federation of Labor and its constituent bodies, the Executive Council was unanimously of the opinion that the Pan-American Federation of Labor was not prepared to hold a convention.

This opinion was made known to all the labor centers affiliated with the Pan-American Federation of Labor and the organizations from Cuba, Mexico, Colombia, Peru and Argentina, deeply regretted this decision owing to the fact that they believed that a congress of labor movements of the western hemisphere would greatly help in the solution of the problems now affecting them, and perhaps bring about results which would be beneficial to the world in general.

PUERTO RICO

Labor Organization—The laws enacted by the national Congress extended to Puerto Rico, especially those tending to eliminate unemployment, as the National Recovery Act and others dealing with the bettering of the working and living conditions of the people, serve as an incentive to promote a permanent and systematic campaign of organization throughout the island. Conferences, lectures, and open air meetings are being held daily by the various trade unions and federal labor unions so as to enlist the largest possible number of members in their ranks, and thus be in better condition to receive the benefits of the National Recovery Act. The Central Labor Union of San Juan is most active in this line, co-operating with the Executive Council of the Free Federation of Labor all over the Island. Rafael Alonso, General Secretary of the Federation, as well as organizers Rivera Martinez, Paz Granella, Sandalio E. Alonso, Cirilo Aviles, and others, are kept constantly busy with this program. The Department of Labor is also rendering valuable assistance.

A special convention of labor representatives from all over the island was held at the insular capitol on July 22nd; 150 delegates attended representing about 25,000 workers. This conference was called by the Executive Council of the Free Federation of Labor.

The Commissioner of Labor, Rivera Martinez, in behalf of the Governor of Puerto Rico, has invited the leading employers of Puerto Rico to a joint conference with representatives of the labor organizations to discuss the application to Puerto Rico of the National Recovery Act and to draft codes of fair competition to be submitted to the approval of the National Administrator. This conference was held at San Juan, July 28th. Governor Gore addressed the conference, which was presided over by Rivera Martinez.

Most active among the various labor unions are those of the needleworkers and its kindred branches, which give employment to about 60,000 workers, mostly women. It is expected that within a very short time a very large proportion of these workers will be joining their unions and prepare themselves to affiliate with the national and international unions of its kind or to the American Federation of Labor direct. The needlework industry represents a business of nearly \$15,000,000 annually. One of its chief aims is the elimination of home work and the unfair competition of contractors, sub-contractors and all sorts of middlemen who prey on the worker's wages.

Next to the needleworkers, the most active are the tobacco strippers, chauffeurs and the building trade unions.

Agricultural workers, laundrymen, buttonmakers, printers, barbers, bakers and confectionerymen, retail clerks, stenographers, longshoremen, shoemakers, and many others are continuously on the go with the only purpose in view of enlisting 150,000 workers, men and women, within the ranks of the Free Federation of Labor. A revival of the old spirit is now in progress and the results are near at hand.

Legislative Representation—Due to the coalition between the labor forces and a group somewhat identified with the principles of organized labor, the following has been accomplished:

1—The election of Santiago Iglesias to the United States Congress, as Resident Commissioner of Puerto Rico. Mr. Iglesias is the president of the Puerto Rican Federation of Labor, of which he is the founder, and for the last thirty-three years the outstanding organizer of the organized labor movement of Puerto Rico. He is also a representative of the American Federation of Labor.

2—Together with the election of Mr. Iglesias, organized labor succeeded in electing thirteen Representatives and seven Senators to the insular legislature, all of them drafted from the ranks of various labor unions. Some of the most important committees of both houses are headed by them.

3—Due to the above accomplishments, the Department of Labor, headed by the labor leader, Prudencio Rivera Martinez, organizer of the Cigarmakers' International Union, has been greatly strengthened with the addition of several important bureaus and divisions, such as:

A—Division of Economic and Social Research and Investigation, in charge of studying course and solution given to the great problems affecting organized labor movement throughout the whole civilized world thus:

Fluctuations of employment and unemployment of workmen.

Conditions prevailing in industries, including labor systems, working days, salaries, sanitation and safety in fields, factories, shops and offices, actual condition of workers as result of the employment of machinery, and all other causes leading to industrial and agricultural uneasiness.

Study of social insurance systems operating all over the world and the possibility of application and adaptability to Puerto Rico, including insurance against industrial accidents, sickness, old age, disability, death and unemployment.

Life and labor standards of industrial and agricultural workers.

Compilation of data regarding co-operative systems and its diffusion and propaganda in Puerto Rico.

Preparation of reports and statistics on labor and industrial conditions.

B—Appropriation in the General Budget of Puerto Rico for the operation and maintenance of the Bureau of Women and Children in Industry.

C—Creation of the Homestead Division in the Department of Labor to continue the work of the Homestead Commission in the building of homes, at low cost, for artisans and laborers (workers' settlements) with funds from the Government of Puerto Rico providing for the leasing of same with the right of ownership thereof. Since this plan went into effect, nearly one thousand homes have been built and sold to workers at San Juan, Catano, Arecibo and Salinas, to be paid in fifteen or twenty years' time, at the rate of from \$2.25 to \$9.00 per month, according to the size and class of construction.

1—Workers who are able to finance the building of their own homes, are also provided with lots under the same conditions as stated above.

2—Large portions of land have been also purchased by the Government and divided into small farms of from 5 to 15 acres each, and sold to farm laborers at cost, to be paid also in fifteen or twenty years' time, at the rate of from \$5.00 to \$16.00 per year in monthly or quarterly installments.

3—Under this system the Government is also to provide the small farm owner with seeds, experimental and demonstration farms, farm implements, domestic animals, and to furnish them with information regarding the best methods for the cultivation of the soil, and assist

them in the transportation and marketing of their crops.

This service has been placed under the jurisdiction of the Department of Labor of Puerto Rico since May 16th last, as the Department best fitted for the furtherance of this great social work.

4. As a qualification to be entitled to the benefits of the Homestead Laws, the worker must have a family of his own exclusively dependent on his earnings for their support.

New Governor for the Island—The President of the United States, appointed Honorable Robert H. Gore to be Governor of Puerto Rico; Governor Gore was sworn in and installed on July 1.

From his inaugural address and his Independence Day address, Governor Gore has enlisted the sympathy and good will of all the citizens of the island, especially those of organized labor and all working classes of Puerto Rico.

Soon after his inception, the Executive Council of the Free Federation of Labor waited on Governor Gore to offer him its respects and unlimited co-operation to carry out his program of social and economical reconstruction for the island.

A special session of the Insular Legislature was convened August first, to consider urgent legislative matter.

GENEVA CONFERENCE ON SHORTER WORKDAY

Resolution No. 90 of the Cincinnati Convention called attention to the Geneva Conference on shorter workday and expressed the hope that a representative of the American Federation of Labor would be designated to serve with the American delegation. The joint conference was held in May, 1933. Hugh Frayne was appointed and served as the labor representative.

GERMAN LABOR MOVEMENT

The revolution in Germany, resulting from the designation of Adolph Hitler as chancellor, has meant the overthrow of the Weimar constitution (the Republic) and the inauguration of the Third Reich. Rallying to his support the discontent and unrest in all groups, Hitler's regime turned upon the Social Democratic Party and the trade unions which accepted the Versailles Treaty because it afforded opportunity for building up democratic institutions. Many trade unionists were active in the Social Democratic Party which had been responsible for the government. The Nazi Government, therefore, struck directly at trade union officials and machinery in order to establish its power. First, methods of communications within the unions were suppressed or intercepted, and this was followed by the arrest and imprisonment of executives and leaders. Terror and brutality followed, together with the inauguration of a campaign of Jewish persecution unparalleled in modern history.

The result has been the complete destruction of what was one of the largest and most aggressive national labor organizations in the world. Such leaders as Leipart, Grassmann, Husemann, Jochade, and many others well known to workers in the United States, have been brutally treated and kept under arrest. We wish to express the profound regret and indignation which the workers of this country feel at such ruthless treatment of German labor and union organizations. Whatever the cause of the Hitler revolution, there can be no justification for

the brutality and the racial conflict interjected into the situation. Force can not bring about a lasting, constructive readjustment of difficulties.

The utter destruction of the independent trade union movement of Germany by those now in control of the German government has been equalled only by the ruthless persecution of Germany's Jewish population. Persecution of this kind arouses intense feeling among the membership of organized labor. Our great movement rests upon the broad principle of racial tolerance and of no discrimination because of creed or nationality. Our great organized labor movement is engaged in the noble work of blending into a common brotherhood all working people, without regard to creed, color or nationality. We abhor racial persecution and we protest vigorously against the persecution of the Jewish people of Germany.

Owing to the fact that those who are administering the government of Germany and who are shaping its destinies are pursuing a ruthless campaign of persecution against the Jews of Germany, and because the Hitler government refused to heed or respect the protests of the people in all nations throughout the world, the Executive Council recommends that the American Federation of Labor join with other public-spirited organizations in our own country in officially adopting a boycott against German-made goods and German service, this boycott to continue until the German government recognizes the right of the working people of Germany to organize into bona fide, independent trade unions of their own choosing, and until Germany ceases its repressive policy of persecution of Jewish people.

We extend to fellow-workers and friends our sincere sympathy at their great loss through the destruction of the labor movement. We have great faith in the constructive abilities of our German fellow-workers and high regard and affection for their worthy qualities. We pledge them whatever assistance lies within our power. We emphatically protest against the action of the Hitler government in seizing control of unions of German workers and maltreating the officials chosen by the workers and in confiscating the funds and property of the unions.

PUBLIC SCHOOLS

One of the most devastating consequences of the economic conditions prevailing today has been the breakdown of the American free public school system. No section of the country, no community in any section but that its schools have suffered materially during the last two years. In fact, thousands of schools have been closed entirely, after a tragic effort had been made locally to keep them open for a month or two. In other localities the schools have been kept open by unpaid or partially paid teachers. In far too many places a system of charging tuition evidences in the public schools marked retrogression, thereby denying those who cannot pay the right to send their children to the public school.

The number of teachers employed in our schools has been decreased by many thousands while the number of pupils enrolled has increased by the hundred thousand; as a result of which the size of classes has been increased enormously everywhere, creating a sort of mass-production form of education.

School building programs have been seriously curtailed. During the last year there was a reduction of almost 50 percent in the amount of capital made available for school construction and repair to take care of the normal growth and normal needs of a community. Overcrowded schools are the result. This shortage of school building space has forced the shortening of the school day in an already shortened school year. Over 35,000 schools are on part time, running two or more shifts.

Thousands of pupils are being housed in dilapidated portable buildings. Highly essential parts of the school system are being eliminated everywhere. Kindergartens, night schools, continuation schools, vocational training classes, medical and dental clinics now more needed than ever have been either eliminated or seriously curtailed in practically every state in the union.

The importance of any one of these is plainly to be seen. The kindergarten performs an educational service for the child of 4 and 5 years which must be given at that age only.

For 60 years public opinion has recognized the worth of a systematized educational program for 4 and 5 year old children. Since St. Louis opened the first public school kindergarten in 1873, young children in practically all the large cities and in a quarter of the smaller cities have had an opportunity to attend kindergartens.

When a child enters school he becomes for the first time a part of a social group outside of his immediate family. In the kindergarten the social adjustments of the young child are the primary goal. In the first grade there is a general expectancy that a child must learn to read. But it is shown by studies that a certain mental age and not a chronological age fits a child to learn to read. The kindergarten program develops that mental age and helps make the child fitted for success in his school progress.

In the kindergarten a child begins to learn how to get along with others who have similar rights and privileges. He learns how to respond to directions and to handle materials with which he can express his ideas. He develops adequate habits of personal hygiene. Children from families speaking a foreign language at home are given an English vocabulary and training in using it effectively. These young children of foreign-born parents carry back into the family a little realized influence in true Americanism.

Physical and mental tendencies that may make difficulties in an individual's later school life are discoverable in the kindergarten and corrective treatment given. A student of juvenile delinquency attributes to the kindergarten a marked influence toward wholesome behavior of the adolescent.

Experiences of the kindergarten program introduce children to the beginnings of reading, arithmetic, and other subjects of the elementary school curriculum with marked success. It is difficult to apply adequate measures to the growth and development of these young children. However, within the past few years research has shown that children who have attended kindergarten have higher scores in intelligence and in achievement in the school subjects. Their ratings in social habits are higher, and they have fewer promotion failures than children without kindergarten experience. The reduction of promotion failures is a saving in dollars and cents to the taxpayer and, what is more important, it saves the child's courage and self-respect.

State legislation provides for the establishment of kindergartens in all but four States.

However, in the face of current economies local school systems are being forced to effect so-called economies. These so-called economies are all too often forms of tragic waste. The kindergarten is reported as one of the three services most frequently curtailed or eliminated from the public schools due to the present budget cuts.

Public opinion needs to recognize the value of providing physical protection, mental stimulation, and security and happiness for young children during the present social difficulties. Much is expected of the coming generations and these generations merit a start in life that will fit them to face problems of new social situations which require new patterns for properly solving them. An adequate program of education such as the kindergartens give helps start these future generations on the road toward a high type of citizenship. Hence, our duty in carrying on the fight for the preservation of the kindergarten is most apparent.

Teachers Salaries—During the last two years teachers' salaries have been drastically cut, in some cases as much as 50 percent, in a few places 75 percent. Worse still, many cities and counties have paid them in depreciated, non-marketable commercial paper, and others have not paid them at all. In a few places teachers were "boarded around" among the parents of the pupils who can afford this form of tuition.

At a time when industry is asked to maintain a living wage; when minima for wages are set in all crafts with additional graduated increments for those who merit them, it is a sad commentary to note that the legal minimum salary is being reduced to a new low level.

Forty dollars a month in several states "when school is open" is set for the teachers, and school is never open more than nine months a year under the best conditions in the most forward states. Now in the states paying the lowest salaries, school is open 4 or 5, perhaps as much as 6 months. The living wage of teachers therefore is perhaps as much as \$240 a year, in these states.

These facts and figures are alarming and they are tragic. They paint the picture of the passing of the free public school. They tell the tale of the direst sort of poverty for one group of workers—the teachers.

In the face of this situation an appeal was made last Spring for legislation which would enable states to borrow to pay teachers, and to maintain the public schools, as banks could borrow to maintain their business. No help could be had directly through legislation it was felt. But at this moment there is made available some relief for teachers.

In some localities teachers are placed on public relief funds and they expect to teach without salary. A direct loan to states for educational purposes would keep the problem on an honest basis and prevent all these indirections.

The employment of the thousands of unemployed teachers to teach illiterates, and to promote good citizenship in general, is a different matter, for in this case the teachers are admittedly being paid for teaching work. This is a commendable form of reemployment activity.

School Financing and Federal Aid—Tax delinquency is the principal cause of the breakdown of the state and local school systems. Thousands of people

simply can not pay their taxes; unfortunately, thousands more do not. Tax strikes have in places been organized by fairly well-to-do groups to secure even greater advantages for those already more fortunate than the other members of the community. Those who through so-called taxpayers' leagues or economy leagues are bemoaning local, state and federal taxes—and not paying much thereof themselves—are also loud in their demands that the social services of a community be cut.

A glaring example was furnished in a mid-western city, where certain leading citizens demanded a drastic cut in the school appropriation. Here, however, the teachers through their well-organized local teachers union retaliated by making a study of tax receipts—and making public their findings. The public schools of a city in the Middle West were saved to the people of that city by the public-spirited, courageous action of the Teachers Union.

While admittedly there is much need for reform in raising public revenues both as to source and method, there is at the same time absolutely no doubt that local communities all too often simply cannot at this time meet their responsibilities.

Sometime ago the several states recognized that the welfare of the children of one part of the state was the vital concern of every part of the state; and so state by state they adopted some sort of plan of state aid to local communities. The fact that even before the depression over three-fourths of the states had established equalization funds, shows that the belief is firmly established that there should be within each state a more equitable distribution, if not of wealth, then of the opportunity to procure wealth. The girl and boy in the outlying areas, in the poorer sections of the state, was to have his chance, too.

But state funds as well as local funds are not materializing. Banks very often can not and at times will not lend money to public authorities for the maintenance of the public schools. State and municipal paper is non-marketable.

We can not simply sit by and watch the passing of the free public school which organized labor more than any other one agency in this country helped establish. We do not deny local and state responsibility. We insist on it. But while we may be arguing on state capacity to meet these social obligations the point is that they are not being met.

The nation's responsibility is clearly set out; for the boys and girls today denied an education in any one state may migrate into another state, and there become social burdens to people who may have expended wisely and well for their public schools. Just as the state established state aid for educational work to handicapped local communities, so today the call is being made that the federal government aid the handicapped states in maintaining the free public school.

It is important in this connection, to point out that federal aid in education is not federal control. Most emphatically not. Federal control of education would be the direction of educational administration for the several states from Washington; it would mean that the federal government would determine the course of study, the qualifications of teachers, the standard of proficiency of the pupils, the textbooks to be used in each locality, the method of instruction—a regimentation of education from a federal source. This we oppose vigorously.

But federal aid to the states for educational work, however, is the granting to the states for absolute state administration, federal money for the maintenance of the state-owned public school. It is a means whereby the federal government is giving to the states directly an additional return for the money taken from the people of these states. It is a practical expression of our political philosophy: that ours is a federal union of 48 sovereign states.

While the states must not be allowed to lose their sense of responsibility, the nation must not allow the children of the nation to suffer. The breakdown of the educational system in any state and the consequent disastrous effect on the children of that community today is a potential problem for the citizens of all states for tomorrow.

The changing and changed educational philosophy of the day gives a distinct and highly important place to vocational education. First of all, today, we recognize frankly that ours is not simply a culture of the humanities but a culture of industrial life. Different, and even distinct, in a measure, but none the less an expression of life and living. A reflection of human experience, an interpretation for further, and we trust richer human experience; a highly important part of the whole.

This is our conception of vocational education and of vocational training. It is most important in and for any community. Admittedly to be correlated with other educational work, vocational education is of peculiar and most intimate concern to organized labor.

Hence, organized labor everywhere was aroused last spring when in the plan for the reorganization of the government departments there was the provision for the abolition of the Federal Board for Vocational Education, with no definite plans simultaneously submitted assuring the continuation of this very important work. And even more alarming was that the plan as submitted called for a flat reduction of 25 percent in the federal money to be paid to the states for:

- (1) Cooperative vocational education and rehabilitation
- (2) Payments for agricultural experiment stations
- (3) Cooperative agricultural extension work
- (4) Endowment and maintenance of colleges, for the benefit of agriculture and the mechanic arts.

We were all gratified when President Roosevelt ordered that the cut in the appropriation be not effective.

The plan for the conduct of this work has not as yet been announced, if indeed it has been evolved.

In consideration not only of the intimate and active interest which organized labor has in vocational education, but further in recognition of the vitally constructive part the American Federation of Labor played in the establishment and maintenance of vocational education in this country, it is to be expected that the Secretary of the Interior will confer and advise with the American Federation of Labor and officers of state federations before any departure from the existing plan is decided upon. Unless the close relationship between federal educational authorities and the American Federation of Labor continues to exist

the work in vocational education sponsored by the federal government will depreciate materially in value and social effectiveness.

Recommendations—This is a picture of the present. Unfortunately the prospect for the coming year is none the brighter. As for 1933-34 as compared with 1932-33, great reductions were made in 1932.

In 31 states the school year will be shortened further.

In 19 states, state aid to local communities will be decreased.

In 17 states current expenditures will be decreased further.

In 19 states there will be a still further reduction in the number of teachers.

In 24 states teachers' salaries will be further reduced.

There is an increase, however, in the number of unemployed teachers and the number of pupils per teacher.

The situation calls for immediate action as it affects us tremendously today and tomorrow.

If states wish to borrow from the federal government to maintain schools they should have the right to do so.

While road construction work is necessary and valuable in the employment of many workers, we feel that the building of school houses at this time to take care of the present increase in school population would be better, for not only would many workers be employed, but many children, the citizens of tomorrow, would thereby be given a fairer chance in life.

We have on a number of occasions asked that some part of state gasoline taxes be used for school work. We reiterate our position on this one—now more than ever.

In a number of states chain stores have been taxed in order to raise school revenues, and fairly good returns of revenue have been had from this source. We commend it to all state federations for their consideration.

As tax dodging has become an all too prevalent activity and as state and local taxes as well as federal taxes are evaded, thereby causing the tragic shortage in state and local funds, which is reflected in the state's inability to maintain its schools and its social services, we feel that there should be made available to the public data on income tax payment.

WORKERS' EDUCATION BUREAU

The succession of industrial changes which have taken place has provided new and striking opportunities for the workers' education movement all over the country. New schools have opened, new classes started, new institutes established that betoken a widespread interest on the part of workers in such education. The desire of Labor to study the causes of the depression during the past two years has been turned in the past six months to an attempt to understand the economic program of the new administration.

Seldom have American wage-earners been confronted in so short a time with so many far-reaching changes in the political and economic policies of the United States as they have during the past six months. It became clear at the outset that if workers were to function under the Act, a fundamental knowledge of the underlying principles and practices of the Recovery Act was immediately and pressingly important.

The device which the Workers' Education Bureau found admirably suited to the widespread need of workers for understanding the Recovery Act was the Labor Institute which under the Bureau's leadership has been made a most effective instrument for workers' education. The first of these Labor Institutes was held in connection with the annual convention of the Colorado State Federation of Labor, which body has sponsored similar institutes in past years. A day's discussion devoted to consideration of the Recovery Act proved a most effective educational device for Labor in that state.

The second of these institutes was the Rutgers Labor Institute, held on the campus of Rutgers University in New Brunswick, where for the past two years a week's institute has been held under the joint auspices of the New Jersey State Federation of Labor, Rutgers University and the Bureau. The program for the Institute this year followed in general the agenda of the World Economic Conference, the topic being "Labor and the World Economic Situation." Under the direction of a group of instructors from Rutgers and Princeton Universities, a most notable institute was held, larger in number than any previous one and more diversified as to crafts. Some thirty-eight different trades were represented. The Institute incorporated in its program a thorough discussion of the Recovery Act. One of the important outcomes of the Institute was the determination on the part of the members in attendance to create a non-partisan Workers' Educational Association in the state to carry on the interest which had been aroused by the Institute. The State Federation of Labor at their recent convention gave to both this Institute and the proposed Educational Association its cordial support.

The State Federation of Labor held a special one-day Institute in July, with the cooperation of the Bureau to discuss the National Recovery Act, which proved to be a conference of more than average interest. Upwards of 130 workers attended the Institute and decided to continue the work thus begun by some state-wide educational work for Labor.

The Massachusetts State Federation of Labor at its annual convention at Springfield set aside a day prior to the opening of the Convention for a Labor Institute to consider the Recovery Act.

The New York State Federation of Labor at its annual convention set aside a part of a session for a discussion of the Recovery Act. As a result of the interest thus developed, a plan was adopted providing for the establishment of a local labor institute in cooperation with central labor bodies.

The Illinois State Federation of Labor similarly set aside one day of its annual convention for a Labor Institute which was set up by the Bureau for the consideration of the Recovery Act. Representatives of the faculties of Chicago, Illinois and Northwestern Universities led the discussion on different phases of the Act which proved a conspicuous success.

The New Jersey State Federation of Labor also provided an opportunity for the Secretary of the Bureau to discuss the Recovery Act at one of the sessions of its convention.

During the first week in September an Institute for Labor Leaders was set up on the Campus of Haverford College, with the cooperation of the Philadelphia

labor movement and the American Friends Service Committee, to discuss Labor's interest in international relations. Members of the faculties of Pennsylvania, Swarthmore and Rutgers Universities conducted the discussion which proved most helpful to the small but interested group of workers present.

The Michigan State Federation of Labor has completed plans for holding their second annual Labor Institute on the campus of the University of Michigan in November to consider the problems of Labor and especially the automobile workers under the Recovery Act.

Similar institutes are contemplated in such strategic centers as Akron, Atlanta, Buffalo and Birmingham during the fall in cooperation with the local universities.

A representative group of central labor unions has also held Labor Institutes or special conferences to consider the Recovery Act, such as the Boston Central Labor Union, the Trades and Labor Assembly of Newark, the Central Trades and Labor Council of Greater New York and Vicinity, to mention but three.

Summer schools in various parts of the country have held notable institutes to consider the Recovery Act, conspicuous among which is the Wisconsin summer school which held a week-end Labor Institute jointly with the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor. Other summer schools have held conferences or special congresses to consider Labor's new privileges under the Act. Labor chautauquas held in certain of the southern states have utilized still another characteristic device for better understanding of the Recovery Act. In the aggregate, it may be asserted that through these institutes a widespread knowledge about the Recovery program has been diffused with expedition and real effectiveness.

In California the sixth summer school for workers was held at the Occidental College with the cooperation of the State Federation of Labor and the local workers' education movement. It ran for a month and proved a notable success. At Oberlin, Ohio, the first institute for office workers was held during a two-week period in August and marked an important innovation in the workers' education movement.

The Bryn Mawr summer school, the southern summer school, the vineyard shore school and the Wisconsin summer school all carried forward very successful summer programs. In every school the request for scholarships exceeded the ability to supply the needs due to lack of funds.

The nation-wide radio program on "Labor and the Nation," so effectively launched by the Bureau in 1932 with the cooperation of the National Advisory Council of the Radio in Education, is to be resumed in the fall, provided the necessary budget for the work can be secured.

The Workers' Education Bureau of America will hold during the week of October 2nd a national convention in Washington for a period of two or three days, in conjunction with the American Federation of Labor convention, to consider ways in which educational methods which have been developed in workers' classes can be made available to Labor in connection with the National Recovery Act.

SAMUEL GOMPERS MEMORIAL

The delegates to this convention share with the Executive Council in our great satisfaction over the completion of the Samuel Gompers Memorial. The Memorial will be formally dedicated during the convention period. Plans for the dedication ceremonies will be submitted to the convention at a later session.

CONCLUSION

This convention meeting at a crucial period in the history of this country has the opportunity and the responsibility for shaping policies of momentous importance. We are at least attempting to work out the principles of a New Deal which our government has legislated. As unions, we have no choice but to obey the law and to serve as the agencies for putting it into effect. Our immediate problem is to function so as best to advance justice and economic progress for all those concerned in carrying on the industry and all those served by the industry.

As unions, we have the immediate task of:

- (a) Increasing union membership so as to represent the workers in industries fully.
- (b) To develop unions for workers in mass production industries.
- (c) To survey union activities so as to make our machinery and methods increasingly effective.

These are not new problems but they loom now as of outstanding importance because the labor movement faces duties and responsibilities that have to do with the basic decisions for industry. In this formative period it is indispensable that the labor movement make itself influential enough to prevent vested interests from carrying their special privileges into our new industrial government. All the experiences we have gathered in our decades of struggle will be of value in directing us through present problems. We are in no sense parting from what we have found to be of value in the past, for we must use the past to find the way forward.

In this time of opportunity and responsibility we need to dedicate ourselves anew to the service of the producing workers of this continent and to the interpretation and advancement of their interests as a part of our national progress, economically, socially, and politically. Unselfish devotion to Labor and the cause of human freedom is more needed now than at any time in our history and the challenge to help a world in dire trouble comes with compelling force. May every labor organization set itself to the task of Labor forward during the coming year and work with all constructive agencies for our common welfare.

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 FRANCIS 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 International Labor Relations

(George W. Perkins, Chairman)

Pan-American Federation of Labor:
Our Principles.
Cuba.
Mexico.
Other Countries.
Pan-American Congress.

Referred to Committee on Organization

(Frank Duffy, Chairman)

The Right to Organize:
Organization.

Referred to Committee on Legislation

(I. M. Ornburn, Chairman)

National Legislation:
Independent Office Appropriation.
Farm Recovery.
Blue Sky Law.
Beer Legislation.
American Made Goods, Ware and Merchandise.

Convict Labor.

Repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment.

Referred to Committee on Shorter Workday

(E. J. Gainor, Chairman)

Geneva Conference on Shorter Workday.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions

(Matthew Woll, Chairman)

Introduction.

National Recovery Act:

National Recovery Act in Operation.
Recovery Administration Procedure.

Code Procedure.

Codes of Fair Competition:

Cotton Textile Industry.
American Lace Manufacturing.
Woolen Industry.
Corset and Brassiere Industry.
Electrical Industry.
Coats and Suits.
Petroleum.
Ship Building.
Photographic Industry.
Automobiles.

Men's Clothing Industry.
Rayon and Synthetic Yarn.
Legitimate Theatres.

Lumber.

Steel.

Hosiery.

Child Labor Provisions of Codes.
Tendencies and Problems.
Proposals of Policy.
Collective Bargaining Under Codes.
Labor Research.

Industrial Recovery and Public Works (Title II):

Public Works.
Labor-Employment.
Policies of the Administration.

Right to Representation.

President's Reemployment Program:

President's Reemployment Agreement.

National Recovery Act and Agricultural Adjustment Act.

National Labor Board.

Unemployment:

Unemployment—estimate in the U. S.
Employment—estimate in the U. S. (chart).

Explanatory Note on Unemployment Estimate.

Trade Union Unemployment and Part Time.

Employment in Producer and Consumer Industries.
Employment by Industry.

Relief:

Relief from Public Sources.

Discrimination Against the Older Worker.

Coal.

Developments for Railroad Workers:

Wages.

The Canadian Situation.

Employment.

The Shorter Workday and Workweek.

Legislation.

Organizing Activities.

German Labor Movement.

Conclusion.

Legislation.

National Legislation:

Government Economy.

Civilian Conservation Corps.

Emergency Relief for Unemployment.

Immigration.

Home Mortgage.

Muscle Shoals.

Bank Deposits Guaranteed.

Philippine Independence.

Federal Employment.

Anti-injunction Laws.
 Old Age Security.
 Radio Advertising.
 Non-partisan Political Policy.

Referred to Committee on Education

(A. O. Wharton, Chairman)

Child Labor Amendment.
 Public Schools:
 Teachers' Salaries.
 School Financing and Federal Aid.
 Recommendations.
 Workers Education Bureau.
 Samuel Gompers Memorial.

Referred to Committee on State Organizations

(G. M. Bugniazet, Chairman)

Minimum Wage Laws.
 Puerto Rico:
 Labor Organization.
 Legislative Representation.
 New Governor for the Island.

Referred to Committee on Executive Council Report

(James Wilson, Chairman Executive Committee)

Trade Union Benefits—chart.
 Hatters-Cap Makers.
 Jurisdictional Troubles.
 Trade Union Auxiliaries.
 Proposed Amalgamation.

Referred to Committee on Adjustments

(T. A. Rickert, Chairman)

Brewery Workers - Teamsters - Engineers-Firemen.

President Green: The Chair desires to announce that resolutions may be introduced at any time. They may be presented here on the stage to Secretary Morrison or they may be presented at his office on the first floor of this hotel. The time limit for the introduction of resolutions will expire tomorrow at midnight. Following the expiration of that limit resolutions can only be introduced under the rule of unanimous consent.

Secretary Morrison read the following announcement by the Local Entertainment Committee:

It has been reported to our committee that some of the envelopes contain-

ing the badges, invitations, etc., did not contain invitations to the various functions. In that case the privilege is extended to the delegates and visitors to use their convention badge in the absence of invitations.

Secretary Morrison: The dedication of the President Gompers Memorial will take place on Saturday morning. All delegates who have badges will be admitted to the reserved seats. All wives of delegates and all visitors registering will also receive tickets to the dedication. Therefore I would urge that the delegates register and receive badges and tickets, and that the visitors do likewise at as early a date as possible.

RESOLUTIONS

The following 23 resolutions were introduced and referred to the appropriate committees:

Independent Labor Party

Resolution No. 1—By Delegate M. F. Tighe, of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers.

WHEREAS, During the past few years Labor's fight to organize has shifted from the factory to the courts; and

WHEREAS, Social legislation is becoming more and more necessary to the workers in the United States; and

WHEREAS, Neither the Republican nor the Democratic parties can be counted upon to further the aims or to advance the conditions of labor; be it

RESOLVED, That the 53rd Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record as favoring the formation of an independent Labor Party, and that it abandon the traditional non-partisan political policy and sponsor a genuine Labor Party.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Office Workers N. R. A. Code

Resolution No. 2—By Delegate Ernest Bohm, of Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants Union No. 12646.

WHEREAS, The National Industrial Recovery Act was created for the purpose of increasing employment and purchasing power; and

WHEREAS, The industrial codes thus far adopted, increase the work week of office workers to forty hours per week, and the minimum salary decreased to fifteen dollars per week; and

WHEREAS, The 39-hour week and a minimum wage of twenty-one dollars per week has been the prevalent condition of employment in offices, we fail to understand how the increase in the hours of labor will decrease unemployment, and the reduction in salary will increase the purchasing power, and

WHEREAS, This legislation affects the economic condition and welfare of four million office workers in the United States, we register our protest against such undemocratic procedure which prevents those directly concerned and not benefited, from having a voice or vote in the consummation of such codes; be it

RESOLVED, That the 53d Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor at Washington, D. C., October, 1933, extend to the unionized and chartered locals of office workers its support in securing a hearing on the office workers' code filed with the administration at Washington, D. C., July 29th, 1933.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Hotel and Restaurant Employees' Organizing Campaign

Resolution No. 3—By Delegates Edward Flore, Robert B. Hesketh and Emanuel Koveleski, Hotel and Restaurant Employees' and Beverage Dispensers' International Alliance.

WHEREAS, The Hotel and Restaurant Employees' and Beverage Dispensers' International Alliance carried on a successful organizing campaign during the summer of 1933, which had the full and unqualified support of the American Federation of Labor and its affiliates; and

WHEREAS, All organizers of the Federation have shown a deep interest in the organizing of hotel, restaurant and beverage workers; and

WHEREAS, The opportunity for such organizing is more pronounced today because of the repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment; be it

RESOLVED, That we extend our thanks to the American Federation of Labor, its affiliates and organizers for their wholesome cooperation; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, its affiliates and organizers be urged to continue their helpful coop-

eration and that the officers of the Federation render such assistance as may be consistent, to the end that all hotel, restaurant and beverage workers may be organized.

Referred to Committee on Organization

Patronage of Fair Hotels, Restaurants and Catering Establishments

Resolution No. 4—By Delegates Edward Flore, Robert B. Hesketh and Emanuel Koveleski, 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 affiliates of the American Federation of Labor are found patronizing hotels, restaurant 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; 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, restaurants and catering establishments within their jurisdiction, and call upon all its affiliates when holding banquets, functions, or patronizing hotels, restaurants or catering establishments, to 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.

A. F. of L. Commended for Support of Movement for the Modification of Volstead Act and the Repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment

Resolution No. 5—By Delegates Edward Flore, Robert B. Hesketh and Emanuel Koveleski of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees' and Beverage Dispensers' International Alliance.

RESOLVED, That with a deep feeling of appreciation we, the Hotel and Restaurant Employees' and Beverage Dispensers' International Alliance, express to this the 53d Annual Conven-

tion of the American Federation of Labor our thanks for the loyal and effective support given to the movement for the Modification of the Volstead Act and the Repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Hotel and Restaurant Employees' Dispute With Cleveland Hotels

Resolution No. 6—By Delegates Edward Flore, Robert B. Hesketh, and Emanuel Koveleski of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees' and Beverage Dispensers' International Alliance.

WHEREAS, Through the efforts of the Department of Labor an agreement was signed by the Hotelmen's Association of Cleveland in which they agreed to reemploy their locked-out employees and to maintain wages then in effect; and

WHEREAS, Said agreement was accepted in good faith by the Hotel and Restaurant Employees' and Beverage Dispensers' International Alliance as a means of restoring peace and tranquility between said hotels and their former employees, and

WHEREAS, Said agreement was made under date of July 23, 1931—Wherein it was agreed by the Cleveland Hotel Association to reemploy their former employees whenever opportunity affords and when filling vacancies as may occur in the future, it was not intended to discriminate against former employees because of any affiliation whatever, and

WHEREAS, Said Hotel Association of Cleveland has not lived up to said agreement in letter or spirit; be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor lend its good offices to assist the Hotel and Restaurant Employees' and Beverage Dispensers' International Alliance to bring about a compliance with the agreement made with the Department of Labor by the following hotels in Cleveland, Ohio: Statler Hotel, Cleveland Hotel, Allerton Hotel, Olmstead Hotel, and Carter (Winton) Hotel.

Referred to Committee on Industrial Relations.

Associated Press

Resolution No. 7—By Delegate Frank B. Powers, Commercial Telegraphers' Union of North America.

WHEREAS, The Commercial Telegraphers' Union of North America is

conducting an intensive organizing campaign among telegraphic employees of the Associated Press; and

WHEREAS, Substantial numbers of these employees have authorized the Commercial Telegraphers' Union of North America to represent them; and

WHEREAS, The United Press, International News Service and Universal Service, the three other great news-gathering organizations of this country, have for over 25 years maintained satisfactory union shop relations with the Commercial Telegraphers' Union of North America and have grown and prospered thereunder; and

WHEREAS, Despite these facts and in the face of efforts of the Chief Executive and the National Recovery Administration to promote harmonious relations between labor and management, the Associated Press persists in its attitude of aloofness from the provisions of the National Industrial Recovery Act, and actual hostility towards organized labor with respect to its own employees; be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor vigorously condemns the anti-labor policy of the Associated Press, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor through its state and central bodies bring this resolution to the attention of publisher-members of the Associated Press, all of whom are now under the Blue Eagle, and many of whom have shown by editorials or wage agreements that they are friendly to organized labor.

Referred to Committee on Industrial Relations.

Urging NRA Code for Telegraph Communications Industry

Resolution No. 8—By Delegate Frank B. Powers, Commercial Telegraphers' Union of North America.

WHEREAS, The substituted President's Re-employment Agreement under which the telegraph communications industry has been working since August 30th was so unsatisfactory that General Johnson declared, "The hours and wages here are wholly unsatisfactory and there are other circumstances which require an immediate public presentation," and

WHEREAS, General Johnson's expressed wishes have been circumvented in some unknown manner and up to this time not even a deputy administrator has been assigned to this code; be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor demand that the telegraph communications industry be

placed under a permanent code of fair competition at the earliest possible date.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Commercial Telegraphers' Union Organizing Campaign

Resolution No. 9.—By Delegate Frank B. Powers, Commercial Telegraphers' Union of North America.

WHEREAS, Employees of the telegraph communication industry for the first time in history have been given the right to organize for agreement with the telegraph companies under the National Industrial Recovery Act; and

WHEREAS, Many employees even yet are unaware of the rights conferred on them by the Act, because of misrepresentation of the President's Re-employment Agreement by officials of the companies, and also because of the inability of the Commercial Telegraphers' Union of North America to reach all sections of the country because of limited funds and organizers; and

WHEREAS, The poorly paid telegraph employees must be granted exceptionally low dues rates, making the process of building up a strong organization a prolonged one; be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor extend all moral and financial assistance possible to the Commercial Telegraphers' Union of North America during the period of organization.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Appeal from Decision of Executive Council in Behalf of Outside Salesmen and Collectors

Resolution No. 10.—By Delegate W. A. Miller, of Allegany Trades Council.

WHEREAS, There has been a group of outside salesmen and collectors primarily organized to secure the benefits of the National Industrial Recovery Act, and for the purpose of bettering the social life of the wage-earner of this specific trade calling in Allegany County, Maryland; and

WHEREAS, This group has applied to the Allegany Trades Council, the central labor union of Western Maryland, for affiliation with the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, Under a decision of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, this classification of wage-earners cannot affiliate with the American labor movement, unless such decision is repealed by the convention; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has stated that all workers will be organized into the American labor movement; be it

RESOLVED, That the Allegany Trades Council appeals to the convention assembled to repeal the decision of the Executive Council and give this classification of wage earner the right to affiliate with the American Federation of Labor, either directly or through an international union affiliated with the Federation.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Proposed Constitutional Amendment Increasing Executive Council

Resolution No. 11.—By United Mine Workers of America.

RESOLVED, That Article 5, Section 1 on page 9, of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor, be amended by striking out the word "eight," appearing on the second line and inserting in lieu thereof the words, "twenty-five."

Referred to Committee on Laws.

Six-Hour Day and Five-Day Week

Resolution No. 12.—By Delegate Philip Ickler, of the Central Labor Union, Pensacola, Florida.

WHEREAS, Our economic system is still out of balance due to the great army of unemployed; and

WHEREAS, Science is constantly bringing out new inventions in form of mechanical labor-saving devices that in turn take work more and more out of human hands; and

WHEREAS, The reduction of working hours in comparison with the mechanical progress made has been very slow when considering that the 8-hour day has been in existence in some industries for almost 25 years or more, and yet not compulsory in all industries; and

WHEREAS, The shorter work-day is the most essential solution in coping with the unemployment problem, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in its 53d Annual Convention held at Washington, D. C., beginning October 2, 1933, request concentrated efforts to fight in the next session of the Congress of the United States for a compulsory six-hour day, five-day week, to be enacted into Federal or State law.

Referred to Committee on Shorter Workday.

Federal Old Age Pension Legislation

Resolution No. 13—By Delegate Philip Iekler, of The Central Labor Union of Pensacola, Florida.

WHEREAS, The present machine system in operation throughout all industries brings the working man under the Old Age Classification more rapidly; and

WHEREAS, The unemployed millions are already constituted of young and middle aged workers which makes it so much more difficult for a man of fifty years to keep his job; and

WHEREAS, The age limit of the working man has been brought down to a considerably younger age, due to the Machine's mass production; and

WHEREAS, The old age pension has been advocated at several previous Conventions of the American Federation of Labor, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in its 53d Annual Convention held at Washington, D. C., beginning October 2, 1933, request every serious effort possible to find ways and means to force the next session of the Congress of the United States to enact a compulsory old age pension as a Federal or State law.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Unemployment Insurance

Resolution No. 14—By Delegate Philip Iekler, of The Central Labor Union, Pensacola, Florida.

WHEREAS, The unemployment situation is still a great menace to our country and if it is not curbed to some extent very soon the reaction might be disastrous to our nation; and

WHEREAS, The unemployment problem will be a permanent one to a certain degree due to the many new labor-saving devices and machinery constantly being invented; and

WHEREAS, Our last convention of the American Federation of Labor held at Cincinnati, Ohio, voted almost unanimously in favor of an unemployment insurance; and

WHEREAS, The NRA movement with its tremendous working force in cooperation with the public has thus far been able to bring back to work only about two million men, leaving about ten million still unemployed, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in its 53d Annual Convention held in Washington, D. C., beginning October 2, 1933, urges every possible means and power available to make the necessary arrangements to fight during the next session of the Con-

gress of the United States for the enactment of the compulsory unemployment insurance issue into a Federal or State law.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Bank Deposits Insurance Legislation

Resolution No. 15—By Delegate John M. O'Hanlon of the New York State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, A number of savings and commercial banks have been shown by the operation of the banking order issued by the President of the United States early in March of 1933, and by subsequent investigations, to have invested the funds of their depositors in securities of little or no value, thereby requiring groups of such banks to be kept closed or to be liquidated at enormous losses and contraction of credit to the detriment of industry and commerce and causing destitution among thousands of victimized depositors; be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor is hereby authorized to draft and present to the Congress of the United States at its coming session appropriate legislation to provide for the assured security of depositors in banks or to support any Federal legislation having this object for its purpose that may meet with the approval of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Retail Clerks' Union Shop Card

Resolution No. 16—By Delegate C. C. Coulter of the Retail Clerks' International Protective Association.

WHEREAS, The interest of the entire labor movement is centered at this time upon the National Recovery Act, its operation and administration; and

WHEREAS, The display of the NRA insignia by an employer is a declaration of his covenant with the Government to observe all provisions of the code regulating the operation of the industry in which he is engaged; and

WHEREAS, All codes for the retail trade provide that employees shall have the right to organize and bargain collectively through representatives of their own choosing, and shall be free from interference, restraint or coercion in the exercise of that right; and

WHEREAS, There are millions of retail store employees who are still unorganized and who have no voice in the regulation of their working conditions; and

WHEREAS, The Union Store Card of the Retail Clerks' International Protective Association offers concrete evidence

to the public that union clerks only are employed in a place of business where displayed, and that said card has been issued upon the signing of a collective bargaining agreement; and

WHEREAS, The presence of both the NRA insignia and the Union Store Card is proof that the employer is complying with all of the provisions of the retail code; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor recommends that its membership patronize those retail establishments showing the Blue Eagle and also the Union Store Card displayed as a guarantee of fair wages and working conditions; and be it further.

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor at its annual convention in Washington, D. C., directs all organizers to assist in the organization of retail store employees, and urge that the demand for the Union Store Card be fostered and encouraged by the members of all affiliated organizations.

Referred to Committee on Labels.

Labor Representation on N. R. A. Committees

Resolution No. 17—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L.

WHEREAS, Certain continuing as well as compliance committees are being established by the National Recovery Administration; and

WHEREAS, These committees are assuming authority to regulate labor conditions within the scope of the codes; and

WHEREAS, The National Industrial Recovery Act specifically provides for the application of collective bargaining; be it

RESOLVED, That the 53d Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor request the Executive Council to use its influence so that all such boards may be composed of an equal number of labor representatives and employer representatives, so that an equal balance of representatives of both labor and management will be established.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Federal License Law

Resolution No. 18—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L.

WHEREAS, The Vancouver Convention, 1931, of the American Federation of Labor requested the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to have a bill prepared for introduction

into the Congress of the United States which would provide for a Federal License Law; and

WHEREAS, The Cincinnati Convention, 1932, of the American Federation of Labor again called upon the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to prepare a Federal License Law; and

WHEREAS, Under existing industrial developments it has become more necessary than ever that this subject should be presented to the Congress of the United States; be it

RESOLVED, That this 53d Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor request the Executive Council to have a thorough study made of the legal and constitutional aspects of such a law, and that this convention respectfully request the Executive Council to have a bill providing for a Federal License Law introduced in the coming session of the Congress of the United States.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Proposed Legislation to Establish Federal Technological Research and Statistical Division

Resolution No. 19—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L.

WHEREAS, The displacement of labor by power, machinery, chemical and other processes constitutes a vital industrial problem; and

WHEREAS, There are no adequate statistics indicating the extent of those methods in modern industrial production producing so-called technological unemployment; and

WHEREAS, It is most necessary to the welfare of the wage earners, management, finance, and the country as a whole that there should be adequate investigations and reports which would indicate the character of technological changes in industrial methods, and the extent to which these displace labor; be it

RESOLVED, That the 53d Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor requests the Executive Council to prepare, and have introduced into the Congress of the United States, a measure which will provide that there shall be established, under the appropriate Department of the Government, a division whose duty it shall be to set up and to carry on the necessary research and statistical study which will supply all necessary information concerning the existing stage of technological development in the industries, and the changes which

will occur in industrial methods and processes, and their effect in increasing per capita production and eliminating the number of wage earners required for production purposes.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Thirty-hour Work Week for Government Employees

Resolution No. 20—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L.

WHEREAS, One of the causes for unemployment has been the enormous increase in the wage earner's capacity to produce as a result of greatly increased use of power, machinery, chemical and other processes, and the technical supervision of methods of production; and

WHEREAS, The shortening of the hours of labor is one of the important steps which must be taken to provide adequate opportunity for employment; and

WHEREAS, Spreading the work without increasing the total volume of wages being paid would prevent an increase in capacity to purchase on the part of the masses; and

WHEREAS, This increased purchasing power is essential to industrial and commercial recovery; and

WHEREAS, The United States Government should be a model employer and take the lead in establishing terms of employment which will serve as a model to private industry; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 53d Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor record itself in favor of the enactment by the Congress of the United States of a measure which will establish a 30-hour work week without any reduction in the weekly pay received by Government employes prior to the enactment of the "Economy Acts."

Referred to Committee on Shorter Workday.

Jurisdiction of Federal Labor Unions

Resolution No. 21—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L.

WHEREAS, Trade-union organization is rapidly developing; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has requested the affiliated International Unions to take full advantage of the right to organize pro-

vided for by the National Industrial Recovery Act; and

WHEREAS, The International Unions affiliated with the Metal Trades Department have placed organizers in the field for the purpose of building up the membership of their respective organizations; and

WHEREAS, In many localities organizers of the American Federation of Labor, in their effort to build up local membership, have organized Federal Labor Unions and brought into their membership numbers of metal trades mechanics, jurisdiction over whom was established years ago by the International Unions; and

WHEREAS, Constructive organizing work by International Unions of the metal trades, through which permanent and effective organization can be developed, is being seriously jeopardized through the issuing of charters to Federal Labor Unions into whose membership mechanics are included contrary to the jurisdictional rights of the International Unions; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this 53d Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor respectfully request the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to take such immediate action as is necessary to prevent the inclusion in Federal Labor Unions of any mechanic over whom the International Unions have jurisdiction through the charter rights given to them by the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Theatrical Wardrobe Attendants' Unions

Resolution No. 22—By Delegate Augusta Ocker, of Theatrical Wardrobe Attendants' Union No. 16770.

WHEREAS, The Theatrical Wardrobe Attendants' Union is making every effort to gain recognition in all branches of the Theatrical Industry, where wardrobe is used in productions, such as units, presentations, or any "line-up in the flesh" in motion picture, vaudeville, and burlesque theatres, and eastern motion picture studios; and

WHEREAS, There are many non-union workers employed in the fields mentioned, at a wage rate below the minimum living wage of Theatrical Wardrobe Attendants' Union; be it

RESOLVED, That the 53d Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor endorse the efforts of the Theatrical Wardrobe Attendants' Union to extend their trade union organizing, and appeals to all theatrical

organizations to give their full support to these workers to the end that the Theatrical Wardrobe Attendants' Union will be recognized in the entire field of their Theatrical Industry.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

"Bedeaux System"

Resolution No. 23—By Delegate F. L. Phillips of the United Rubber Workers' Federal Labor Union No. 18319, Akron, Ohio.

WHEREAS, The "Bedeaux System" of regulating wages in the B. F. Goodrich Co., Akron, Ohio, is a speed-up system contrary to all rules and regulations of the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, The workers of the B. F. Goodrich Co., and General Tire and

Rubber Co., Akron, Ohio, are unable to make out their daily wage report; be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor instruct the Executive Council to take immediate action to remedy this unfair and evil state of conditions.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

At four o'clock, no further business coming before the convention, a motion was made by Delegate Connors, Switchmen, that the rules be suspended and that the convention adjourn.

The motion was seconded and carried, and at four o'clock the convention was adjourned to 9:30 o'clock a. m., Tuesday, October 3rd.

Second Day—Tuesday Morning Session

Washington, D. C., October 3, 1933.

The convention was called to order at 9:30 o'clock by President Green.

President Green: The invocation will be given this morning by the Right Reverend Bishop James E. Freeman, of the Washington Cathedral.

INVOCATION

(Rt. Rev. Bishop James E. Freeman)

Almighty God, our Heavenly Father, we look to Thee as the giver of every good and perfect gift. In Thy hand are the issues of life. So we bow ourselves reverently in Thy presence as we begin a new day. Do Thou so touch us as to number our days that we may apply our hearts unto wisdom. We pray for Thy guidance and direction in all the concerns in which our hearts and minds are engaged. Do Thou especially grant Thy blessing to this assembly, that with wisdom and judgment and statesmanship they may direct all their affairs. Do Thou give them that peculiar wisdom at this time, in these days of struggle and crisis, that they may know the things they ought to do.

We ask Thee, gracious Father, to stretch forth in Thy mercy Thy hand to relieve those who at this time are in distress. Do Thou ease the burdens that have been laid on the backs of men and women over this nation and over the world and bear them down to the earth. Do Thou grant that our hearts and minds may be so touched with sympathetic understanding that we, in our time, may ease these burdens that are resting on those who are under our care and under our direction. Bring to our land peace and happiness and prosperity. Restore to the homes of this nation those things that they have need of, and grant that in wholesomeness and happiness and peace our people may dwell secure.

Forgive us all our sins and weaknesses. Give us a larger vision of the meaning of the brotherhood of man and the fatherhood of God.

And so we commit ourselves to Thee, asking Thee again for Thy blessing, for Thy guidance and Thy direction, all of which we ask in the name of Him Who for our sakes became poor that we, through His poverty, might be made rich—Thy Son, our Saviour, Jesus Christ, Amen.

President Green: Bishop Freeman will extend to you in his own gracious way a very cordial and kind invitation to the officers and delegates in attendance at this convention to attend a special service at the beautiful Washington Cathedral on next Sunday afternoon at 4:00 o'clock.

Bishop Freeman: President Green and members of the American Federation of Labor—I do more than that, I most heartily, so far as I am capable of doing it, welcome you to your capital, and may I say to you that through the nearly forty years of my ministry it has been my deep satisfaction to keep in the closest fellowship with your great national organization. Your former President, who was here in Washington for many years, was a personal friend of mine, and I think I may say in some respects I was able to be of small assistance to him. Your present President I have also known and I delight to honor him. It adds to the pleasure of extending the invitation to you to participate in the great service in the National Cathedral on Mount St. Albans next Sunday afternoon at 4:00 o'clock, when I tell you I am vacating the pulpit myself with great pleasure and satisfaction and giving place to your honored President, who will make the address for that service. I do it not only as a tribute of my high regard and esteem for him, but a tribute of my high regard and esteem for the great organization that you direct and control.

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT, COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

Delegate Schmal, Secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

The Committee on Credentials reports that they have examined the following additional credentials and recommend that the delegates be seated:

United Brick and Clay Workers of America—Frank Kasten, 1 vote.

Foundry Employes, International Brotherhood of—Thomas Cameron, 5 votes.

Quarry Workers' International Union of North America—Fred W. Suito, 21 votes.

Tobacco Workers' International Union—E. Lewis Evans, 26 votes.

Meriden, Conn., Central Labor Union—Charles H. Ledwith, 1 vote.

Nashville, Tenn., Trades and Labor Council—Daniel Hornby, 1 vote.

Fort Smith, Ark., Central Trades Council—Chas. L. Knight, 1 vote.

Doll Workers' Union No. 18247, Trenton, N. J.—Edward Lacken, 1 vote.

New Kensington, Pa., Allegany Valley Central Labor Union—Frank Hughes, 1 vote.

Missoula, Mont., Central Trades and Labor Council—Samuel H. Rivin, 1 vote.

United Neckwear Makers' Union No. 18417, Philadelphia, Pa.—Joseph Schwartz, 1 vote.

Federal Labor Union No. 18235, Okmulgee, Okla.—Wm. Rea, 1 vote.

We have been requested to substitute the name of Charles W. Wilkerson, for that of N. D. Smith, International Molders' Union of North America, and recommend that the delegate be seated with 30 votes.

COMMUNICATIONS

President Green: Yesterday we received a telegram of greetings from the Commander of the American Legion. Sensing the unanimous wish of this convention I replied in your name and in your behalf. I will have my reply read this morning for inclusion in our permanent record.

Secretary Morrison read the following message:

Washington, D. C.,
Oct. 2, 1933.

Louis Johnson, National Commander,
The American Legion Convention,
Auditorium, Chicago, Illinois.

Your telegram of greetings and good will was highly appreciated by the officers and delegates in attendance at the American Federation of Labor Convention. I am directed to reply expressing to you and through you to the officers and members in attendance at the American Legion Convention the greetings of the officers and delegates in attendance at the convention of the American Federation of Labor. The American Federation of Labor and the American Legion have many interests in common and it is pleasing indeed to know that for years a fine spirit of practical cooperation between the two organizations has been established and maintained. Major George L. Berry has

been assigned to attend your great convention and convey to you in person the well wishes of the American Federation of Labor and the assurance of continued cooperation in dealing with common problems in which there is a mutual interest. We wish for you a most satisfactory and successful convention.

WILLIAM GREEN, President.
American Federation of Labor.

The following messages were read to the convention and made part of the permanent records:

San Juan, P. R., October 2, 1933.

William Green, President,
American Federation of Labor,

At opening of your convention Puerto Rico Free Federation send fraternal greetings, wishing greatest success in deliberations for the benefit of the great masses of workers both continental and insular through the New Deal.

WILLIAM LOPEZ, Acting President.
RAFAEL ALSONO, Secretary.

Philadelphia, October 2, 1933.

American Federation of Labor
Convention,
Washington, D. C.

American Federation Labor: Brothers, greetings to you and your able leader at this memorable convention. President Green's statement, if followed by your campaign completely organizing all American workers on equality basis, will sanctify organized labor of America. Being the meek of the earth you shall receive your inheritance.

BENJAMIN STEINER.

President Green: We will be privileged this morning to listen to an address from the fraternal delegate sent to this convention from the National Women's Trade Union League. Fraternal delegates from this women's organization have always attended the conventions of the American Federation of Labor and have brought to us inspiring messages. We have always been pleased to have this women's organization work in cooperation with the American Federation of Labor.

I am glad this morning to present to you the fraternal delegate from the National Women's Trade Union League. She is no stranger to the officers and delegates in attendance at this convention and those who have attended other

conventions. She happens to have been identified with our organized labor movement in an active and official capacity for quite a long time. She has always been active in the Glove Workers' organization, and I have deeply appreciated the splendid service she has rendered the organized labor movement. She is a devoted trade unionist, one who occupies a very prominent place in our affections. I present to you Miss Elisabeth Christman, fraternal delegate from the National Women's Trade Union League of America.

MISS ELISABETH CHRISTMAN
(Fraternal Delegate, National Women's Trade Union League of America)

Mr. President and fellow trade unionists—I come to you as a fellow trade unionist representing the National Women's Trade Union League whose membership is primarily affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. This group whose convictions I voice has worked unswervingly not only for its own advancement, but in behalf of the whole trade union movement.

First, before discussing the many-avenued opportunity opening up to trade unionism today I want to present to you in a four-square fashion an urgent and strategic step that must be taken to enable us all to make the most clinching use of this opportunity. The women in the labor movement ask you for a new deal. Women must be represented in the official governing bodies of the labor movement if it is to achieve its goal and aims. If you continue to fail to give official recognition to women, the unrepresented minority of today, you leave a dangerous loop hole in the entire labor set-up.

Women should not be regarded as just women, but as Mary Beard in her book, "America Through Women's Eyes," has so well said, "women are competing units in a society of competing units called human beings." Can you afford to let them continue to compete in the form of cheaper labor as their isolated position forces them to do? The answer of every fair-minded person and indeed of every practical person is "no." Women must be organized along with men. And organized women must be represented along with organized men in the official councils of the labor movement. Why not open the door without further delay and let women work shoulder to shoulder with men in the making of labor policies as they do in the making of goods and the earning of a livelihood?

Always we hear that women are hard to organize. Yet there have been plenty of demonstrations to the contrary. Their comparatively small numbers in the membership in the unions is partly due to the fact that they have not been given a fair deal in trade unionism. Nobody wants to be just the tail of the kite. Yet that is the role to which women have been relegated heretofore in the labor movement. Give them real participation, responsibility, encouragement, and this will serve not just as a shot-in-the-arm kind of stimulant but as a nourishing food creating the full-blooded interest among women in organizing and being organized.

To sum up, woman representation in the official councils of the labor movement is not so much a sex question of their wants and needs but it is a very vital labor problem pertaining to a well-balanced trade union organism with a healthy life stream composed of different kinds of corpuscles in the right proportion. As President Green has said, a change is now taking place in reorganization around different moorings and the launching of an endeavor to work together. This is the psychological moment to throw overboard past prejudices against women and to steer a somewhat different course.

The Blue Eagle calls for a tri-partite partnership—the government, the employers, the employees—a delicately balanced mechanism. Labor is faced with a great responsibility. It must keep all parts of its machinery running smoothly and in the right relation. It must not neglect any of the balance wheels if its program is to be efficient and successful. Today approximately 11 million women are gainfully employed—or in other words one in every four women 16 years of age and over. Of these, five million women are in industry and business—an impressive total to be reckoned with. This is approximately the potential total for organization.

The actual numbers of women now in the trade union movement is a vastly different story. But let me give you a few figures to show the dramatic possibilities.

You may be surprised to learn that there are almost 55,000 women in the United States eligible to the Bakery and Confectionery Workers International Union of America.

Or take the textile industry. Among the workers in these mills are over 460,000 women eligible to national and international unions. Under the several codes of this industry that have been adopted how are the women faring? Many of them none too well, we have reason to know from a flood of complaints. But the organized workers backed by their unions are in a much

stronger position than are their unorganized sisters.

In recent years there has been a phenomenal rise among women barbers, hairdressers, and manicurists. The 1930 Census disclosed in these occupations a total of 113,000 women, who are eligible to the Barbers' International Union Journeymen.

Over 700,000 women are eligible to the Clerks International Protective Association, Retail, but only a small proportion of all of these are organized. The complicated situation of the women white collar workers under certain codes already adopted is made much more complicated in view of the great numbers who are unorganized. Plans for industrial control for white collar workers must extend beyond those employed in manufacturing and producing industries, beyond those in distribution, transportation, trade, to those in clerical jobs, under this or that small employer.

Over 284,000 women are engaged in the manufacture of electrical goods. About 435,000 women are employed in hotels and restaurants. I could multiply such examples of opportunity for organization among women in industries with adopted or pending codes, but too many statistics become distracting.

We are faced with another opportunity that has sprung up like a mushroom growth at the birth of the Blue Eagle. In the first place the Recovery Act and Administration have provided us with a helpful impetus for collective bargaining and with definite proof that success of the whole program is based on labor organization as an indispensable corner stone. Legions of unorganized workers are suddenly realizing that without the backing of unions they haven't the ghost of a chance to get justice under certain codes and in fighting chisellers. I should like to quote from a recent editorial by Mr. Green, who said "The crux of this opportunity for Labor is organization; organize so that all workers may have status and influence. Even though the Administrator is willing to consider individual views and protests, the individual worker can not meet the problems of getting to Washington and submitting prepared data.

"Workers generally are realizing their need of organization. In all parts of the country workers are rallying to union standards. From all quarters come calls for help in organizing workers in depressed industries; workers under so-called model company unions are asking for real trade unions."

This opportunity is truly breath taking, this possibility of increasing trade union membership by a landslide or

steam shovel technique, to those of us who have used pick and shovel methods for so many years to build up our unions.

Not only do unorganized workers need trade unions but the whole labor movement needs to recruit in short order these unorganized workers. Large employing corporations are still sticking to their guns in respect to A. F. of L. unionization of their workers. But if all workers become organized and part of the labor movement, then it will be more difficult to maintain non-union industries. These employers will then cease jockeying for position in the old battle they have known so well. They will have to change their front, if organized labor shows such a decided change of front by exhibiting strongly augmented ranks.

But this is not the whole campaign by a long shot—such organization efforts outside the ranks. Reorganization efforts within the ranks also are essential, in order that the A. F. of L. may develop a special kind of leadership so much needed today to function in the whole NRA program. It is imperative that we should have, in addition to the leaders in the various craft unions, more general leaders who understand from close contact the actualities and needs of all the unions. Such leaders would render a valuable service to the rank and file of trade unionists along the lines of adult education, enabling workers to get a better grasp of labor and economic problems, a wiser understanding of how the trade union movement can dovetail with efforts of other groups—progressive employers and citizens—in evolving the essential policies for success of the NRA.

Such leadership, I believe, can be developed by a closer relationship between the different unions in a community. For example, in a town or a city, it would be extremely helpful for small unions, instead of confining themselves to the labor interests just within their own trade walls, also to look over the walls at the problems of other unions in the community. In fact the members of the different unions, by actually getting together from time to time to understand each other's difficulties, can learn to shake hands cordially despite a certain inevitable and occasional stepping on each other's toes. They can come to a realization of the sharing of many similar problems and to an understanding of the dissimilar ones.

This getting together, I believe, could lead to some sort of joint council. I am not unmindful of the Central labor unions but I am thinking of something farther than that, of an agency to take the lead in the adult educational movement to which I have referred. Lack of

understanding breeds discontent and discouragement and these in turn precipitate collapse and ruin. A new approach to old problems and a real understanding of newer policies must be achieved if this country is to survive. In such a program all the people must participate, with the labor groups functioning as effectively as possible.

I would like to strike another dominant note which I believe is in harmony with the changing times. I believe that we shall have to make some structural change in our present Trade Union set-up. While I fully recognize the value of craft unions, I am in sympathy with the idea now being advanced here and there of a great need for the functional union in such many-sided industries as the rubber, textile, automobile, meat packing, for example. I urge, therefore, a functional organization of unions in industries which comprise a great diversity of occupations. Looking toward such a development I have in mind the formation of something that we might call a Strategy Board. Such an agency could map out general plans and policies for strengthening the united action of the regular craft unions and at the same time extending organization into those industries in which the present form of organization has obviously not been successful.

A strategy board could play a helpful role in the enforcement of the codes. Up to the present this aspect of the NRA program has been given scant consideration. We recognize that among employers in different industries are many who will always comply with any standards or laws set up. But unfortunately there are too many others who will not fall in line, will not relinquish their "rugged individualism" unless compelled to do so. Already we have had striking examples of these despite the patriotic appeal. We realize that we are now faced with a tremendous problem in the enforcement of the codes, and the necessary machinery for such a program. To be sure there have been set up volunteer councils in the States for the purpose of receiving and settling complaints. This has been a makeshift and inadequate system since most of these people trying to handle problems and complaints are not equipped for this job, and lack means of investigation and police power for access to records. There should be coordination of existing and available government agencies, namely the Federal and State departments of labor, to take this task of enforcement. Unless effective enforcement is possible the Federal program will be greatly weakened. Then the old competitive system in its grossest forms will reassert itself. Therefore the A. F. of L. through its organization and the whole labor movement should press the NRA for a program of enforcement that should take into consideration the part the Federal department of labor can

play and its coordination with the State departments of labor, so that complaints will be handled adequately in the States, and court action taken in all necessary cases. A tight system of carrying out penalties will go a long way toward effective enforcement.

In working for consumer support I believe that organized labor has another big field. Consumers and workers alike are affected by a rise in prices and can cooperate in public policy. Plans to this end should be quickly evolved.

Nor is enforcement of existing codes the end and aim of our program—far from it. We know too well that in most instances these are only a stop-gap, a bulwark to stem the tobogganing of standards and the collapse of industries. However, I do not want the Government to hand us a model set of working standards through the Industrial Recovery Act. Neither do I want the Government to organize for us. I look upon the significant legislation which the Blue Eagle symbolizes only as a measure for halting the ruthless wage cutting during these years of unemployment and as an instrument in establishing a bottom to the wage structure. In other words, I regard the minimum wage and maximum hour provisions in the codes as a base from which to start to build up real standards for all workers and as a firm foundation for collective bargaining by the unions in order that they may formulate their own policies for better working and living conditions.

President Green: We deeply appreciate this splendid address Miss Christman has given to us this morning. We are glad to welcome her here as a fraternal delegate of the National Women's Trade Union League. She is here in a dual capacity. She is a representative of both the Women's Trade Union League of America and a delegate representing the membership of the Glove Workers' International Union.

We thank you sincerely for your splendid message this morning, Miss Christman. It will be incorporated in the printed proceedings of today's convention.

ANNOUNCEMENTS

President Green: I wish to announce that the Secretary of Labor, Miss Frances Perkins, will address the convention Wednesday afternoon, October 4, at 3:00 o'clock. At 3:45 o'clock on Wednesday the Honorable William F. Stevenson, Chairman of the Federal Home

Loan Bank Board, will explain to us the Federal Home Loan Bank Act and its operation. It will be a most interesting address, I know.

On the morning of October 6 Postmaster General James A. Farley will address the convention. On the afternoon of Thursday, October 5, Reverend Francis J. Haas, Director of the National Catholic School of Social Service, will speak to us.

Our fraternal delegates will be prepared to address the convention on Thursday morning, October 5, promptly at 10:00 o'clock. Brother Rowan will speak first, Brother Hall second, and Brother White will follow.

Delegate Donnelly, Ohio State Federation of Labor: Taking advantage of this opportunity, I want to make an announcement. As is well known by the Chairman and the delegates from the various state federations of labor to this convention, each year there are conferences held by these delegates. This year the delegates who have already conferred upon this subject are of the opinion that it is quite important and will be of very great value to the movement generally and to the state federations of labor particularly if we get down to holding our conferences just as soon as possible. I would therefore like to ask, Mr. President, that the delegates from the several state federations of labor meet at this table immediately upon adjournment for the purpose of arranging for meetings of the 1933 conference.

President Green: The Chair desires to announce again that the time limit for the introduction of resolutions will expire at midnight tonight. Those who wish to introduce resolutions will please present them to Secretary Morrison here this morning on the stage or at his office in the Cabinet Room up until midnight tonight.

PRESENTATION OF BADGES TO FRATERNAL DELEGATES

President Green: The fraternal delegates from the British Trades Union

Congress traveled a long way to be present at this convention and bring to us a message from the trade unionists and their friends in Great Britain. The fraternal delegate from the Dominion of Canada has also come to this convention, and later on they will all deliver their messages of greeting. But I want you to become acquainted with them, I want all of you, officers and delegates, to know these fraternal delegates, and I am going to introduce them to you this morning and present to them the official badges provided for fraternal delegates by conventions of the American Federation of Labor.

First, may I introduce to you Brother James Rowan, J. P., General Secretary of the Electrical Trades Union, one of the fraternal delegates from the British Trades Union Congress.

Then I present his colleague who came with him all the way across the sea to attend this convention—Brother Joseph A. Hall, J. P., from Yorkshire, England, member of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain and Financial Secretary of the Yorkshire Mine Workers' Association, also member of the City Council of Wombwell, Yorkshire.

Then I have the honor to present to you the fraternal delegate from the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress, Brother F. J. White, a member of the Typographical Union, Secretary of the Calgary Trades Council and President of the Alberta Federation of Labor, elected by the trade unionists of Canada to come to this convention as a fraternal delegate.

The delegates in attendance at the conventions of the American Federation of Labor have for years past followed the time honored custom of presenting to fraternal delegates official badges so that they might be properly recognized and that they might carry back with them these badges as a fond remembrance of their visit to our convention. You know what they are. You have all seen them. They are beautiful in design and I am sure they will carry with them more than is represented by their mere intrinsic value.

So I want to present first to Brother Rowan this official badge, the gift of the officers and delegates in attendance at this convention. We have a similar badge for Brother Hall. We have made them all the same so there will be no jealousy and no rivalry. In the same spirit and in the same manner I present to Brother Hall this beautiful badge.

Then we have a similar badge for Brother White. You will know them by these badges because they are a bit different and they are selected especially for the fraternal delegates. All are presented with the same spirit and all carry with them the same message of good will and affection.

Now we want our fraternal delegates to know they are among friends, we want them to feel welcome and we want the officers and delegates in attendance at this convention to become acquainted with them, to extend to them the glad hand of fellowship, and to make them understand that they are really and truly welcome as fraternal delegates here.

Addition to Committee on Legislation

President Green: The Chair desires to add the name of Brother Leon De Veze as a member of the Committee on Legislation. Brother De Veze represents the Stereotypers and Electrotypers International Union.

Workers' Education Bureau of America

The following announcement was read to the convention:

The Workers' Education Bureau of America will open its Seventh National Convention in the Willard Room—Lobby Floor—Willard Hotel this afternoon at 2:00 P. M. The speakers will include Dr. L. R. Alderman, Chief of the Division of Adult Education, of the Office of Education; Prof. John Kerchen, Department of Workers' Education, University of California; Dr. Hans Mars, of the Austrian Chamber of Labor; Miss Hilda Smith, of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration, and others. Thomas E. Burke, President of the Workers' Education Bureau, will preside.

All Delegates to the American Federation of Labor Convention are cordially invited to attend the session.

RESOLUTIONS

Extension of Legislation to Insular Possessions.

Resolution No. 24—By Delegates Santiago Iglesias of the Puerto Rico State Federation of Labor and P. Rivera Martinez of the San Juan Central Labor Union.

WHEREAS, The organized labor movement of Puerto Rico, as represented by the Free Federation of Labor of the Island, has been denouncing for over thirty years industrial, economic, living and working conditions in that territory as unsound and most injurious to the welfare and uplifting of all the inhabitants of that Island, and more particularly so of the working classes constituting the overwhelming majority of the people; and

WHEREAS, At different Conventions of the State Federation of Puerto Rico resolutions have been adopted repeatedly suggesting that all plans of economic rehabilitation of the Island to be of practical benefit must have the effective enforcement and decided support and co-operation in a collective form of all the liberal organizations of the Island and of the continental United States as well, as it has been recorded in all our previous conventions for the last 15 years; and

WHEREAS, Resolutions adopted by our last conventions held in the years 1930 and 1931 called for the extension to Puerto Rico of the operation of numerous Acts of Congress as a complement to our plans of rehabilitation, and in furtherance thereto, and through the efforts of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and its Legislative Committee we have already succeeded in having some of those laws already extended and made applicable to our Island, but there are still some others that must be made applicable; and

WHEREAS, The Puerto Rican Federation of Labor unreservedly endorses the economic program of the new Executive of the Island as outlined in his inaugural address and also the effective plans of economic rehabilitation being developed by the President of the United States, to increase the purchasing power of the masses and to create new opportunities of employment for the unemployed through the increase in wages, the reduction of hours and a genuine recognition of labor to collective bargaining; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor was always ready at all times to render its worthy support and cooperation to the Island of Puerto Rico, be it

RESOLVED, That the 53d Convention of the American Federation of Labor heartily endorses the demands and aspirations of the Puerto Rico Federation of Labor and pledge its moral support to the rehabilitation plans for the Island of Puerto Rico; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the President of the American Federation of Labor be authorized, and is hereby earnestly urged to instruct and direct the Legislative Committee of the American Federation of Labor toward the legislative demands of the Puerto Rican Federation of Labor that are still pending extension to the Island, and so that proper action might be taken before Congress or before those administrative officials in authority to extend the benefits of all progressive Acts through interpretation, to the Island of Puerto Rico, to secure adequate help from our Government, and be it further

RESOLVED, That efforts be made in particular by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor before the competent authorities to have extended to Puerto Rico the benefits of the Wagner-Feysner Act—Public No. 30—73rd Congress creating a new United States Employment Service, in view that there is no place under our flag more needed of this measure than Puerto Rico, and be it further

RESOLVED, That in drafting the different codes of fair competition under the NRA, the labor representatives in the different boards be advised that, while we all realize conditions to be in Puerto Rico most different to those prevailing in the United States, however, the Island of Puerto Rico should receive due protection in drafting their local codes and it should not be kept as a market of cheap labor to the detriment of the workers and the inhabitants of the Island in general.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Public Utilities Workers

Resolution No. 25—By Delegate Robert J. Watt of the Massachusetts State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Large scale organization of workers employed by Public Utility and other industries hitherto practically unorganized is possible of early realization; and

WHEREAS, The problems and issues incident to their organization may of necessity require adjustment between conflicting jurisdictional and other claims of various organizations affiliated or eligible for affiliation with the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, The gravity of such problems and issues compel long and deep thought for their well considered resolution, especially in situations demanding responsive recognition of the need for a philosophy of action which will permit the American Federation of Labor to adapt itself to the needs of a changing economic order; and

WHEREAS, Wisdom dictates that pending such adjustment a policy of flexibility shall be favored to the end that all workers who desire to affiliate with the American Federation of Labor may be afforded the benefit thereof without hindrance or delay; be it

RESOLVED, By this Convention, that Section 2 of Article XIV of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor be and hereby is amended as follows by inserting in the third line thereof after the words "Federal Labor Unions" the following:

"and, in special situations, pending determination of conflicting jurisdictional claims or other matters in controversy or otherwise, probationary Federal Labor Unions;"

so that said Section 2 shall read as follows:

"Sec. 2. The Executive Council is authorized and empowered to charter Local Trade Unions and Federal Labor Unions, and, in special situations, pending determination of conflicting jurisdictional claims or other matters in controversy or otherwise, probationary 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."

Referred to Committee on Laws.

Credit Unions

Resolution No. 26—By Delegate Robert J. Watt of the Massachusetts State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The economic life of the United States cannot be stabilized until mass consumption is coordinated with mass production; and

WHEREAS, Such coordination requires an increase of consuming buying power on the part of the laboring masses of this country, employed as well as unemployed; and

WHEREAS, The great defect of our present Federal Reserve Banking System is the lack of power for the granting of consumer credit parallel with

the granting of production and distribution credit; and

WHEREAS, Credit unions hold forth the possibility of, when and if geared with the Federal Reserve Banking System, of materially assisting in the achievement of balance between production and consumption of goods; be it

RESOLVED, By this convention, that the incoming Executive Council be and is hereby empowered, to consult with with experts in consumer finance for the purpose of securing enactment of remedial legislation in this regard; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor immediately request the President of the United States to set up with the assistance of the present financial machinery of the United States interim facilities of consumer credit.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

"Efficiency" Systems

Resolution No. 27—By Delegate Robert J. Watt, of Massachusetts State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The right to earn a living is fundamental in any form of civilized society; and

WHEREAS, The debacle of the past decade has demonstrated that man must be enabled to consume the goods he produces; and

WHEREAS, The bare theory of supply and demand in a capitalistic society collapsed as soon as a mechanized industry glutted the market on the one hand and destroyed the purchasing power of the masses through the consequent unemployment; and

WHEREAS, The prostration of industry and agriculture caused a stoppage of trade and created starvation as the consequence of overproduction; and

WHEREAS, The theory of laissez faire could lead only to disintegration of society and the state; and

WHEREAS, Production should be a servant to the needs of mankind rather than the object of the efforts of a people; and

WHEREAS, The National Recovery Program is based upon a reorganization of society so that the consuming power of the people will equal the production of its industry and agriculture; and

WHEREAS, Limitation of hours of work has been established to create a proper balance between production and consumption; and

WHEREAS, The speed-up system now widely in use directly defeats the ex-

PLICIT purpose and plain intent of the President's program; be it

RESOLVED, That the Federation of Labor oppose the attempt to force greater production per worker, and resolutely insist that no acceleration of production be permitted without an accompanying further reduction in weekly hours of work for workmen; that no speed-up or stretch-out system be permitted which will exceed the capacity of the competent workmen; that if any production schedule exceeds the capabilities of the present employees that the schedule be discharged and not the employees; that efficiency systems, so-called, be not permitted to serve as subterfuge for the discharge of the faithful older working people.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Elimination of Night Work

Resolution No. 28—By Delegate Robert J. Watt, of Massachusetts State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, There is not sufficient labor in our present economic set-up to insure the employment of everyone desiring work; and

WHEREAS, It is increasingly important for the well-being of society to have as nearly as possible similar work hours and similar recreational hours for the members of every family; and

WHEREAS, Night work is inherently injurious and detrimental to the health as well as the welfare of the individual and the group; be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor strive earnestly and continuously to eliminate work after 6:00 o'clock for men and women in all industries and retail establishments, attempting to insert these provisions into codes awaiting acceptance and codes already accepted under the NRA and wherever possible enacting these provisions into permanent legislation throughout all the states.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Allocation of Transfer of Naval Field Employees

Resolution No. 29—By Delegate C. L. Rosemund, of International Federation of Technical Engineers', Architects' and Draftsmen's Unions, and E. C. Babcock, of American Federation of Government Employees.

WHEREAS, Section 2 of the Brookhart Act enacted by the Seventy-first Congress expressly provided that the Group IV-b employees of the Naval field establishments be placed under the sal-

ary rates and provisions of the Classification Act of 1923 as amended; and

WHEREAS, The Navy Department secured approximately \$6,000 additional appropriations to carry out the details that the involved allocation would entail; and

WHEREAS, The Navy Department detail assigned to this work failed to complete the final allocation until subsequent legislation set aside the requirements of Section 2 of the Brookhart Act; be it

RESOLVED, That the Classification of Group IV-b of the Naval Field Establishment be transferred to the Civil Service Commission; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Civil Service Commission be instructed to complete the final allocation and that the Legislative Committee of the American Federation of Labor assist in securing the remedial legislation required at the next session of Congress.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Labor Injunctions

Resolution No. 30—By Delegate R. Suny of Cleaners', Dyers', Spotters' and Pressers' Union No. 18233.

WHEREAS, The employers through their government and the Courts at different periods have used injunctions to break strikes of the workers and to prevent the trades unions from organizing workers in the struggle for better conditions, and through these injunctions the employers have been able to break many strikes of the workers; and

WHEREAS, At the present period of unemployment and speed-up, the injunction is being used by the employers and their government against the workers more than ever before despite all so-called "anti-injunction" legislation; be it

RESOLVED, That this convention vigorously condemns the use of injunctions in strikes and joins with other militant organizations in fighting the injunctions as a strikebreaking weapon of the employers against the working class; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the convention regulate the action of the officials of any union in utilizing injunctions for any purpose whatsoever because this can only be to the detriment of working-class interests.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Unemployment Insurance

Resolution No. 31—By Delegate R. Suny, of Cleaners, Dyers, Spotters and Pressers' Union No. 18233.

RESOLVED, That a system of federal government unemployment insurance be immediately established by an Act of Congress and made immediately effective, guaranteeing the average wages in the respective industries and territories in the United States. The unemployment insurance shall not be less than \$10.00 weekly for adult workers, \$3.00 for each dependent, to all workers wholly unemployed thru no fault of their own, for the entire period of unemployment; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That for all workers, no discrimination; that unemployment insurance be paid to every unemployed worker, adult, and youth, whether industrial or agricultural, office employees, and all other categories of wage labor, native or foreign-born, citizen or non-citizen, white and Negro, men and women, and without discrimination against race, color, age, or political opinion. No worker shall be deprived of unemployment insurance because of refusal to take the place of strikers or to work for less than union rates of pay; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That insurance shall be provided at the expense of the employers and the government; that the full funds for unemployment insurance shall be raised by the government from funds now set aside for war preparations and by taxation upon incomes over \$5,000 a year. In no instance shall there be any contributions levied upon the workers in any form whatsoever for this insurance; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the unemployment insurance fund shall be administered and controlled by the workers through unemployment insurance commissions composed of rank and file members of workers' organizations. That unemployment insurance commissions be empowered to establish free employment exchanges for the registration of the workers. The payment of unemployment insurance, the hearing of contested claims for unemployment insurance and appeals from awards made; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That social insurance be paid to workers to the amount not less than \$10.00 weekly for adult workers, \$3.00 for each dependent to compensate for loss of wages through sickness, accident, old age, maternity, etc.; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That part-time workers shall receive the difference between their wages and the unemployment insurance benefit. No worker shall be disqualified from receiving unemployment insurance because he refuses to work at wages below what he was formerly receiving or below the prevailing trade union rates in that vicinity, nor shall he or she be disqualified for refusing to work because of strike or

unsafe or unhealthful conditions, nor where hours are longer than the usual trade union standards in the particular trade or locality; and be it further

RESOLVED, That an employee shall not be required to accept employment if the establishment where employment is offered is at an unreasonable distance from his or her home.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Exemption of Dues Payment for Unemployed Members

Resolution No. 32—By Delegate R. Suny of Cleaners, Dyers, Spotters and Pressers Union No. 18233.

WHEREAS, We are in the fourth year of the crisis and over 15,000,000 workers are unemployed in the United States among whom are hundreds of thousands of workers who are members of the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, The general constitution of almost every international union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor requires that a member who is in arrears three months or six months and in some cases a year shall be stricken off the roll of membership without a vote taken in the local union, and as a result of this during the period of one year hundreds of thousands of members, as well as local unions, were suspended from the organizations; and

WHEREAS, Only with few exceptions the various international organizations have not taken steps to safeguard these unemployed members who are unable to pay dues because of unemployment and thus they played directly into the hands of the employers by weakening the organization; at the same time they have not curtailed their expenditures; they have not reduced the high salaries of the international officers, general organizers, etc., and also in many cases in order that they might receive their fat salaries they have touched the sick, disability and death benefit funds; be it

RESOLVED, That all suspensions and expulsions for non-payment of dues cease immediately; all members unemployed the major part of each month shall be exempt from payment of dues and shall remain in good standing in the local union with full rights; that the local union be exempt from paying per capita tax to the central bodies and remain in good standing; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That all expenditures of the international offices and other central bodies be cut accordingly and these demands be sent out for a referendum immediately to the membership of each international organization.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Right of City, County and State Employees to Organize Under N. R. A.

Resolution No. 33—By Delegates Fred W. Baer, George J. Richardson, John Heinz and Vincent Kane, of the International Association of Fire Fighters.

WHEREAS, The Government of the United States has recognized, by the enactment of the law known as the National Industrial Recovery Act, the fact that all workers have the right to organize and bargain collectively through representatives of their own choosing; and

WHEREAS, The interpretations so far given of the President's Re-employment Agreement have been that workers employed by city, county, and state governments are not intended to be covered in the provisions of such agreement; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates here assembled at this, the 53d Convention of the American Federation of Labor, instruct the executive officers and the component parts of the American Federation of Labor to endeavor to secure an interpretation of the National Industrial Recovery Act to the effect that Section 7 of the Act shall apply to all city, county, and state employees, the same as it does to all other workers.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Preventing Further Reductions in Fire Fighters' Salaries

Resolution No. 34—By Delegates Fred W. Baer, George J. Richardson, John Heinz and Vincent Kane, of the International Association of Fire Fighters.

WHEREAS, The members of fire departments in many cities throughout the United States and Canada are not now receiving a living wage; and

WHEREAS, It is an assured fact that the budget committees in many localities will renew their attempts to further reduce wages of fire fighters; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates here assembled at this, the 53d Convention of the American Federation of Labor, instruct the executive officers and the component parts of the American Federation of Labor to use every means at their command to prevent any reductions in present salaries of fire fighters where such action is contemplated.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Condemning False Economy Practices in Fire Departments

Resolution No. 35—By Delegates Fred W. Baer, George J. Richardson, John Heinz and Vincent Kane, of the International Association of Fire Fighters.

WHEREAS, In many cities throughout the United States and Canada the personnel of the fire departments has been reduced and fire stations have been closed, under the guise of economy; and

WHEREAS, This practice has resulted in curtailing the efficiency of the fire departments in such cities, demoralizing the morale of the members of such departments, and jeopardizing the lives and property of the citizens of such cities, and

WHEREAS, This practice also affords fire insurance companies an opportunity to raise fire insurance rates, resulting in exorbitant costs to the public, which more than offset any seeming savings in municipal pay rolls; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates here assembled at this, the 53rd Convention of the American Federation of Labor, do hereby condemn such practice as unsound and false economy, and that they instruct the executive officers and the component parts of the American Federation of Labor to use the good offices of the American Federation of Labor to insist that the personnel of fire departments be kept up to the standards necessary to maintain the fire protection requirements laid down by qualified experts.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Shorter Hours for Fire Fighters

Resolution No. 36—By Delegates Fred W. Baer, George J. Richardson, John Heinz and Vincent Kane, of the International Association of Fire Fighters.

WHEREAS, The President of the United States, in his statement of June 16, 1933, "National Recovery Administration Bulletin No. 1," stated: "The law I have just signed was passed to put people back to work—to let them buy more of the products of farms and factories and start our business at a living rate again. * * * The idea is simply for employers to hire more men to do the existing work by reducing the work hours of each man's week and at the same time paying a living wage for the shorter week"; and

WHEREAS, The fire fighters throughout the United States and Canada are now working an average of eighty-four hours per week; and

WHEREAS, A reduction of their working hours would create employment for many thousands who are not now employed; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates here assembled at this, the 53d Convention of the American Federation of Labor, instruct the executive officers and the component parts of the American Federation of Labor to endeavor to secure the shortening of hours for members of the fire departments of the United States and Canada, with no reduction in monthly salaries.

Referred to Committee on Shorter Workday.

Child Labor Amendment

Resolution No. 37—By Delegates Selma M. Borchardt and Florence Curtis Hanson, of the American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, The highly gratifying child labor legislation of the National Recovery Administration is but emergency legislation and will cease to function after two years' time; and

WHEREAS, Even under the present emergency child labor legislation, violations of this legislation are constantly being reported as being practiced by unscrupulous employers; and

WHEREAS, Child labor at any time is detrimental to the progress, advancement, and security of our civilization; and

WHEREAS, Child labor is particularly unwise and indefensible at the present time when millions of men are without employment; and

WHEREAS, The legislatures of several States, recognizing these facts, have ratified the child labor amendment to the Constitution; be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor call upon its Locals and individual members to carry on unceasing activity for the ratification of the child labor amendment by their respective State Legislatures.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Nationalization of Banking

Resolution No. 38—By Delegate Selma M. Borchardt and Florence Curtis Hanson, of the American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, The power of banks has been increased and abused to an extent that makes their control by irresponsible individuals a public menace; and

WHEREAS, Bankers have so far departed from their traditional occupa-

tion of safeguarding and loaning money as to include:

(1) A control of the business and industry of the country through their power to withhold credit,

(2) The manipulation of the sale of stocks and bonds, many of them worthless,

(3) The flotation of highly speculative real estate securities,

(4) A conspiracy to control governments through their power to withhold credit, and

(5) Bribery of public officials by the issuance to them of stock in corporations under their control at less than the actual value; and

WHEREAS, The departure from sound banking practices due to the improper interests of the bankers in various business ventures has caused the failure of many banks and the resultant loss to millions of depositors; and

WHEREAS, The collapse of the banking system and the failure of many banker-controlled business enterprises have brought about a great loss of confidence in banks, as well as suffering to the general public; and

WHEREAS, The bankers have used their power to curtail constructive activity of government and especially of appropriations for public education and for salaries—often too low; be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor urge the national government to establish a system of national banks under federal ownership and control, and that as immediate steps, remove the limit placed upon the amount that may be deposited by any one depositor in the Postal Savings Bank, arrange for checking accounts in this bank and permit the use of money deposited in the Postal Savings Bank to be used for financing government costs.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Preservation of Our Public School System

Resolution No. 39—By Delegates Selma M. Borchardt and Florence Curtis Hanson, of the American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, The destructive tendency incidental to the retrenchment movement against public education has resulted in the closing of schools, the dismissal of teachers, the housing of children in dilapidated and overcrowded school buildings, the shortening of the school year, the curtailment and elimination of important subjects, and of the much needed social services; and

WHEREAS, The slogan of "Balance the Budget" has been used as the excuse for the reckless slashing of vitally necessary expenditures, many of which are the only social guarantees we have for the maintenance of standards in education and in health and safety; and

WHEREAS, We believe that the destruction of the very social fibre of this nation must come from the continuance of this policy; be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor reaffirm its position of unwavering support of public education, the necessary elements of which entail:

(1) Truly professional standards in and for the classroom.

(2) Small classes taught by trained teachers.

(3) An enriched curriculum.

(4) Opportunities for growth and cultural advantages for adult workers.

(5) A living wage for all teachers.

(6) Security of tenure for all educational workers.

(7) Decent working conditions for teachers.

(8) Right to establish teachers' unions, affiliated with organized labor.

(9) Opportunity for culture and professional study for teachers.

(10) Maintenance of educational standards.

(11) Provision for old age pensions for teachers.

(12) Opportunity for teachers to participate in formulating educational policy; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That it renew its pledge of utmost endeavor for the protection of education from kindergarten through university, and that it call upon all affiliated state and local central bodies to fight to the utmost to maintain intact our free public school system in this country.

Referred to Committee on Education.

Administration of Public Works Act

Resolution No. 40—By Delegates James T. Moriarty, Sheet Metal Workers' International Association; Robert J. Watt, Massachusetts State Federation of Labor; John J. Mara, Boot and Shoe Workers Union; John F. McNamara, International Brotherhood of Firemen and Oilers; Michael J. Flynn, Newspaper Writers Union No. 17662; John C. McDonald, International Union of Elevator Constructors; James P. Meehan, Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America; John C. Carey, Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America; Fred J. Dempsey and James

F. Burke, International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employes and Moving Picture Machine Operators; Edwin E. Graves, Upholsterers' International Union of North America.

WHEREAS, Congress appropriated three billion three hundred million dollars to be spent on construction of Public Works for the purpose of providing employment for industrial workers and especially building tradesmen; and

WHEREAS, Through the laxity or the inefficiency of those entrusted with the expenditure of this money there are today hundreds of thousands of industrial workers who, through being deprived of employment intended by and provided for by Congress, are in suffering and in want; and

WHEREAS, In the City of Boston alone there are today more than twenty thousand building tradesmen who were entitled to and did believe that, through the action of Congress in appropriating this sum of three billion three hundred million dollars to be spent on Public Works, they would be provided with needed and profitable employment; and

WHEREAS, These men and hundreds of thousands of other skilled and unskilled workers throughout our country, due to either the laxity or the inefficiency of those entrusted with the administration of the Public Works Act, will soon be dependent upon Public Charity; and

WHEREAS, Apparently some officials charged with the administration of the Public Works Act seemingly are more interested in using the money appropriated for employment opportunities for workers for the enrichment of land speculators, under the guise of slum clearances; and other public officials, charged with the administration of the public works or the development of public roads seemingly are more interested in reducing wages heretofore paid to skilled workers than in providing employment opportunities at decent wages; and

WHEREAS, Taking Boston and Massachusetts as an illustration, where some seventy millions of dollars of public works have been authorized and been approved by the proper public officials, where there is no public works projects under way at this time, despite the fact that Congress appropriated and directed that this money be spent some three months ago; and

WHEREAS, There is good reason to believe that if the intent of Congress is to be carried out and employment opportunities provided for many thousands of building tradesmen and other industrial workers it is essential that the administration of the Public Works Act be entrusted to persons at least sympathetic with the intent of Congress

and the plight of the unemployed workers; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this convention appeal to the President of the United States for the removal of those public officials, now entrusted with the administration of the Public Works Act, who, either through their laxity or their inefficiency, are responsible for much of the present unemployment of hundreds of thousands of those industrial workers and building tradesmen who are dependent for employment upon the successful completion of the Public Works Act unless those now in charge can show their willingness to carry out the intent of Congress and make possible the employment of unemployed workers.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Investigation Into Activities of Merchants, Manufacturers and Employers Association of Stockton, California

Resolution No. 41—By Delegate Paul Scharrenberg of California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Due to the revived activities of the Merchants, Manufacturers and Employers Association of Stockton, Cal., organized labor in that city has been prevented from having duly selected representatives on N. R. A. committees; and

WHEREAS, Trade Unions have been prevented by the activities of the Merchants, Manufacturers and Employers in Stockton, Cal., from taking advantage of Sec. 7A of the National Recovery Act, whereby labor is guaranteed the right of organization; and

WHEREAS, The activities of the Merchants, Manufacturers and Employers in Stockton, Cal., constitute a serious menace to the labor movement of the State of California; be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, that we respectfully request the Federal Government to investigate the activities of the Merchants, Manufacturers and Employers of Stockton, Cal., and, if necessary, vigorously prosecute the Merchants, Manufacturers and Employers for its infractions of the spirit and the purpose of the N. R. A.; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and all affiliated National and International Unions be requested to devote special attention and assistance to their affiliated locals in Stockton, Cal., in order that Trade Unions already formed be strengthened, and new organizations formed in this notoriously open-shop city.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Industrial Labor Law

Resolution No. 42—By Delegate Paul Scharrenberg of California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, In 1926 the Congress passed the Railway Labor Act which established certain principles regulating the relationship between employers and employees in the railroad industry; and

WHEREAS, This legislation has during the past seven years proven its merits; and

WHEREAS, The Congress did upon the recommendation of the President enact into law the National Recovery Act and incorporated into that legislation in Section 7-A the basic principles of the Railway Labor Act as emergency legislation to be in force and effect for a period of two years only; and

WHEREAS, The President and many others both in and out of the labor movement have predicted and expressed the wish that all forward steps taken in this emergency should not be surrendered but should be made permanent advances; be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, in annual convention assembled, that the Executive Council be instructed to prepare an act to be known as the Industrial Labor Act and incorporate therein the principles set forth in Section 7-A of the National Industrial Recovery Act and particularly that portion establishing the right of employees to organize into Unions of their own choosing without interference or coercion and outlawing the Yellow Dog Contract, establishing such enforcement and regulating agency as will be necessary.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Oriental Labor Immigration Restriction

Resolution No. 43—By Delegate Paul Scharrenberg of California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has, throughout its existence, maintained a consistent policy for the rigid exclusion of Oriental labor and has cooperated with other national organizations to make such exclusion effective; and

WHEREAS, Notwithstanding the frequently expressed demand of the American Federation of Labor for the exclusion of all Oriental labor, including Filipinos, it is a regrettable fact that the latter are still admitted to the United States and its territories without any restriction whatever; and

WHEREAS, The only Filipino exclusion measure that has to date been adopted by the Congress of the United States is contained in the Filipino Independence bill which, however, requires approval of the Filipino people before it becomes effective; be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, in 53d Annual Convention assembled, that we demand immediate effective immigration restriction of Filipino laborers without having to wait for the approval of an Independence bill by the Filipino people; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That we reaffirm our policy of upholding immigration quotas and urge Congress to resist any attempt to liberalize same.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Rebate of Dues to Unemployed Members

Resolution No. 44—By Delegate John Sublisky, of Kenosha, Wisc., Trades and Labor Council.

WHEREAS, There exists in this nation an economic system where man, although healthy and able to work, and through no fault of his own is unable to do so; and

WHEREAS, A great many of these unfortunate men and women belong to bona fide labor unions, and have not worked for some three or four years, and some for even a greater length of time; and

WHEREAS, It is impossible for men and women not working to pay dues into an organization, especially so when not working for years, even though they are the best union men and women in the organization, and after due time are suspended from the organization; and

WHEREAS, Men and women once suspended from an organization, through lack of work, not only lose their sense of union spirit, but they also lose the benefits for which they have paid; therefore, because of conditions over which they had no control, they can never become the same union men and women in the organization that it once was their privilege to be; and

WHEREAS, With the NRA in force with many new organizations coming into being, and not knowing when another crash may come with the resultant lay-offs, which would again cripple, if not ruin, the organization work done thus far; be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor adopt a system of issuing stamps to the unemployed members of Federal Labor Unions at no cost to the member, and

no cost to the Local Union; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That all International Unions be requested to adopt a similar system to preserve the union spirit and membership which we have achieved after years of struggle; and that it is to our interest to keep our membership intact now, and not to be compelled to reorganize unions which we have allowed to be destroyed through our own lack of foresight.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Teacher Training

Resolution No. 45—By Delegates Selma M. Borchardt and Florence Curtis Hanson of the American Federation of Teachers and Arnold S. Zander of the Wisconsin State Administrative Employees' Association No. 18213.

WHEREAS, The education of our working people, employed and unemployed, on a part-time continuing program, is an essential feature of our industrial recovery, not as a temporary makeshift nor on a "made-work" plan for idle persons to teach, but as a permanent part of our placement and after-service to all of our working people who need courses to improve their technical skill and broaden their economic plan of living; and

WHEREAS, Such educational program is dependent for its success on properly qualified teachers with an industrial, technical and practical background improved and made available by professional teacher training courses for such teachers; and

WHEREAS, Such teacher training program may and should continue to be an integral part of our whole program for adult education, in order that our working people, idle and employed, have the best trade, technical, industrial, and general teachers that can be procured; and

WHEREAS, Such a program of teacher training was for years recognized by the Federal Board for Vocational Education and made by such Board an essential part of its whole plan for federal aid to states in promoting adequate and worthwhile educational courses for our working people, rural and urban, juvenile and adult, idle and employed; and

WHEREAS, The Federal Emergency Relief Administration has authorized and is promoting a "made-work" program whereby needy unemployed persons may be employed on "work relief wages" only to teach the unemployed working people of the country, the "teachers" to be selected and certified

for this important work by state and local "relief agencies"; and

WHEREAS, Those responsible for the promotion of this program undoubtedly have the best interests of our people at heart but fail to appreciate the reaction of such a program on the whole problem of adult education as well as on the teaching profession; and

WHEREAS, The NRA has definitely set up various codes of fair competition in industry in order that the country may slowly but surely return to an era of prosperity, and inasmuch as this "made-work" program for teachers is inconsistent with and contrary to the principles set forth under the NRA codes; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, deprecates the government's program of employing teachers or others in public service on a basis of pauper wages on a "made-work" theory and under the guise of "relief" programs; and be it further

RESOLVED, That an adequate teacher training program be maintained for those who would teach our working people, employed and unemployed, and that wherever extra teachers are employed they be employed at the pre-depression wage schedule for teachers of the locality where they are employed, and that their competence as teachers be passed upon by boards of education or boards of vocational education as the case may be; and be it further

RESOLVED, That in order to continue this important work with professionally trained teachers, the Federal government make available to the states directly the funds necessary therefor.

Referred to Committee on Education.

American Salesbook Co., Ltd.

Resolution No. 46—By Delegate John E. Murphy, Elmira Central Trades and Labor Assembly, Elmira, N. Y.

WHEREAS, Through the determination of the American Sales Book Co., Ltd., to enforce the Bedeaux speedup system upon its employees and set priority and competency by a stopwatch method; and

WHEREAS, The introduction of this system caused the printers in Niagara Falls and Elmira to strike both plants which was followed by the Company declaring a lockout against the stereotypers who refused to take work from scabs; and

WHEREAS, Imported strikebreakers are now employed in both plants in the composing rooms and stereotype departments; be it

RESOLVED, That this convention go on record placing the products of the American Sales Book Co. on the "We Don't Patronize List"; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we urge all local unions to appoint committees to visit merchants to divert sales slip work to Union Label Shops.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Federal Labor Unions Initiation Fees

Resolution No. 47—By Delegate Karl Lore, Metal Stammers and Finishers Union of St. Louis.

WHEREAS, The Federal Labor Union is being used as the instrument by which the workers of the United States of America are being enrolled in the A. F. of L.; and

WHEREAS, The fundamental task at this time is the education of the workers in the fundamental basis of unionism which makes it necessary that as few impediments be placed in the way of enrolling such workers into the ranks of the organized labor movement; and

WHEREAS, The provisions whereby workers wishing to form a Federal Labor Union are required to pay their initiation fees in full and in advance have frequently worked against the fullest possible organization of the workers; be it

RESOLVED, That this 53d Convention of the American Federation of Labor approves the principle that workers wishing to form a Federal Labor Union under the charter of the American Federation of Labor shall not be required to pay their initiation fees in full and in advance before receiving that charter; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That workers wishing to join a Federal Labor Union already established shall not be required to pay their initiation fee in full and in advance before being enrolled as members.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Representation of the United States in Conferences of International Labor Office

Resolution No. 48—Delegates E. E. Millman of the Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees, Thos. E. Burke of the United Association of Plumbers and Steam Fitters of the United States and Canada, Christian M. Madsen of the Brotherhood of

Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America and J. A. Franklin of the International Brotherhood of Boiler Makers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America.

WHEREAS, The American Government, through its Secretary of Labor and with the approval of the President, sent the first delegation of official representatives to the seventeenth session of the International Labor Conference at Geneva, Switzerland, last June; be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in Convention assembled highly commends such action on the part of the American Government; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Government be urged to continue sending such official representatives to future Conferences of the International Labor Organization, to the end that cooperative relations may be further expanded and strengthened.

Referred to Committee on International Labor Relations.

Hours, Wages and Conditions of Employment in Navy Yards

Resolution No. 49—By Delegate H. T. Morningstar, The National Association of Master Mechanics and Foremen of Navy Yards and Naval Stations.

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor Convention declare in favor of the following:

(1) Restoration of pay; 30 hour week; and automatic pay increases.

(2) Extension of classification of the field service; classification according to duties performed with opportunities for promotion.

(3) Optional retirement after 30 years of service; the right to increase payments to the retirement fund in order to get greater annuities.

(4) A centralized personnel administration which would include transfer of the fiscal machinery of the retirement law from the Veterans' Administration to the Civil Service Commission; organized employe representation on all personnel bodies.

(5) Extension of the merit system and improvements in the efficiency rating system.

(6) Thirty days' annual leave, cumulative.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Voting Franchise for District of Columbia

Resolution No. 50—By James J. Noonan, Central Labor Union, Washington, D. C.

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in 53d Convention assembled in the City of Washington, D. C., October, 1933, that we again record our hearty approval of the proposal to amend the Constitution of the United States so as to empower the Congress to grant to the residents of the District of Columbia voting representation in the Senate and House of Representatives, the vote for President and Vice President and the same rights before the courts of the United States enjoyed by the citizens of a State. That we believe these voteless and unrepresented fellow Americans are entitled to a new deal without further delay and therefore pledge the active and continuing support of this Federation to bring this about.

RESOLVED, That the officers and proper committees of this body be and they are hereby authorized and directed to petition Congress, and State Legislatures and take such other action as will aid in obtaining prompt and favorable action upon this most meritorious American proposal.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

American Telephone and Telephone Company Monopoly

Resolution No. 51—By Delegates D. W. Tracy and G. M. Bugnizet of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers.

WHEREAS, The American Telephone & Telegraph Company operates the long distance communication service in interstate commerce; and

WHEREAS, This company makes use in that service of the local exchange plant facilities of its subsidiary companies in every community in the United States, to originate and to receive long distance communications; and

WHEREAS, This company, through stock ownership and contractual relationships, has gained control over these subsidiaries throughout the Bell System, owning over 95 per cent of all the local exchange properties in the United States used in the Long Distance Service; and

WHEREAS, The officials of the American Telephone & Telegraph Company testified under oath in the Chicago Telephone litigation during the last year that its long distance rates have been and are now established on the basis

that they do not cover compensation by the user of such service for his use of the local exchange properties of the local telephone companies in the Bell System; and

WHEREAS, The same officials testified under oath also that by understanding with its subsidiary companies, the American Telephone & Telegraph Company never has compensated its subsidiary companies for the use by it and by its long distance customers of this local exchange properties in its long distance service; and

WHEREAS, The same officials testified under oath also that by the same understanding the subsidiary companies of the Bell System always have so established the local exchange service rates in every community in the United States that the local service customers compensate such companies for the uses in the long distance service of the American Telephone & Telegraph Company of their local exchange properties even though only a small percentage of such local service customers ever use long distance service and even though a large portion of the local service customers never have, never will and never desire to use such long distance service; and

WHEREAS, This practice of the American Telephone & Telegraph Company burdens the laborer, the farmer, the widow and orphan in every community of the United States using the local service, for the benefit and unjust enrichment of the American Telephone & Telegraph Company; and

WHEREAS, During the period beginning with 1919 to 1933 the subsidiary companies of the Bell System have consistently claimed before State Commissions and Courts that the revenues for local exchange service have been inadequate and confiscatory and on the basis of these claims have procured substantial increases in local exchange service rates in every community in the Bell System, and have secured injunctions in federal courts preventing reductions in such rates; and

WHEREAS, During the same period the American Telephone & Telegraph Company has made four substantial reductions in the long distance rates and still earned on its investment in that service grossly unreasonable profits ranging from 15% to 30% each year; and

WHEREAS, Prior to 1933 neither the subsidiary companies nor the American Telephone & Telegraph Co. ever disclosed the facts regarding the understanding between them to have the local exchange customers and not the American Telephone & Telegraph Company's customers pay the expenses of the operations of the local properties in its long distance service; and

WHEREAS, This burden imposed on the local service rates by the American Telephone & Telegraph Company has been largely responsible for the increase in local exchange service rates since 1919 and has prevented the reduction in such rates in spite of the fact that during this period the subsidiary companies have reduced wages and discharged employees; and

WHEREAS, The long distance service and this understanding between the American Telephone & Telegraph Company and its subsidiary companies are matters of interstate commerce over which the state legislatures, courts and commissions have no jurisdiction and over which Congress has jurisdiction; and

WHEREAS, In addition to the long distance message communication service the American Telephone & Telegraph Co. also operates and makes use of the local exchange properties of its subsidiaries for telegraph and radio broadcasting services, without compensating the subsidiary companies therefor and burdens the local exchange service rates therewith; and

WHEREAS, The rates for long distance message communication, for telegraph and for radio broadcasting have never in fact been investigated or regulated by the Interstate Commerce Commission and serious doubt exists as to the power of the Interstate Commerce Commission to make such investigation and regulation; and

WHEREAS, The continuation of the practices of the American Telephone & Telegraph Company and of its subsidiaries discriminates primarily against the working people in favor of big business who use the long distance and telegraph service and in favor of the American Telephone & Telegraph Company; and

WHEREAS, The American Telephone & Telegraph Company has charged to its subsidiary companies and their local exchange subscribers over \$50,000,000 since 1920 to cover its expenses of developing patents and inventions which have found their usefulness mostly in its own long distance message communication, telegraph and radio broadcasting services, which have also been exploited through the Electrical Research Products, Inc., its subsidiary, outside the telephone communication field in talking motion pictures covering over 90 per cent of that industry in the United States and abroad, and which have also been exploited through the Western Electric Company, its subsidiary, and by other licensed manufacturers outside the Bell System in the United States and Canada and abroad; and

WHEREAS, The American Telephone & Telegraph Company and its subsid-

aries have received in royalties and special compensation over \$50,000,000 for the use of such inventions outside the Bell System and will be entitled to additional royalties and compensation for many years hereafter; and

WHEREAS, The American Telephone & Telegraph Company has never accounted to its subsidiaries for any of these profits made by it, although they paid for all the expenses incurred to create these inventions from which the profits were derived; and

WHEREAS, The operations of the American Telephone & Telegraph Company covering the use of these inventions involves interstate and foreign commerce beyond the jurisdiction of the state legislatures, courts and commissions but within the jurisdiction of Congress; and

WHEREAS, It is impossible, as a practical matter, for any single community or agency other than Congress to make a complete investigation of the affairs of the American Telephone & Telegraph Company in its relation to its subsidiaries; and

WHEREAS, The employees of the Bell System and the working class in every community in the United States, who are the principal sufferers from these exploitations by the American Telephone & Telegraph Company or its subsidiaries for its own unjust enrichment, have challenged public attention resulting in a demand from all quarters for a Congressional investigation of the Bell System; be it

RESOLVED, That it is the consensus of opinion of the American Federation of Labor that the American Telephone & Telegraph Company and Associated Companies be subjected to the closest public scrutiny by means of a Congressional investigation of inclusive scope, and the necessary Congressional legislation be enacted to prevent the abuses and impositions on the public by the operations of the American Telephone & Telegraph Company; and be it further,

RESOLVED, That the securing of such investigation by Congress and the passage of such legislation be made parts of the major legislative program of the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Classification of Washington, D. C., in Southern Zone Under NRA

Resolution No. 52—By Delegate James J. Noonan, Central Labor Union, Washington, D. C.

WHEREAS, The cost of living in Washington, D. C., is much higher than many cities in the United States; and

WHEREAS, A number of Codes that have been submitted to the National Recovery Administration contain sections that place Washington, D. C., in the so-called Southern Zone thereby establishing a lower rate of pay for workers employed in Washington, D. C., than are to be paid to workers employed in the so-called Central or Northern Zones thus establishing a low rate of pay for workers employed in a section of this country where the cost of living is the highest in the United States; be it

RESOLVED, That the 53d Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor assembled in the city of Washington, D. C., protest this discrimination as proposed in such codes and hereby instruct the members of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to use every means within their power to have President Roosevelt and General Hugh S. Johnson issue the necessary orders to have such discriminating differentials eliminated from all Codes of Fair Competition approved by the President.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Urging Construction of Naval Vessels, Main Engines and Auxiliary Machinery for Such Vessels and the Manufacture of War Munitions at Navy Yards and Arsenals

Resolution No. 53—By Delegates A. O. Wharton, Dan Haggerty, N. P. Allfas, R. A. Henning, Chas. Fry, W. F. Robinson, of the International Association of Machinists.

WHEREAS, The Boston Convention of the American Federation of Labor and succeeding conventions resolved "that we favor the manufacture of war munitions in our arsenals and navy yards so that the elimination of private profit will place this department of national defense beyond the baleful influence of those who seek to create sentiment for the production of war munitions so that they may make greater profits"; and

WHEREAS, During the political campaign of 1932 the Honorable Franklin D. Roosevelt, candidate for President, repeatedly asserted that "taking the profits out of war" should be made a national policy; and to that end the construction of naval vessels and the production of munitions of war should be confined to navy yards and arsenals; and

WHEREAS, Notwithstanding the assurances which the representatives of Organized Labor have received from the Administration that 50 per cent of the naval vessels constructed under the Public Works Section of the National Industrial Recovery Act would be constructed at navy yards, the Navy De-

partment has not only awarded the larger vessels to private shipyards and the smaller ones to navy yards, but has awarded seventeen of such vessels to private shipyards while only fifteen were assigned to navy yards; and

WHEREAS, The Navy Department is pursuing the policy of letting to private contractors the construction and manufacture of some of the main engines and auxiliary machinery for vessels to be built in navy yards where formerly this class of work was performed at the navy yards; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor are hereby directed to immediately urge upon the President of the United States the desirability of giving practical effect to the national policy of "taking the profits out of war" by having the construction of naval vessels, machinery and other equipment for such vessels and the manufacture of war munitions confined to navy yards and arsenals; and to correct existing deviations from this policy insofar as the law permits.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Violation of Exclusion Laws by Shipping Immigrants as Seamen

Resolution No. 54—By Delegates Andrew Furuseth and Victor Olander.

WHEREAS, Neither the Exclusion Act nor the Contract Labor Law have any application to seamen; and

WHEREAS, This exclusion has left an open side door through which thousands of excluded persons obtain an easy entrance to the United States; and

WHEREAS, Those who either racially or for other reasons are unable to obtain a visa to land in the United States are using this exemption of the seamen to violate the Exclusion Act and Contract Labor Law thus largely destroying the purpose for which those two laws were enacted; and

WHEREAS, The King bill, S. 868, and Dies bill, H. R. 3642, (identical) "To provide for the deportation of certain alien seamen, and for other purposes," provides a remedy for this evil; be it

RESOLVED, That the 53d Convention of the American Federation of Labor re-indorses and strongly urges the passage of this bill by Congress; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council exert all proper pressure upon Congress in order that the Exclusion Act and Contract Labor Law may thus be properly obeyed.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Safety at Sea and Sea Power for the United States

Resolution No. 55—By Delegates Andrew Furuseth and Victor Olander.

WHEREAS, The Seamen's Act of March 4, 1915, has been largely nullified through construction given to some of its provisions by the courts, the attorney general, and the Shipping Board; and

WHEREAS, The equalization of the wage cost of domestic and foreign vessels and the provisions for the safety of passengers and crew have been set aside; and

WHEREAS, The development of an adequate sea power for the United States thereby has become impossible; and

WHEREAS, S. 1870, introduced by Senator LaFollette, of Wisconsin, and H. R. 9256, introduced by Mr. Sirovich, of New York (identical), "To amend certain laws relating to American seamen and for other purposes," have been introduced; and

WHEREAS, We believe that for both national and humanitarian purposes it is of great importance to the United States that this Bill should become a law; be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in its 53d Annual Convention assembled that we endorse this bill and urge upon Congress that the bill be passed at the earliest possible date; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council exert all proper pressure upon Congress for the early passage of this bill.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Treaty on Claimed Safety of Life of Passengers and Seamen

Resolution No. 56—By Delegates Andrew Furuseth and Victor Olander.

WHEREAS, The Convention for "Promoting Safety of Life at Sea" signed in London, England, May 31, 1929, is before the United States Senate; and

WHEREAS, We are thus satisfied that the ratification of the Convention will destroy the Seamen's Act and deprive the United States of the power to develop an adequate sea power; be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor at its 53d Annual Convention assembled respectfully reiterate that the petition and warning adopted by our 52d Convention be ratified and express the earnest hope that this Convention will not be ratified by the Senate of the United States.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Urging That Enlisted, Non-Commissioned and Commissioned Personnel of the Navy Be Restrained from Performing Work of Civilians

Resolution No. 57—By Delegates A. O. Wharton, Dan Haggerty, N. P. Alfalfa, R. A. Henning, Chas. Fry, W. F. Robinson, of the International Association of Machinists.

WHEREAS, Employees of navy yards and naval stations have repeatedly protested against the assignment of work to enlisted men, non-commissioned and commissioned officers, which properly should be performed by civilian employees; and

WHEREAS, These encroachments of the naval personnel upon the civilians appear to have increased during the last several months, resulting in the furloughing and discharging of civilians, as well as depriving these employees of promotions to higher positions to which they are entitled; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor are hereby directed to urge the President of the United States to assign to the civilian personnel of the navy, all work which heretofore has been performed by civilians, or which does not constitute strictly military duty; or to have introduced and support legislation to remedy these conditions.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Representation of Organized Labor on NRA State Committees

Resolution No. 58—By Delegates Louis P. Marcante, Mercer County, N. J., Central Labor Union, and A. W. McIntyre, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers.

BE IT RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, that the National Chairman, General Hugh S. Johnson, and the various State Chairmen of the NRA be requested to appoint representatives of organized labor on the various State Committees to the end that organized labor may do its full part in putting into the fullest effect the recovery program outlined by our President; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the various State Chairmen throughout the United States be requested to urge the appointment of representatives of organized labor on the various local committees in their respective States; and be it further

RESOLVED, That this Convention commend any and all State Chairmen who have adopted this policy, and that it be the sense of this convention that

such action of the National Chairman and the various State Chairmen is a fitting recognition of the part that organized labor will take in this vast industrial recovery program; and be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution be forwarded by the Secretary to the State Chairman of each State.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Thirty-Year Optional Retirement for Government Employees

Resolution No. 59—By Delegates Leo E. George, Gilbert E. Hyatt, Thos. E. McCann, Irving W. Johnson and J. Cline House, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Edw. J. Gainor, L. E. Swartz, Chas. D. Duffy, M. T. Finnan, W. J. Gorman, National Association of Letter Carriers; Wm. Collins, Henry W. Strickland, Railway Mail Association; E. Claude Babcock, David R. Glass, American Federation of Government Employees; N. P. Alifas, International Association of Machinists; J. N. Davis, International Brotherhood of Boilermakers; W. D. Weise, National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers; J. H. Windsor, Plate Printers, Die Stampers and Engravers; C. L. Rosemund, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and Draftsmen's Unions; Jas. J. Noonan, Central Labor Union, Washington, D. C.; A. M. Horle, Panama Canal Metal Trades Council.

WHEREAS, Broad experience has demonstrated the wisdom and usefulness of the present United States Civil Service Retirement Law; and

WHEREAS, This Act has been improved and broadened in its scope and usefulness by amendatory legislation; and

WHEREAS, This beneficent law would be more humanitarian and also more efficient if retirement were optional with each employee after thirty years of service; be it

RESOLVED, That in keeping with the requirements of service needs the American Federation of Labor reaffirms its declaration made in previous conventions and instructs its Executive Council to cooperate with affiliated government employees' organizations to secure the enactment of a 30-year optional retirement law.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Memorial to Deceased Trades Unionists

Resolution No. 60—By Delegates Leo E. George, Gilbert E. Hyatt, Thomas McCann, Irving Johnson, J. Cline House, of the National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Edward J. Gainor, M. J. Finnan, Luther E. Swartz of the National Association of Letter Carriers; William Collins, Henry W. Strickland, of the Railway Mail Association.

WHEREAS, The trade union movement has, during the recent past, sustained more than usually heavy losses through the passing of outstanding figures in the movement; and

WHEREAS, The postal unions and organized civil service employes in general have sustained such an irreparable loss in their own ranks through the demise of Thomas Francis Flaherty, former Secretary-Treasurer of the National Federation of Post Office Clerks; and

WHEREAS, The finest tribute which can be paid to these departed soldiers of the common good is to do all in our power to strengthen and perpetuate the great movement to which they gave the last full measure of devotion; be it

RESOLVED, That this Fifty-third Convention of the American Federation of Labor direct the Executive Council to investigate the terms of and, if feasible, to establish as a memorial, a chair in a university of standing for the study of industrial problems as affecting the wage earners and the human values in society.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Reaffirming Opposition to Use of Cost of Living as Basis for Determining Wages and Urging Restoration of Working Conditions to Government Employees

Resolution No. 61—By Delegates Leo E. George, Gilbert E. Hyatt, Thos. E. McCann, Irving W. Johnson and J. Cline House, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Edw. J. Gainor, L. E. Swartz, Chas. D. Duffy, M. T. Finnan, W. J. Gorman, National Association of Letter Carriers; Wm. Collins, Henry W. Strickland, Railway Mail Association; E. Claude Babcock, David R. Glass, American Federation of Government Employees; N. P. Alifas, International Association of Machinists; J. N. Davis, International Brotherhood of Boilermakers; W. D. Weise, National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers; J. H.

Windsor, Plate Printers, Die Stammers and Engravers; C. L. Rosemund, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and Draftsmen Unions; Jas. J. Noonan, Central Labor Union, Washington, D. C.; A. M. Horle, Panama Canal Metal Trades Council.

WHEREAS, The Congress of the United States for the most part without hearings and with little consideration of the equities of the legislation, and its effects on employees, has passed various economy acts for the apparent purpose of adjusting Federal expenditures to revenue, but which, in effect, only deprive the Federal employees of just compensation and working conditions secured and maintained through years of legislative activity; and

WHEREAS, This so-called economy legislation has resulted in a serious decrease in the purchasing power of approximately more than one-half million of the nation's workers, to the detriment of the whole nation and thereby contributing greatly to general unsettled economic conditions; and

WHEREAS, Such savings of the Government as were made through reduction of pay were not used to assist in conserving employment and maintaining purchasing power and did not result in reduction in taxation; and

WHEREAS, With respect to the appropriations of some of the Federal departments available funds were immediately impounded by executive mandate; and

WHEREAS, In addition to a flat salary reduction not consistent with the general Administrative program of maintaining buying power there were inaugurated not only payless furloughs but reductions in force; and

WHEREAS, Through legislation the President of the United States was ordered to fix Government workers' salaries in accordance with so-called cost of living basis established as of 1923; and

WHEREAS, Such determination of wages is inconsistent with the long time program of Labor, that the worker should share in all benefits flowing from social and economic progress and should not be tied to standards fixed in the past; and

WHEREAS, The American Labor Movement has consistently followed the principle that wages should be adjusted to continuously rising standards; be it

RESOLVED, That the 53d Convention of the American Federation of Labor reaffirm its position as follows:

1. Wages, salaries and allowances of Government workers should be restored immediately.

2. Just working conditions and allowances (including necessary travel allowances, night differential rights, holiday differential, promotions, equitable sick and annual leave provisions, etc.) should be immediately restored.

3. Funds available for payment of wages and salaries in all cases should be sufficient to meet the restored payroll; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor again go on record as opposing the use of a cost of living standard as a basis for determination of wages or salaries and further opposes (so long as a cost of living standard is in effect) the present inequitable system of determining the cost of living.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Higher Standards of Government Employment

Resolution No. 62—By Delegates Leo E. George, Gilbert E. Hyatt, Thos. E. McCann, Irving W. Johnson, and J. Cline House, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Edw. J. Gainer, L. E. Swartz, Chas. D. Duffy, M. T. Finnan, W. J. Gorman, of the National Association of Letter Carriers; Wm. Collins, Henry W. Strickland, Railway Mail Association; E. Claude Babcock, David R. Glass, American Federation of Government Employees; N. P. Alifas, International Association of Machinists; J. N. Davis, International Brotherhood of Boiler-makers; W. D. Weise, National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers; J. H. Windsor, Plate Printers, Die Stammers and Engravers; C. L. Rosemund, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and Draftsmen's Unions; Jas. J. Noonan, Central Labor Union, Washington, D. C.; A. M. Horle, Panama Canal Metal Trades Council.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor at successive conventions has adopted resolutions favorable to improved working conditions in Government employment, relating particularly to the restoration, extension and liberalization of sick and vacation leaves; the elimination of harmful and objectionable speed-up practices; the reduction of night work requirements; the establishment of a Civil Service Employees' Court of Appeals; employee representative on all personnel boards; the improvement of postal substitute employees' and village letter carriers' working and wage conditions; the adoption of the shorter work-week principle without reduction in wages as established prior to the enactment of the Economy Law, and kindred betterments; and

WHEREAS, These measures 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 most advanced establishments in private industry; be it

RESOLVED, That the 53d Convention of the American Federation of Labor reaffirm its position in favor of higher Government standards and instructs the Executive Council to continue its cooperation with the affiliated organizations of Government employees 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.

United States Employees' Compensation Commission

Resolution No. 63—By Delegates Leo E. George, Gilbert E. Hyatt, Thos. E. McCann, Irving W. Johnson and J. Cline House, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Edw. J. Gainor, L. E. Swartz, Chas. D. Duffy, M. T. Finnan, W. J. Gorman, National Association of Letter Carriers; Wm. Collins, Henry W. Strickland, Railway Mail Association; N. P. Alifas, International Association of Machinists; J. N. Davis, International Brotherhood of Boiler-makers; W. D. Weise, National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers; J. H. Windsor, Plate Printers, Die Stampers and Engravers; C. L. Rosemund, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and Draftsmen's Unions; Jas. J. Noonan, Central Labor Union, Washington, D. C.; A. M. Horle, Panama Canal Metal Trades Council

WHEREAS, The United States Employees Compensation Commission was originally established largely at the urging of the American Federation of Labor to administer injury compensation laws covering Government workers, and since its establishment it has performed its important functions in a humane way, satisfactory to all concerned; and

WHEREAS, It was proposed as an economy measure to absorb the Compensation Commission into the Civil Service Commission, thus destroying its identity, impairing its usefulness and robbing it of that official independent status so essential to a quasi-judicial body of its kind, which must

of a necessity be free from political and other extraneous consideration in reaching its judgments; and

WHEREAS, The United States Employees Compensation Commission, through enlarged authority, now administers the Longshoremen's Compensation Act and compensation laws for the District of Columbia, thereby having jurisdiction in injury cases affecting thousands of workers outside of Government employment and in no way connected with the authority of the Civil Service Commission; be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in 53d Convention assembled instructs the Executive Council to do all in its power to continue the United States Compensation Commission in its present official status as an independent Governmental agency.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Fur Workers' Campaign Against Communism

Resolution No. 64—By Delegate Pietro Lucchi, International Fur Workers Union of the United States and Canada.

WHEREAS, The International Fur Workers Union has for a number of years found it necessary to not only fight for an improvement of the terms and conditions of employment with the employers but to also conduct a campaign to drive out of the industry those destructive elements aided and abetted by the Communist Party, organized to destroy the influence of a union that has done much to provide protection to the men and women engaged in the industry; and

WHEREAS, The efforts of the International Fur Workers Union in wiping out the last vestige of the rapidly diminishing influence which the Communists have attempted to exert in the industry deserve the support and encouragement of the trade union movement generally; be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, endorses the fight of the International Fur Workers Union, and we hereby pledge ourselves to continue the cooperation already extended by the officials of the American Federation of Labor in the campaign against Communist connection with the fur industry.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Thirty-hour Work-week in Fur Industry Code

Resolution No. 65—By Delegate Pietro Lucchi of the International Fur Workers Union of the United States and Canada.

WHEREAS, The reduction of the hours of employment in industry is an essential and indispensable condition to any plan of national recovery, and more particularly so in those industries that are highly seasonal in their character; and

WHEREAS, The fur industry, in which the seasonal character has caused a demoralization of the industry, with resulting distress to many thousands of employees engaged in the industry; and

WHEREAS, There is soon to be considered by the National Recovery Administration a proposed code to govern the industry; be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, endorse the demand made by the International Fur Workers Union for a 30-hour work-week in the fur industry, and pledges the cooperation of the American Federation of Labor in presenting this demand to the National Recovery Administration.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

To Protect Name of Organized Labor From Perverted Usage

Resolution No. 66—By Delegate Earl Langdon, Flint, Mich., Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The American trade union movement through many years of heart-breaking toil, has given definite form and meaning to the term "organized labor" and has succeeded in developing well established rules and practices and what are known as bona fide labor organizations, whose teachings, aims, purposes and policies, are regarded by working men and their families as genuinely promoting their interests and welfare; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor and the Railway Brotherhoods have put a real investment into establishing a definitely accepted term "organized labor" which has to them a tangible economic and social value; and

WHEREAS, Outlaw unions, radical agitators, employers, racketeers and other groups have attempted to pervert the term "organized labor" to describe organizations which they have launched to serve their own ends, and to the detriment of workers who trust in the bona fide labor movement; be it

RESOLVED, That the bona-fide labor movement unite to protect the term

"organized labor" from such perverted usage and to take steps against groups that attempt to masquerade under the designation which belongs to those who put their efforts and intelligence into giving standing and effectiveness to the organized labor movement and that we give this, our special term, the same support and legal protection that trade associations or producing companies give to their products or distinctive property.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Representation of Organized Labor on N. R. A. Investigating and Compliance Boards

Resolution No. 67—By Delegates J. A. Franklin, J. N. Davis and William E. Walter, International Brotherhood of Boiler Makers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America.

WHEREAS, The National Recovery Administration seeking to further the intent and purposes of the National Recovery Act is now formulating and establishing investigating and compliance boards in every city and State of the Union; and

WHEREAS, Little attention is being paid to the necessity of having Labor constitute part of these investigating and compliance boards; and

WHEREAS, We believe a letter of instructions should be sent to Central Labor Unions advising that they immediately interest themselves in such investigating and compliance boards and, if unable to get proper representation thereon, to immediately establish investigating and compliance boards to be conducted entirely by Labor; be it

RESOLVED, That this American Federation of Labor in convention assembled instruct its officers to immediately circularize by letter all Central Labor Unions on the necessity of Labor representation on all National Recovery Act investigating and compliance boards as outlined above.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Raising Standards of Employment and Wages of Wisconsin State Employees

Resolution No. 68—By Delegates Arnold S. Zander, Wisconsin State Administrative Employees Association, No. 18213, Madison, Wis., and James P. Sheehan, Federated Trades Council of Milwaukee.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has been striving for shorter hours and higher wages for American workers throughout its his-

tory and has achieved substantial success in its endeavors; and

WHEREAS, The declared National economic policy under the NRA is for shorter hours and higher wages; and

WHEREAS, Many public employees do not come under the NRA and have never been directly affected by the changes, in general industrial and economic conditions as brought about by the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, The shortening of the hours of labor without decreasing the workers' incomes is necessary to provide adequate opportunity for employment for all workers; and

WHEREAS, The Wisconsin State Employees Association, directly affiliated with the A. F. of L., is composed of public employees many of whom work twelve hours and more per day with only two days off per month, and for pitifully low wages; and

WHEREAS, Such conditions are typical of many branches of the public service; be it

RESOLVED, That this 53d Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor request the Executive Council to continue its helpful cooperation with the Wisconsin State Employees Association and take such action as may be necessary to shorten the hours of work without decreasing the workers' incomes and in general alleviate the conditions above referred to, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be requested to do all in its power to further the organization of the employees in other States and in public jurisdictions generally.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Organization of Quarry Workers

Resolution No. 69—By Delegate Fred W. Sultor, Quarry Workers International Union of North America.

WHEREAS, The quarry workers of the United States and Canada at the present time are only partly organized; and

WHEREAS, The finances of the Quarry Workers International Union of North America at present do not warrant or permit placing the necessary additional organizers in the field to cover all quarrying districts in the various localities where quarrying operations are being carried on to organize this great number of unorganized workers employed therein; be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor send out a circular letter to all State Federations of Labor, City Central Labor Unions and to all organizers of the American Federation of Labor, requesting them to make a special effort to organize the quarry workers in their districts.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

To Place Portrait of Samuel Gompers in Every Union Meeting Hall

Resolution No. 70—By Delegate John N. Spearing, Central Labor Union of Jacksonville, Florida.

WHEREAS, This Convention will pause on October 7th, to pay their respects to the memory of Samuel Gompers, that Great Leader who has passed to his reward; and

WHEREAS, His teachings and his matchless leadership should serve as a guide and an inspiration to those who follow in his footsteps, and we should keep forever before us the thought of his devotion to the cause we all love; be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention go on record as requesting all Central Labor Unions, to display in their meeting halls a large portrait of Samuel Gompers; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Secretary be instructed to secure information and arrange to have these portraits to be supplied through the supply department of the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Advocating Limitation and Regulation of Wealth Accumulation

Resolution No. 71—By Delegate Joseph Leighton, Gas Workers' Union No. 18393, Malden, Massachusetts.

WHEREAS, an attempt is being made by a small group of self-promotionists to defeat the purpose of the National Recovery Act in its effort to adjust Man to the Machine. Should their efforts prove successful, and this program be broken on the rocks of self-interest and egotism, chaos in our Country and the World would result; be it

RESOLVED, That in event of the success of opponents of the National Recovery Act, the American Federation of Labor be prepared to submit to the National Congress and the various Legislatures of the states the following proposition:

PROPOSITION

That, insofar as the effort to shorten hours of labor may have failed, our work life should be shortened in the following manner:

Every citizen of our country who possesses \$150,000 or more shall retire from whatever activity he or she is engaged in. If the amount possessed be more than \$150,000, the surplus shall remain in the activity in which it is invested, and upon which the owner shall continue to draw the earnings. If in cash, the \$150,000 shall be used for the purchase of Federal and State bonds, upon which the owner shall draw a fixed percentage of interest until his or her death, at which time these monies shall revert to the respective governments, Federal and State, to be used to maintain a balance between production and consumption. Each citizen who may hereafter acquire \$150,000 shall retire in the same manner as above.

As the Constitution of the United States would have to be amended to carry out this program, the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor shall prepare and cause to be introduced into Congress a constitutional amendment authorizing the above-mentioned proposition, and also to provide that the Federal and State executive and legislative officers shall be elected only from the retired group.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

**To Prevent Transportation of
Strikebreakers**

Resolution No. 72—By Delegates Charles P. Howard, Frank Morrison, William R. Trotter, Frank X. Martel, John Simons, Roy C. Cline, International Typographical Union.

WHEREAS, The American Newspaper Publishers' Association, the National Association of Manufacturers, the National Founders' Association, the National Metal Trades Association and other associations of employers have established agencies which recruit and maintain crews of professional strikebreakers composed of individuals who are undesirables, disturbers of industrial peace, gunmen, and should be properly classed as public enemies in any city or town into which they are introduced; and

WHEREAS, It is the practice to transport these professional crews of strikebreakers from all sections of the country to any point where any employer desires to attack established standards as regard wages, hours and working conditions by locking out employees who have given years of faithful service and have given full cooperation in creating an institution in

which they rightfully have an interest over and in excess of that which they have taken out in wages; and

WHEREAS, These crews of professional strikebreakers are transported to points where the workers have not struck and have not threatened to strike, the purpose being to intimidate employees who practice collective bargaining during negotiations of contracts thereby making it possible to compel unreasonable and unfair concessions on the part of the employees; and

WHEREAS, The National Industrial Recovery Act authorizes organization of employers; exempts them from certain provisions of Federal laws as to combines, monopolies, trade agreements and price fixing; and will bring under control of employer associations larger numbers of employers, it becomes more and more important that the activities of strikebreaking agencies be given greater attention; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled requests the Congress to investigate the activities of strikebreaking agencies and enact such legislation as may be required to prevent these practices which have been an important factor in causing industrial warfare.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Appropriations for Public Works Program in Cities and Villages

Resolution No. 73—By Delegate M. J. McDonough, Building Trades Department.

WHEREAS, Under the National Recovery Act there is available more than three billion dollars; and

WHEREAS, A quick and widespread distribution of this sum in productive work should give direct employment to hundreds of thousands of men; and

WHEREAS, Congress in making this fund available directed that it be used to provide immediate employment; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention concurs wholeheartedly in the announced intention to the Secretary of the Interior to stimulate construction in the cities and villages of the country in cooperation with local authorities. That only through this widespread distribution of Federal funds can work be provided for the millions now unemployed in the building and allied trades. That this convention records itself as vigorously opposed to commitments of the recovery funds for great isolated projects, costing hundreds of millions of dollars, and employing a relatively small number of workers forced to migrate from their accustomed homes.

That through the quick increase in purchasing power which would follow the diffusion of work into thousands of cities and villages, in the building of postoffices and clearing of slums, the erection of model workers' homes, and the elimination of grade-crossings, local merchants as well as local skilled labor will immediately benefit; and be it further

RESOLVED, That copies of these resolutions be forwarded to the President and Secretary of the Interior, and that the representatives of the building trades present this or a similar resolution for adoption at the forthcoming convention of the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Extension of Prevailing Wage Law to Include Painting

Resolution No. 74—By M. J. McDonough, Delegate Building Trades Department.

WHEREAS, The Bacon-Davis Law provides that on all public works the prevailing rate of wages shall be paid; and

WHEREAS, The Comptroller General has ruled that painting of an existing public building is not construction, alteration or repair work; and

WHEREAS, Because of this ruling thousands of jobs have been lost to members of the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America; be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor and its Legislative Representatives be instructed to take this matter up, to the end that this law be amended in such a way as to leave no opportunity for misconstruing the meaning and intent in order that this vast amount of public work shall be performed by members of Organized Labor.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

All Work on Contracts for Government Buildings Erected on American Soil Should Be Executed Within United States

Resolution No. 75—By Delegate M. J. McDonough, Building Trades Department.

WHEREAS, The practice of employers who receive contracts for work on or in buildings located in the United States or its Territories and having said work performed in foreign countries and brought in under the guise of "Art

Goods," duty free, is contrary to the spirit and intent of the N. R. A.; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That in all Codes of Fair Competition, applicable, the following be included:

"Any employer receiving a contract for work on or in buildings located in the confines of the United States or its Territories must execute such contract within the confines of the United States or its Territories and under the approved code." Be it further

RESOLVED, That copies of this resolution be forwarded to General Hugh S. Johnson, Administrator of the N. R. A., and that the Representatives of the Building Trades Department present this resolution for adoption at the forthcoming Convention of the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Building Trades vs. Hansen Packing Co., Butte, Mont.

Resolution No. 76—By Delegate M. J. McDonough, President, Building Trades Department.

WHEREAS, For the past three years a controversy has existed between the Butte, Montana, Building Trades Council and the Hansen Packing Company;

WHEREAS, The Hansen Packing Company has compelled building trades mechanics in their employ to join Local 333, Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of America;

WHEREAS, The activities of the Hansen Packing Company has aroused turmoil and confusion among the organized workmen of Butte;

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor had Organizer Paul Smith make an investigation of this dispute, report of which is available for this convention;

WHEREAS, The Central Labor Union has been notified by the Executive Officials of the American Federation of Labor that the Central Labor Union of Butte lacks authority to place the Hansen Packing Company on the unfair list merely because of a jurisdictional dispute arising out of the performance of work for the packing company by union men;

WHEREAS, We contend that no jurisdictional dispute exists, as the laws of the American Federation of Labor and the Building Trades Department cede work such as painting, plumbing, electrical work and carpentry to the members of these respective organizations;

WHEREAS, If action to dispose of this dispute is not taken by this convention, the breach between the members of organized labor in Butte will be widened; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor assign a representative to Butte to try to adjust the differences existing between the Butte Building Trades Council and the Hansen Packing Company. For failure on the part of the Hansen Packing Company to employ members of the building trades organizations in affiliation with the Butte Building Trades Council on their maintenance and construction work, that the American Federation of Labor declare the Hansen Packing Company unfair.

Referred to Committee on Industrial Relations.

**Attempted Disruption of Trade Unions
By Political Agents**

Resolution No. 77—By Delegate M. J. McDonough, Building Trades Department.

WHEREAS, The purpose and intent of the National Industrial Recovery Act as it would relate to the labor provisions thereof guarantee to the workers the right to organize and unrestricted freedom to choose their own representatives so as to deal with their employers in order to safeguard their aspirations as provided therein; and

WHEREAS, The workers, in order that they collectively determine in meetings and at meeting places conveniently located and properly provided for through negotiations with property owners familiar with the nature and purpose of such gatherings of workers, what is necessary to fulfill their wishes in order to be accorded the proper recognition in accordance with the provisions of this Act without interference, coercion or intimidation; and

WHEREAS, There has come to light a condition in large cities where certain public office-holders in charge of law enforcement machinery of their localities, under the guise of a theory of civic purity to cleanse the community of so-called racketeering and hoodlumism (based upon manufactured evidence of suspicion and rumor), are attempting to gain control and domination over local labor unions through intimidation and coercion of their officers and members in order to suit their political ambitions and greed and place themselves in full and complete control over employing contractors and workers engaged in public works, solely for personal aggrandizement; and

WHEREAS, By such acts the proper function of such legally chartered local unions of International Unions

affiliated with the American Federation of Labor have been and will continue to be threatened with and subject to interference and possible disruption by the activities of the police and other officers of the law in raiding the unions' offices and their meeting places without due process of law, and intimidating and coercing employing contractors on public works by compelling the discharge of bona fide union members when the nefarious schemes of these office-holders fail of accomplishment because of the use of the economic strength and influence of said local unions; and

WHEREAS, In such instances where local labor unions by the united effort of their membership or through the process of civil law have been successful in invoking the proper means of defense against such practices, such unscrupulous public officials do aid and abet certain malcontents and former members of local unions in holding meetings in their offices and these public officials do assist in sponsoring and organizing dual unions and advise and assign legal talent in instigating and promoting legal procedures through which receiverships over the affairs of bona fide local unions are applied for and in which the duly elected officers of local unions are ousted without the consent of the majority of the membership involved; and through which receiverships the funds and property are confiscated and new officers more suitable and more pliable to the wishes of these public officials are appointed; through which procedure said public officials have been successful in securing control of some local unions detrimental to the best interests of the local unions, the International Unions and the employing contractors on public and other works; and

WHEREAS, These conditions if permitted to continue without the strongest opposition of all the trade unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, the Building Trades Department and the Metal Trades Department, economically and politically, will create a precedent by which the economic strength of the legitimate labor unions will be destroyed before proper recourse can be had to the civil courts; and

WHEREAS, In order that the workers, members of local unions of International Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, may continue to govern their own affairs free from the domination and control of employers, public officials and other outsiders who seek the destruction of legitimate trade unions, it is necessary that all trade unions support one another; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That in adopting this resolution this convention record its

condemnation of such acts on the part of public officials and that we instruct our incoming officers to immediately communicate the information herein contained to each International Union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That when and where any such condition as herein described does now exist or where schemes to bring about such conditions may hereafter be attempted, all trade unions hereby agree to give all support and assistance to any such persecuted local unions, economically and otherwise.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Protesting Destruction of Labor Standards in the Building Trades Under NRA Codes

Resolution No. 78—By Delegate M. J. McDonough, Building Trades Department.

WHEREAS, Some officials of the NRA are attempting to undermine living standards under the cloak of an argument that such action would stimulate building construction; and

WHEREAS, Such officials have made efforts to reduce, even the wages, and lengthen the hours proposed by the employers, which are considerably lower than those requested by workers; and

WHEREAS, Such action is contrary to the spirit and intent of the National Recovery Act; and

WHEREAS, Such action would doom the cooperative endeavor to resuscitate our economic life; be it

RESOLVED, That The American Federation of Labor, in Convention Assembled protest to the Administration against the propogandation and application of any policy tending to reduce wages below a decent standard of living and prolonging hours to an extent which would effect no considerable absorption of the unemployed.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Violations of NRA Codes in the Textile Industry

Resolution No. 79.—By Delegates Thomas F. McMahon, John P. O'Connell and Emil Rieve of the United Textile Workers of America.

WHEREAS, Violations of the Codes in the textile industry are becoming more pronounced and causing considerable unrest throughout the country; and

WHEREAS, These violations include failure to pay the minimum wage, and

attempts by some employers, particularly in the South, to bring down wages in the higher brackets, to the minimum standard, as well as wholesale cases of discrimination against those who are carrying out the provisions of Section 7 of the National Industrial Recovery Act, giving the workers the right to organize; and

WHEREAS, In some sections of the country, we are handicapped by the appointment of Compliance Boards, dominated and controlled by the employers, with no opportunity for the workers to secure redress against Code violations. In some instances, mill owners are appointed to these Boards, with Labor denied the same privilege, thus defeating the real principle and purpose of the National Industrial Recovery Act; be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor are hereby authorized to assist the officers of the United Textile Workers of America to secure immediate remedial action, through the National Labor Board, in order to avoid the necessity of strike declaration.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions

Building Trades—Meat Cutters' Dispute, Butte, Montana

Resolution No. 80—By Delegate Chas. Malloy, Silver Bow Trades and Labor Council, Butte, Montana.

WHEREAS, A jurisdiction dispute has existed for three years past in Butte, Montana, between local No. 333 Amalgamated Butcher Workmen and Meat Cutters of America and the several local organizations affiliated with the International Unions of the Building Trades Department; and

WHEREAS, This dispute through its long duration has caused considerable friction in a locality that is 100% organized, the said friction causing disregard for laws of the A. F. of L., also for the unfair declaration; and

WHEREAS, If this condition is allowed to continue longer it will be the cause of breaking down a harmonious condition that has stood for many years; and

WHEREAS, The local central council has used every means possible to bring about an adjustment of these disputes with no apparent success; and

WHEREAS, The International Officers of the Unions have been hesitant in lending the assistance requested to adjust this trouble, notwithstanding numerous appeals to do so; be it

RESOLVED, That the President of the A. F. of L. be instructed by this

53d Annual Convention to call a conference of the International Presidents of the organizations involved as soon as is possible, to the end that a settlement can be reached.

Referred to Committee on Industrial Relations.

Journeymen Barbers Commend A. F. of L. Cooperation

Resolution No. 81—By Delegates J. C. Shanessy, W. C. Birthright, Patrick H. Reagan, Anthony Merlino and Chas. T. Crane.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor and all its units have been expending every effort to bring within the confines of the affiliated organizations every eligible man and woman; and

WHEREAS, The Journeymen Barbers' International Union of America, which has been affiliated to the American Federation of Labor for the past forty-five years, has been conducting a vigorous campaign for the past fifteen months, and whereas we have received the wholehearted support of the American Federation of Labor and its organizers, and the assistances of all National and International Unions, City Central bodies and State Federations of Labor; be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention and all of the units of the American Federation of Labor accept the sincere gratitude and appreciation of the Journeymen Barbers' International Union of America for wholehearted and unstinted loyalty and support shown and extended to them.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Commending A. F. of L. Activities Against Racketeers

Resolution No. 82—By Delegates J. C. Shanessy, W. C. Birthright, Patrick H. Reagan, Anthony Merlino and Chas. T. Crane.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor will be fifty-three (53) years old on November 15th; and

WHEREAS, Its fifty-three years of existence has been given to the emancipation and uplift of the toiling masses; and

WHEREAS, It has suffered much abuse, criticism and misunderstanding by oppositor of the press and periodicals by their inferences to rackets and racketeers; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has always been on record as

detesting and fighting against rackets and racketeers; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor, together with all of its affiliated national and international unions, deploras such unjust abuses and criticisms; be it

RESOLVED, That this fifty-third convention of the American Federation of Labor, express our appreciation of the splendid work of President William Green, in cooperating with the affiliated National and International Unions in purging the labor movement of the rackets, racketeers and un-American radicals and urge the continuation of these activities until the labor movement is entirely free of these undesirables.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Public Utilities Workers

Resolution No. 83—By Delegate Joseph Leighton, Gas Workers Union No. 18393, Malden, Mass.

WHEREAS, The National Recovery Act has presented to organized labor a seat of equality at the table of National Recovery; and

WHEREAS, The organization of 900,000 utility workers is being held up on a question of jurisdiction; and

WHEREAS, Said workers have received the benefits of the organized labor fight without contribution to said cause; and

WHEREAS, These workers have been blinded for years by the means of Mutual Benefit Associations or Company Unions, be it

RESOLVED, That the question of jurisdiction be permitted to rest for the period of one year, in the best interest of our country and the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Regulations to Protect Wage Standards on N. E. A. Public Works Construction Program

Resolution No. 84—By Delegates John Possehl, Daniel J. Tobin, P. J. Morrin, and M. J. Colleran.

WHEREAS, Title II of the National Industrial Recovery Act under the caption "Public Works and Construction Projects" has established the Federal Emergency Administration of Public Works for the purpose of authorizing grants to the highway departments of the several States in an amount not less than \$400,000,000, to be expended

by such departments in accordance with the provisions of the Federal Highway Act, approved November 9, 1921, as amended and supplemented, except as provided in this title of the National Recovery Act; and

WHEREAS, Under Section 204, paragraph 2 (c) of the Act provides that all contracts involving the expenditure of such grants shall contain provisions establishing minimum rates of wages, to be predetermined by the State highway department, which contractors shall pay to skilled and unskilled labor and such minimum rates shall be stated in the invitation for bids and shall be included in proposals for bids for the work; and

WHEREAS, The highway commissions of the various States have established the following minimum wage rates adopted for use on National Recovery Highway Projects, as of September 11, 1933:

State	Unskilled Labor	Skilled Labor
Alabama	\$0.30	\$0.40
Arizona	0.50	0.62 1/2 and 1.25
Arkansas	0.30	0.40
California	0.60	0.75 and 1.27 1/2
Colorado	0.60	0.75
Connecticut	0.45	0.60
Delaware	* 0.30 and 0.35	* 0.40 and 0.45
Dist. of Columbia	0.40	0.60
Florida	0.30	0.40
Georgia	0.30	0.40
Hawaii	0.45	0.55
Idaho	0.55	0.65
Illinois	0.40	0.50
Indiana		
Iowa	0.40	0.60
Kansas		
Kentucky		
Louisiana	0.30	0.50
Maine	0.40	0.45
Maryland	0.30 and 0.35	* 0.375 to 0.525
Massachusetts	0.45	0.55
Michigan		
Minnesota	0.55	0.65
Mississippi	0.30	0.40
Missouri	0.40 and 0.50	0.75
Montana	0.60	0.75
Nebraska	0.40	0.60
Nevada	0.60	0.75
New Hampshire	0.40	0.50
New Jersey		
New Mexico	0.50	0.65
New York	0.40 and 0.50	0.55-0.65-0.75
North Carolina	0.30	0.40
North Dakota	0.50	0.60
Ohio	* 0.40 and 0.60	* 0.60 to 0.90
Oklahoma	0.40	0.60
Oregon	0.55	0.65
Pennsylvania	0.35 and 0.40	0.45-0.60-0.75
Rhode Island	0.50	0.55-0.75
South Carolina	0.30	0.40
South Dakota	0.45	0.55
Tennessee	0.30	0.40
Texas	0.35	0.45
Utah	0.50	0.60 to 1.125
Vermont	0.35	0.40 to 0.50
Virginia	0.30	0.40
Washington	0.55	0.65
West Virginia	0.35	0.45
Wisconsin	0.55 to 0.60	0.55 to 0.70
Wyoming	0.55	0.65

* Tentative.

and

WHEREAS, These rates have been approved by the Bureau of Public Roads of the Department of Agriculture and

are being used in the specifications for each project undertaken in whole or in part with such funds as are being allotted by this authority.

WHEREAS, Special provisions of any other character financed whole or in part under Section 204 under the National Industrial Recovery Act have placed the interpretation upon the term "skilled labor" to include all persons employed as operators of power-driven equipment (other than passenger automobiles, and trucks of not more than 1 1/2 tons rated capacity), carpenters, masons, blacksmiths, mechanics and all other persons employed at work requiring principally the use of special tools ordinarily used by persons skilled in particular trades. Any subcontractor, who operates equipment, or who works with tools of any trade shall be considered a skilled laborer for the time engaged in such work; and

WHEREAS, The highway commissions of 8 States of the Union have adopted a minimum rate of 30¢ for unskilled labor and 40¢ for skilled labor, which would provide only \$9.00 per week for unskilled labor and \$12.00 per week for skilled labor; and

WHEREAS, It is the opinion of the signers hereof that the minimum rates so established for unskilled and skilled labor do not provide a wage that could be considered as reasonable compensation sufficient to provide for the hours of labor as limited, a standard of living in decency and comfort; and

WHEREAS, The Federal Emergency Administration of Public Works, under Administrator Harold L. Ickes, has established by agreement with the Labor Advisory Board composed of Henry W. Blumenberg, United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners; Charles L. Reed, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers; John Coefield, President, United Association of Journeyman Plumbers and Steam Fitters; Thomas A. Lane, Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union; M. J. McDonough, President, Building Trades Department; of which Isadore Lubin, Commissioner of Labor Statistics, is Chairman, and which was appointed by Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins to advise with the Federal Emergency Administration of Public Works, the following resolution which was adopted by the Special Board of Public Works, as follows:

"I. Be it resolved that, for the purpose of determining wage rates on all construction financed from funds appropriated by the Administrator of Public Works under the authority of the National Industrial Recovery Act, the United States shall be divided into three zones as follows:

SOUTHERN ZONE

South Carolina	Mississippi
Georgia	Louisiana
Florida	Arizona
Arkansas	Oklahoma
Alabama	Texas
	New Mexico

CENTRAL ZONE

Delaware	North Carolina
Maryland	West Virginia
Virginia	Kentucky
Tennessee	Missouri
Colorado	Kansas
Utah	Nevada
California	District of Columbia

NORTHERN ZONE

Maine	Wyoming
New Hampshire	Oregon
Vermont	South Dakota
Massachusetts	Idaho
Rhode Island	Pennsylvania
Connecticut	Ohio
New York	Michigan
New Jersey	Illinois
Indiana	Iowa
Wisconsin	North Dakota
Minnesota	Montana
Nebraska	Washington

"The hourly wage rates to be paid on construction projects in these zones shall not be less than the following:

Southern Zone

Skilled Labor.....	\$1.00
Unskilled Labor.....	.40

Central Zone

Skilled Labor.....	\$1.10
Unskilled Labor.....	.45

Northern Zone

Skilled Labor.....	\$1.20
Unskilled Labor.....	.50

"II. Be it further resolved, that in the event that the prevailing hourly rate prescribed under collective agreements or understandings between organized labor and employers on April 30, 1933, shall be above the minimum set for any district within that zone, that agreed wage rate shall be the rate to be paid for employees on construction projects financed from funds appropriated by the Administrator of Public Works under the authority of the National Industrial Recovery Act.

"III. Be it further resolved, that the rates specified in paragraphs I and II shall be effective during the life of any contract financed from funds appropriated by the Administrator of Public Works under the authority of the National Industrial Recovery Act, but for a period not to exceed 12 months.

"IV. Be it further resolved, that the above designated minimum rates are not to be used in discriminating against assistants, helpers, apprentices and serving laborers who work with and serve skilled journeymen mechanics and who are not to be termed as 'unskilled laborers.'

"V. Be it further resolved, that there shall be created a Board of Labor Review which shall hear all issues arising under the operation of all contracts financed from funds appropriated by the Administrator of Public Works under the authority of the National Industrial Recovery Act and from such problems as may result from fundamental changes in economic conditions during the life of these contracts. The Board of Labor Review to be created shall consist of three members: one to represent labor, one to represent contractors, and a Chairman who shall represent the Federal Emergency Administrator of Public Works. The members of this Board shall be appointed by the President of the United States, but no member shall be connected in any way with any organization of building workers or directly connected with, or have any interest in, contracting. The Chairman shall not be in any way connected with the Federal Emergency Administration of Public Works. Decisions of the Board of Labor Review shall be binding upon all parties."

"LABOR—EMPLOYMENT

"1. The contractor shall post and keep posted in a prominent and easily accessible place at the site of the work a clearly legible statement of all wage rates to be paid certain classes of labor to be employed on the work.

"2. Engineers will keep in touch with the State Reemployment Director of the United States Employment Service who cooperates with the State Relief Director.

The purpose of this contract is to keep informed of the status of the labor market in the State and to furnish information to public bodies and other applicants and to contractors relative to the availability of labor of various classes, carrying out the policy enunciated in Circular No. 1, Article 2, Section 1 (5).

"3. Highly skilled or organized labor shall not be required to register for work at such local employment agencies, but shall be secured in the customary ways through recognized trade union locals. In the event such highly skilled or organized labor is not secured by such locals within forty-eight hours after request is filed with them, then such workers shall be obtained through local employment agencies designated by the United States Employment Service.

"4. Employers, contractors and sub-contractors will be required to report monthly on the last day of each month, on forms furnished by the United States Department of Labor, the number of persons employed, the total amount of pay roll, the total man-hours worked, the wage scales paid the various classes of labor, and the sources of materials used.

"5. In the event that any question shall be raised (prior to the awarding of the contract) as to what wage rates prevail in any district under agreements and understandings between organized labor and employers, the United States Department of Labor shall determine such rates.

"6. The thirty-hour week provision (Section 206 of National Industrial Recovery Act):

"This requirement shall be construed:

"(a) To permit working time lost because of inclement weather or unavoidable delays in any one week to be made up in the succeeding week or weeks of any calendar month.

"(b) To permit the limitation of not more than 130 hours' work in any one calendar month to be substituted for the requirement of not more than 30 hours' work in any one week on projects in localities where a sufficient amount of labor is not available in the immediate vicinity of the work.

"It shall not be considered practicable and feasible to apply either of these limitations to work located at points so remote and inaccessible that camps are necessary for the housing and boarding of all the labor employed and if so determined by the State Engineer (P. W. A.) prior to advertisement: Provided, That in such cases no individual shall be permitted to work more than 8 hours in any one day or more than 40 hours in any one week.

"7. Work on projects financed in whole or in part from funds appropriated by authority of the National Industrial Recovery Act and expended by the Administrator of Public Works shall not be permitted on Sundays or legal holidays except in cases of emergency."

And

WHEREAS, The Federal Emergency Administration of Public Works adopted this resolution only after careful investigation as being a just and fair minimum wage to apply to public works projects; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 53rd Annual Convention of the American Federation

of Labor instruct the incoming Executive Council thereof to use its moral and economic resources for the purpose of establishing a minimum rate on the highway construction projects financed wholly or in part by the \$400,000,000 fund administered under the supervision of the Bureau of Public Roads of the Department of Agriculture, in order that the intent and purpose of the expressed intent of the National Industrial Recovery Act provide a minimum wage that shall be just and reasonable compensation sufficient to provide for the hours of labor as limited, a standard of living in decency and comfort.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Negro Labor Organizers

Resolution No. 85—By Delegate A. Phillip Randolph, Sleeping Car Porters Union No. 18068, New York, N. Y.

WHEREAS, Negroes constitute one-tenth and a little more of the population of the United States which is about the size of the entire population of the Dominion of Canada which indicates the great importance of Negro workers in American industry, especially when it is considered that a larger ratio of Negroes work, when permitted, than any other group in the country;

WHEREAS, Since the World War Negro workers have become a large and significant factor in the basic industries such as steel, coal, railroads, packing, automotive and rubber; and

WHEREAS, Because of the existence of racial barriers against Negro workers in certain trade unions which has resulted in inculting, engendering and fostering distrust and suspicion of white trade unionists that inevitably creates division and weakness in the labor movement; be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in its 53rd annual convention go on record to enlist and employ Negro Labor Organizers as paid and volunteer organizers to help carry forward the aggressive and constructive organization campaign now being conducted by the American Federation of Labor under the National Recovery program, and thereby bring about a better and finer feeling of cooperation between the black and white workers of America and strengthen and consolidate the position for effective collective bargaining of organized labor in the United States of America.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Demand That the Pullman Company Be Included Under the Emergency Railroad Transportation Act 1933

Resolution No. 86—By Delegate A. Phillip Randolph, Sleeping Car Porters Union, No. 18068, New York, N. Y.

WHEREAS, The Pullman Company is claiming and boasting to its employes that it is not subject to regulation by the National Recovery Act or the Emergency Railroad Transportation Act, 1933, and hence may continue to maintain its Plan of Employe Representation or Company Union; and

WHEREAS, The Coordinator of Federal Transportation, in reply to request by the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters to investigate the Pullman Company Union, stated that the Emergency Railroad Transportation Act does now apply to the Pullman Company; and

WHEREAS, The Coordinator, Honorable Joseph B. Eastman in a letter to the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters under date of September 25th, states: "The fact is that the Pullman Company is not subject to the Emergency Railroad Transportation Act, 1933" . . . and adds "The failure to include the Pullman Company no doubt may be due to an oversight but that does not change the fact;" and

WHEREAS, Sec. 3 of the Interstate Commerce Act, states: "The term 'common carrier' as used in this act shall include all pipe line companies; telegraph, telephone, and cable companies operating by wire or wireless; express companies; sleeping car companies and all persons natural or artificial, engaged in such transportation or transmission as aforesaid as common carriers for hire . . . ;" and

WHEREAS, The Railway Labor Act states in Sec. 1, First, The term "carrier" includes any express company, sleeping car company, and any carrier by railroad subject to the Interstate Commerce Act; and

WHEREAS, Under Title 1, Emergency Powers of the Emergency Railroad Transportation Act, 1933, the Federal Coordinator of Transportation is moving to determine wherein railway carriers are violating labor's rights in the above named act, through a questionnaire sent the carriers, in which it is said: "It is now unlawful for any railroad to:

- (1) Deny or in any way question the right of its employes to join the Labor Organization of their choice.
- (2) Interfere in any way with the organization of its employes.
- (3) Use its funds in maintaining so-called company unions.
- (4) Influence or coerce its employes in an effort to induce them to join or remain members of such company unions; and

WHEREAS, In President Roosevelt's National Industrial Recovery Act, the general policy of the nation is herein expressed against workers being forced to join company unions and labor is granted the untrammelled right of self-organization and the designation of their representatives free from interference, restraint or coercion of employers of labor; and

WHEREAS, The Pullman Company has violated and is now violating the Railway Labor Act, the Emergency Railroad Transportation Act, 1933, and the spirit and letter of the N. R. A., by maintaining with its funds a company union, and firing porters and maids for joining the Sleeping Car Porters' Unions which embrace the large majority of the porters and maids in the Pullman Service; be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in its 53rd annual convention held in Washington, D. C., instructs and urges the Executive Council to use its good offices in calling upon President Franklin D. Roosevelt to issue an Executive Order interpreting the Emergency Railroad Transportation Act, 1933, to include within its scope sleeping car companies, thereby correcting a situation that results in the Pullman Company occupying a favored status; be it further

RESOLVED, That the convention herewith condemn the policy of oppression and exploitation of porters and maids by the Pullman Company through low wage rates and the chain ganging of runs that boost the hours of work of porters from four hundred to five hundred a month, a policy which is in direct contravention of the spirit of the National Recovery Program.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Protest Discrimination Against Negro Workers Under N. R. A.

Resolution No. 87—By Delegate A. Philip Randolph, Sleeping Car Porters Union No. 18068, New York, N. Y.

WHEREAS, Negro workers are being notoriously victimized in various sections of the country in the form of being displaced by white workers when the minimum wage rate is applied; and

WHEREAS, Negro workers are being deprived of certain benefits under N. R. A. since they, especially, in the textile industry fall within a category, to which the provisions of the National Recovery program will not apply until a later date in January 1934; and

WHEREAS, The application of unfavorable wage differentials in certain industries in the South are made to bear heavily upon Negro workers who constitute a large labor factor in these industries; and

WHEREAS, This wage differential policy with respect to groups of workers is alleged to be based upon differential in productive efficiency and living costs; and

WHEREAS, Responsible production statistics in relation to Negro workers compiled during and after the World War period indicate that the charge of production inefficiency is without basis in fact, and that certain groups of Negro workers have the same level of productive efficiency of similar groups of white workers and that

the level of productivity of certain groups of Negro workers is higher and lower than some groups of white workers; and

WHEREAS, Wage income determines cost of living standards and renders it wholly unscientific to relate wage rates to racial factors; and

WHEREAS, It is a dangerous precedent and definite menace to the organized labor movement to permit the government to promulgate and execute a wage policy, expressing differentials that can only result in creating competition between the workers that will accrue to the benefit of the employing class; be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in its 53rd convention held in Washington, D. C., does herewith condemn the policy of wage differentials based upon sectional or racial grounds and herewith calls upon the National Recovery Administration heads and the President of the United States to eliminate said policy in the interest of economic justice to the Negro workers in particular, the American workers in general and raising the purchasing power of the entire working class as a whole.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Representation of Organized Labor on NRA Compliance Boards

Resolution No. 88—By Delegate Frank X. Martel, International Typographical Union.

WHEREAS, Those charged with the responsibility of administering the National Recovery Act, have set up certain Boards known as local National Recovery Administration Compliance Boards for the purpose of "conciliation, mediation and education" in connection with the administration of the National Recovery Act; and

WHEREAS, The machinery for the establishment of these local Compliance Boards is of such a nature as to deny to labor proper representation on these Boards; and

WHEREAS, Most of the complaints of non-compliance with the National Recovery Act against those who have signed the President's Re-employment Agreement are complaints of non-compliance with hours and wages provided and the right of collective bargaining provisions of the National Recovery Act; and

WHEREAS, These local Compliance Boards constituted as they are without adequate labor representation have failed in their purpose of securing immediate one hundred percent compliance with the President's Re-employment Agreement; be it

RESOLVED, By this Convention, that we hereby demand of the National Administrator of the National Recovery Act that these Compliance Boards be revised and that labor be given equal representation with the commercial and business element of the community on these Boards for the purpose of

bringing about a fulfillment of the mission for which they were created.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Restriction of Canadian Immigration at Detroit

Resolution No. 89—By Delegate Frank X. Martel, International Typographical Union.

WHEREAS, The depression, with its attendant unemployment, has possibly taken a greater toll, and been more far reaching in its devastating effect on the people in the City of Detroit than any other community in the country; and

WHEREAS, Detroit struggling with its problem has exhausted its local means of relieving, feeding and housing the unemployed; and

WHEREAS, During this period there has been a lack of proper enforcement of the Immigration laws at the City of Detroit which has resulted in a continued condition whereunder thousands of workers domiciled outside of the City of Detroit in a foreign nation have been permitted to commute daily for purposes of employment to the detriment of legally domiciled labor, both as to wages and preference in employment, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor in previous conventions has recognized the principle that if a country was good enough to earn a living in, it was good enough to live in, and has urged upon the Federal Government that it extend to the people of the City of Detroit, the full protection of the Immigration laws of this country; be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in Convention assembled call upon the United States Department of Labor, Immigration Service, for a more vigorous enforcement of the Immigration laws at the port of Detroit to the end that workers of the community be placed on an equal basis with workers in other industrial centers who are not so unfortunate as to be located on the International Border, and that we call on all patriotic American employers to refrain from the practice of giving preference in employment to labor not domiciled in the country.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Legislation to Prohibit Advertisements for Workers for Employment in Strike-Breaking Activities

Resolution No. 90—By Delegate Frank X. Martel, International Typographical Union.

WHEREAS, It has been the practice of unscrupulous employers to import substitutes or strike-breaking labor from locations far from the scene of the disturbance

wherever strikes or lockouts are in effect; and

WHEREAS, In countless cases this has resulted in honest men being induced to accept unknowingly employment in struck-bound or lockout institutions without the knowledge that they were to be used as strike breakers until they reached the scene of employment; be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be requested to prepare a law to be introduced in the United States Congress to prohibit the advertising for the employment and shipping of labor for strike-bound or lockout institutions engaged in interstate commerce, or wherein such labor or advertisement involves interstate commerce or shipping.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Father Charles E. Coughlin

Resolution No. 91—By Delegate Frank X. Martel of the International Typographical Union.

WHEREAS, The Reverend Charles E. Coughlin, Radio Orator of Royal Oak, Michigan, has persisted in the policy of securing the publishing of his weekly radio talk, and other printed matter in non-union printing offices; and

WHEREAS, He is engaged at the present time in the erection of a new edifice at Royal Oak, in which he has publicly announced that the so-called "open shop" policy of employment will prevail and wherein building trades mechanics are being employed as skilled labor at unskilled labor wages; and

WHEREAS, The Reverend Coughlin has resisted all efforts on the part of organized labor to induce him to have his printed matter executed under union conditions and his new edifice constructed under union labor and union wage schedules; and

WHEREAS, The ventures of Reverend Coughlin are financed from contributions by his radio audience; and

WHEREAS, Many of his regular contributors are members of organized labor, who have in the past felt that his pronouncements against the exploitation of labor by other employers entitled him to the support of members of the Trade Union Movement; and

WHEREAS, This manifest hostility to organized labor and union wages manifested by Reverend Coughlin in his own activities as an employer are contrary to the precepts he has preached in his weekly sermons; and

WHEREAS, The President of the American Federation of Labor has called these matters to the attention of Reverend Coughlin, and urged upon him a correction of the conditions complained of, and offered his services to that end; and

WHEREAS, The Reverend Coughlin has failed to give adequate recognition to the

overtures made by the President of the American Federation of Labor; be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor declare that the Reverend Charles E. Coughlin is unfair to organized labor and is no longer entitled to financial support from any trade unionists who sincerely believe in the right of labor to organize, to deal collectively, and to an adequate union wage.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Federal Aid to the States for Education

Resolution No. 92—By Delegates Florence Curtis Hanson and Selma M. Borchardt, American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, In every section of the country public schools have suffered materially through the lack of funds made available for educational work, in some localities amounting to the actual collapse of the American Free Public School system; and

WHEREAS, Local communities and the several states are for the most part utterly unable to maintain their public schools; and

WHEREAS, While it is undoubtedly the responsibility of the state to seek to preserve its public schools for the state, it is just as certainly the responsibility of the nation to assure opportunities for education to all the children of the nation; and

WHEREAS, The citizens of the several states are, in the form of income taxes and other taxes giving to the federal government many millions of dollars; be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor seek to secure legislation making available to the several states funds sufficient to enable these states to maintain a free public school system worthy of the best traditions of our land, and schools which would afford equal educational opportunity for all of the children of America.

Referred to Committee on Education.

To Combat Attacks on Representative Government

Resolution No. 93—By Delegates Florence Curtis Hanson and Selma M. Borchardt, American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, There has been in Europe an alarming attack on representative government with the consequential destruction of personal liberties of the people of these countries, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor pledge its full moral and economic support to combating these destructive movements, in whatever form they may take, be they from the extreme right or from the extreme left.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Protection of Public School System

Resolution No. 94—By Delegates Florence Curtis Hanson and Selma M. Borchardt, American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, The nation is threatened with grave disaster incident to the tragic breakdown of the free public school systems of our states; be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled petition the President of the United States to use his good offices during this emergency to help save our schools; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the President of the American Federation of Labor with a committee to be appointed by him, present this appeal to the President of the United States during this convention.

Referred to Committee on Education.

Educational Program for Civilian Camps

Resolution No. 95—By Delegates Florence Curtis Hanson and Selma M. Borchardt, American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, There is at present no educational program planned for the thousands of young men who are in our civilian camps; and

WHEREAS, The vital need for a truly social program in these camps is glaringly apparent; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor call upon the President of the United States to instruct the United States Office of Education to plan an educational program for these camps and administer it in cooperation with the properly constituted authorities.

Referred to Committee on Education.

Protest Against the Hitler Regime

Resolution No. 96—By Delegates Florence Curtis Hanson and Selma M. Borchardt, American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, The overthrow of the German Republic by the Hitler regime has resulted in the complete loss of personal liberty in Germany and consequently in the destruction of the trade union movement; and

WHEREAS, Under the present German government there has been a campaign of revolting sadist orgies, of direct cruelty inflicted on men, women, and even children; and

WHEREAS, The very peace of the world is again seriously menaced by the military and quasi-military activities of the present German government, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor express its profound sympathy for the splendid German citizens now being so mercilessly persecuted; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we pledge our moral and economic assistance in the fight against present German terrorism, and call upon the international unions, the state federations and the city central bodies, and liberty-loving citizens everywhere to refrain from purchasing goods produced or manufactured in Germany until this outrageous program of racial and political persecution ceases, and be it further

RESOLVED, That copies of this resolution be sent to the President of the United States, the Secretary of State, the United States Tariff Commission, and to the members of Foreign Relations Committee of the United States Senate and the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Equal Rights for Negro Workers

Resolution No. 97—By Delegate R. Suny, of the Cleaners, Dyers, Spotters and Pressers Union No. 18233, Philadelphia, Pa.

WHEREAS, The negro workers in the United States are the last ones to be hired and the first ones to be fired; are the most underpaid and the most exploited; and

WHEREAS, Race discrimination and Jim-crowism are means to divide the workers, holding them back from united struggles against the attack of the employers; and

WHEREAS, It was long since recognized by organized labor in the United States of America that the freedom of the white wage earner cannot be won without the freedom of his black brother; be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, at its 53rd Annual Convention, in Washington, D. C., demands the elimination of all clauses which have any suggestion of discrimination against negro workers, from all A. F. of L. International, National and Federal Union Constitutions; and be it further

RESOLVED, That this 53rd American Federation of Labor Convention demands equal rights for the negro worker in the union, in the shop and on the job.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Hitlerism

Resolution No. 99—By Delegate R. Suny, Cleaners, Dyers, Spotters and Pressers Union, No. 18233, Philadelphia, Pa.

WHEREAS, The advent of fascism in Germany under the brutal dictatorship of Hitler is a dictatorship in the interest of the bankers and employers as against the toiling masses; and

WHEREAS, This brutal dictatorship has already proven in action its true color by suppressing the trade unions, cutting unemployed relief and insurance, putting the unemployed workers on forced labor without wages, giving them only a starvation meal, suppressing the elected shop councils, by prohibiting strikes; by suppressing all working-class political, cultural and even sport move-

ments; by the most bloody barbaric reign of terror directed mainly against workers and the working class; and

WHEREAS, This bloody barbaric dictatorship of Hitler in order to maintain its rule is doing the utmost to develop race hatred, anti-semitism and nationalism, which is causing to gather faster the war clouds in Europe, and brings closer the danger of a world war; be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor at its 53rd Annual Convention held in Washington, D. C., goes on record to rally the membership in the American Federation of Labor for the fight against fascism in Germany and elsewhere, and for a fight against any fascist tendencies in the United States of America and for all possible support to the anti-fascist movement and the victims of fascism.

Referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Opposing Service of A. F. of L. Officials on N. R. A. Boards

Resolution No. 100—By Delegate R. Suny, Cleaners, Dyers, Spotters and Pressers' Union No. 18233, Philadelphia, Pa.

WHEREAS, The gap between the workers' income and the cost of living has been widened and continues to widen under the N. R. A., so that the standards of American workers are being lowered systematically and legally toward the European level; and

WHEREAS, Section 7 (a) of the N. R. A., which supposedly guaranteed the workers the formal right to organize, turned out in practice to be a withdrawal of this long-possessed right—a withdrawal through brutal use of armed force against workers, through mass arrests on picket lines, through clubbings and gassings of strikers; and

WHEREAS, The leaders of the American Federation of Labor who are on the Labor Advisory Board, the Mediation Board and local N. R. A. Administration Boards have agreed, in cooperation with employers and government representatives, to industrial codes which do not stipulate a guarantee for an adequate income to the workers—codes which do not provide raises in wages to meet the mounting cost of living—codes which do not provide unemployment insurance at the expense of employers and the government—codes containing "merit" clauses which give employers the ultimate right to hire and fire at will—codes such as the Automobile and Soft Coal Codes, that give the employers the privilege of maintaining open shops by anti-labor regulations; and

WHEREAS, The service of American Federation of Labor officials in behalf of the N. R. A. means the sanctioning, the putting of the union label upon a system of enforcing compulsory arbitration, thereby invalidating rights acquired by United States workers in the long years of organized struggles; and

WHEREAS, This policy of collaboration between the American Federation of Labor leaders and the employers tends to create illusions and to disarm the workers, leading them away from real struggles to safeguard their interests; tends to discredit genuine unionism; and completely contradicts the spirit of the preamble of the American Federation of Labor constitution, which reads as follows: "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 benefits"; Be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor at its 53rd Annual Convention, in Washington, D. C., demands the withdrawal of all officials of the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated unions from posts in the N. R. A., both executive and advisory capacities, and from all sections of the N. R. A., local, district, state and national.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

International Labor News Service

Resolution No. 101—By Delegates Frank X. Martel, International Typographical Union, John C. Saylor, Wilmington, Delaware, Central Labor Union; R. E. Woodmansee, Springfield, Illinois, Central Labor Union; Florence Curtis Hanson, American Federation of Teachers; John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department; E. J. Volz, International Photo Engravers' Union of North America; Joseph Obergfell, International Union of United Brewery Workers; Roy C. Cline, International Typographical Union; John B. Haggerty, International Brotherhood of Bookbinders; Thos. E. Burke, United Association of Plumbers and Steamfitters; A. H. Billet, United Wall Paper Crafts of North America; John B. Colpoys, Washington, D. C., Central Labor Union; Harvey W. Fox, Wyoming State Federation of Labor; C. B. Noxon, Colorado State Federation of Labor; F. H. Fljoldal, Maintenance of Way Employees, and Charles P. Howard, International Typographical Union.

WHEREAS, A continuous program of presenting factual information to labor and its friends is an absolute necessity, and this program is all the more necessary because of the thousands who are daily joining organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, One of the important, constructive methods of disseminating labor facts is through the bona fide labor press of the nation, in full service to the American labor movement; and

WHEREAS, The publishers of legitimate labor newspapers display a much appreciated interest in the cause of labor; be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, requests the Executive Council to favorably consider taking over, for a period of one year, the labor news service used by legitimate labor newspapers which is now being issued each week by the International Labor News Service, at Washington, D. C., the said labor feature service to be issued in addition to the present, excellent Weekly News Letter issued by the American Federation of Labor; because the cost per year for issuing the present Labor News Service would be an excellent investment for the progress of labor in the various communities throughout the nation where bona fide labor newspapers are published in the deepest sense of loyalty to the recognized trade union movement; the said service to be forwarded to the publication offices of these labor newspapers as a contribution of the American Federation of Labor to the future success of these helpful mediums; and be it further

RESOLVED, That International Unions, State Federations, City Central bodies, Building Trades Councils and local unions be urged to extend their unstinted support to the labor newspapers of the nation who contribute so much time, energy and devotion to the cause of the trade union movement, as well as making tremendous financial sacrifices to serve the cause.

Referred to Committee on Education.

Campaign to Organize Laundry Workers

Resolution No. 102—By Delegates Anna J. Brown and Roy Burt of the Laundry Workers' International Union.

WHEREAS, The inside laundry workers are very much in need of organization, and

WHEREAS, The Laundry Workers' International Union is without the necessary funds required to pay the salary of an Organizer for full time service among the laundry workers: Therefore be it

RESOLVED, By the delegates to the Fifty-Third Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor in regular

session assembled, that, the Organizers of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to devote some of their efforts to organizing the inside laundry workers of their respective districts. And be it further

RESOLVED, That each State Federation of Labor, and each City Central Body be urged to detail an Organizer or the Organizing committee to launch an organizing campaign among the laundry workers. And be it further

RESOLVED, That a communication be sent by the American Federation of Labor to each State Federation of Labor and each City Central Body urging them to take the action necessary to comply with the foregoing request and intent as embodied within this Resolution.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

President Green: Are any committees prepared to make a partial report? We have no speakers scheduled to address the convention today, and if there is no possibility of any of the committees making a partial report to the convention today, it appears we could well suspend the rules and adjourn until tomorrow morning.

Delegate Howard, Typographical Union: I move that the rules be suspended and the convention adjourn to Wednesday morning at the regular time.

The motion was seconded.

President Green: Before I put the motion to adjourn, let me announce that the official photographer has arranged to take the photograph of the convention at the south steps of the Treasury Building immediately upon adjournment. All officers and delegates are requested to go there at that time.

The motion offered by Delegate Howard was adopted, and the convention adjourned under suspension of the rules at 11:00 o'clock a. m. to 9:30 o'clock Wednesday morning, October 4.

Third Day—Wednesday Morning Session

Washington, D. C., October 4, 1933.

The convention was called to order at 9:30 o'clock by President Green.

President Green: The invocation will be given this morning by Rabbi Abram Simon.

INVOCATION

Rabbi Abram Simon

Our Father, Thou God of the Universe, Thou Sovereign of the wills of the nations and wills of individuals, we praise Thy great and holy name. We rejoice to come before Thee on this beautiful morning to implore Thy guidance and to strengthen our consciousness of our duty towards Thee as towards our fellow men. We recognize Thee and adore Thee as the great Workman, the great Creator, as the One Who has done things, as the One Who doeth things and sleepeth not and slumbereth not. For Thou art He Who not only created the world through Thy will and Thy love, but Thou art He Who put the divine stamp upon labor and Who commanded us that we shall labor six days and give the seventh over to the recreation of the body and the spirit.

We thank Thee that we have been able through our hands, through our hearts and through our minds to re-create the world in which we live and to make that world as nearly good and kind and wholesome as conditions will permit. We praise Thee, Father, for all good and fine men and women who are giving glory to Thy cause, for as we grow in dignity, as we grow in power, and as we grow in usefulness, so grows labor equal to the responsibilities Thou wouldst have placed upon it and upon us.

We thank Thee, Father, that this great organization has, because of its prestige and power risen not only to influence, but also to such a commanding force that it has been able, as it is now able, to strengthen and bulwark itself against the destructive and disintegrating forces in our land. We pray that this great Federation may be a strong arm of the American Government, of American ideas, the strong arm of American loyalty, so that we, constantly relying upon it, may be able to use that arm to carry out the wishes of our hearts and our wills.

And so bless this organization, its President and officers, that they may continue and may grow in these things

that will add to our spiritual wealth and to our moral power and to our political usefulness, and in all things be Thou our guide and our guardian. Help us now and evermore. Amen.

RE-ASSIGNMENT OF RESOLUTION NO. 10

Vice President Woll: The Committee on Resolutions had before it Resolution No. 10, which is an appeal from the decision of the Executive Council. It is the judgment of the committee that this resolution might more fittingly and properly be considered by the Committee on Executive Council's Report, and it is our recommendation that Resolution No. 10 be so referred.

I move you the adoption of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote and the resolution so referred.

Vice President Woll announced that the Committee on Resolutions would meet in Room 127 and that all who were interested in resolutions referred to that committee should arrange to appear before the committee as soon as possible.

Vice President Duffy, on behalf of the Committee on Organization, made a similar announcement, stating that the committee was meeting in Room No. 128.

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT, COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

Delegate Schmal, Secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

In their initial report the Committee on Credentials withheld the approval of one delegate due to a protest filed against the seating of that representative, Jerome Davis, representing the New Haven, Conn., Trades Council.

Your committee has since been advised of the withdrawal of the protest in that case and therefore recommends the seating of Jerome Davis with one vote.

The committee has examined the following additional credentials and

recommends the seating of the following delegates:

Tampa, Fla., Central Trades and Labor Assembly—William E. Sullivan, 1 vote.

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

Cleaners, Dyers and Pressers' Union No. 17742, Chicago, Illinois, B. A. Albert, 2 votes.

Colorado Springs, Colo., Federated Trades Council—Louis Ziman, 1 vote.

Logansport, Ind., Trades and Labor Assembly—Richard D. Redinger, 1 vote.

Minneapolis, Minn., Central Labor Union—Roy Wier, 1 vote.

Cleaners, Dyers and Pressers' Local No. 17806, Newark, N. J., M. A. Klein, 1 vote.

Rubber Workers', United, Federal Labor Union No. 18282, Akron, O.—Clark C. Culver, 1 vote.

The report of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

President Green: The Chair recognizes Secretary Schmal, who will submit the report of the Auditing Committee.

REPORT OF THE AUDITING COMMITTEE

Secretary Schmal read the following report:

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

The auditors appointed by President Green, in compliance with Article 3, Section 4 of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor, beg leave to present the following report for the consideration of this Convention.

The Committee has examined all the books and other records relating to the financial transactions and activities of the American Federation of Labor during the fiscal year beginning September 1st, 1932, ending August 31st, 1933. It pleases the Committee to report that all books and other financial records were found accurate and correct in every detail; and to correspond with the printed reports published and distributed by the Secretary during the year.

The following is the tabulation of receipts and disbursements credited to and charged against the several funds of the Federation.

Balance on hand in all funds August 31, 1932.....\$368,444.97

Receipts

Per capita tax.....	\$273,416.59
Receipts from the AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST	82,820.08
Receipts credited to the Defense Fund.....	15,591.27
Initiation Fees....	\$26,600.35
Reinstatement Fees	664.25
Supplies	9,177.17
Interest on Bank Deposits and invested funds.....	12,973.14
Premiums on bonds of officers of unions bonded through A. F. of L.	5,421.24
Disbanded and suspended unions and miscellaneous receipts....	2,259.81
A. F. of L. Building Fund.....	14,000.00
Transferred from Defense Fund....	15,000.00
Total Receipts	\$457,923.90
Grand Total	\$826,368.87

Disbursements

General expenditures.	\$346,380.41
AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST ..	56,637.29
Strike benefits paid to local trade and federal labor unions	1,575.00
Transferred to General Fund	15,000.00
Premiums on bonds of officers of affiliated unions	4,643.37
Total Disbursements	424,236.07
Balance in all funds on August 31st, 1933	\$402,132.80

Recapitulation

In General Fund.....	\$ 68,621.44
In Defense Fund.....	333,511.36
Total Balance in all funds on August 31st, 1933	\$402,132.80

Deposited and Invested

The funds of the American Federation of Labor, your Committee finds, are deposited in banks and invested as follows:

U. S. Treasury Bonds (3 1/4%)	\$125,000.00
Premiums on U. S. Treasury Bonds ..	1,289.07
Total investment in U. S. Treasury Bonds	\$126,289.07

\$102,000.00 Federal Land Bank Bonds (4½%) Par value	\$ 88,230.00
\$100.00 @ 86½% ..	
\$80,000.00 Federal Land Bank Bonds (4½%) Par value	74,200.00
\$100.00 @ 92% ..	
\$18,000.00 Federal Land Bank Bonds (4½%) Par value	
\$100.00 @ 85½% ..	\$15,390.00

Total investment in Federal Land Bank Bonds.....	\$177,820.00
On Deposit in the First National Bank, Kansas City, Missouri	\$ 81,023.73
Union Labor Life Insurance Company Stock	15,000.00
On Deposit in Riggs National Bank, Washington, D. C.	2,000.00
Total	\$402,132.80

Following is the report of the auditors who examined the records of the Treasurer which is made a part of this general audit on finances.

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR
Office of Treasurer

Kansas City, Mo., Sept. 22, 1933.

Mr. William Green, President,
American Federation of Labor,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir and Brother:

The undersigned International Officers examined the funds of the American Federation of Labor in possession of its Treasurer, Martin F. Ryan, in Kansas City, Mo., on September 22, 1933, for the year ending August 31, 1933, and find the following:

United States Treasury Bonds, including premium ..	\$126,289.07
Federal Land Bank Bonds ..	177,820.00
Stock—Union Labor Life Insurance Company	15,000.00
Checking Account—First National Bank, Kansas City, Missouri	81,023.73
Total funds in hands of Treasurer	\$400,132.80

Respectfully submitted,

FRANK DUFFY,

First Vice President,
American Federation of Labor,
General Secretary,
United Brotherhood of Carpenters
and Joiners of America.

JOHN J. PFEIFFER,
General Secretary-Treasurer,
International Union, United
Leather Workers.

J. M. ELLIS,
General Secretary-Treasurer,
Brotherhood Railway Carmen
of America.

Subscribed and sworn to before me
this 22d day of September, 1933.

MABEL SMITH,
Notary Public.

My commission expires Nov. 3, 1936.

Resuming the report of the Secretary's accounts.

Gompers Memorial Fund

As reported at previous meetings, by direction of the Forty-eighth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, an appeal was issued by the Executive Council on December 26, 1928, calling upon all affiliated organizations for contributions to be used in the erection of a suitable memorial to the late President of the American Federation of Labor, Samuel Gompers. As a result of that appeal, the following report is made possible:

Receipts from December 20, 1924, to and including August 31, 1933	\$117,811.23
Interest earned on funds invested	15,016.45
Total receipts	\$132,827.68
Total expenses, January 12, 1929, to and including August 31, 1933	63,008.62
Balance on hand August 31, 1933	\$ 69,819.06

Funds Deposited and Invested as Follows:

United States Treasury Bonds (3½%)	\$ 64,000.00
Premium on U. S. Treasury Bonds	960.00
Total investment in U. S. Treasury Bonds	\$ 64,960.00
Mt. Vernon Savings Bank, Washington, D. C.	2,111.10
Riggs National Bank, Washington, D. C.	2,747.96
Total	\$ 69,819.06

The Committee was advised that an itemized statement of all moneys received and to whom paid will be made to each contributor when this fund is closed.

The foregoing your Committee finds to be a correct account of all contributions made to, and interest earned by the Gompers Memorial Fund up to and including August 31, 1933.

Subsequent to August 31st, the bonds in which a portion of this fund was invested were reconverted into cash, as

evidenced by the Bill of Sale presented for the Committee's inspection, and the money deposited in the Riggs National Bank, of Washington, D. C., certified to by the Cashier of that depository.

Sleeping Car Porters' Injunction Fund

Receipts from January 13, 1933, to and including March 31, 1933	\$660.00
*Amount forwarded to M. P. Webster, President	660.00

Fund deposited in Mt. Vernon Savings Bank

* The full amount of this fund was paid over to the Sleeping Car Porters from the General Fund, American Federation of Labor, pending the reopening of the Mt. Vernon Bank. After the bank opens this \$660.00 will be transferred to the General Fund of the American Federation of Labor.

We have examined the records of this account and find them correctly recorded.

The American Federation of Labor Building and Building Fund

Your Committee believes that little need be said regarding the American Federation of Labor Building, other than to record the Committee's recognition of its efficient management, and the splendid service provided by those in charge, and responsible for the successful operation and maintenance of that Building.

The following statement fully indicates the soundness of that investment, and the financial provision made for its protection.

Balance on hand August 31, 1932	\$55,593.89
Receipts	32,507.99
Receipts and balance	88,101.88
Expenses	23,649.34
Transfer to A. F. of L. General Fund	14,000.00
	<u>37,649.34</u>

Balance on hand August 31, 1933	\$50,452.54
--	-------------

An itemized statement of Receipts and Expenses of this fund appears on Page 14 of the Executive Council's report.

We find the balance, \$50,452.54, invested and deposited as follows:

\$40,000.00 Federal Land Bank Bonds (5%) par value	
\$100.00 at 94%	\$37,750.00
\$6,000.00 3% United States Treasury Bonds at 99-21/32	5,979.38
On Deposit in Mt. Vernon Savings Bank, Washington, D. C.	1,780.11

On Deposit in Riggs Na- tional Bank, Washington, D. C.	\$4,943.05
Total	<u>\$50,452.54</u>

The accounts of this Fund, and the bonds in which the funds are invested were carefully examined by the Committee, and all fully accounted for.

The American Federationist

As heretofore, the AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST continues to experience an excess of receipts over expenses. It is unnecessary for this Committee to reiterate the much-deserved praise expressed by previous Committees in regard to the excellent management of the magazine, both in literary production and financial administration.

We would, however, impress the delegates attending this Convention with the fact that the ideals, principles and aims of organized Labor and the activities of the trade union movement are consistently and fully expressed in this publication; and that now is the most opportune time for increased study of these activities by trade unionists and friends of the organized Labor movement. The AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST is the medium through which this can be done.

Conclusion

The destructive effect of the economic depression on the financial condition of other organizations and institutions, was also reflected in the income of the American Federation of Labor during the last financial year. Despite this fact, it is interesting, reassuring and encouraging to note the healthy condition of the Federation's finances. As indicated in this, and the Secretary's report, the total balance on August 31, 1933, exceeded by \$33,687.33 the balance on hand at the beginning of the last fiscal year—an appreciable increase, under prevailing conditions.

While of the opinion that the progress of the Labor movement is not solely dependent on its financial stability, we believe such stability contributes much to the general advancement of the Labor movement. Your Committee therefore urges renewed trade union activities, the result of which added to by the re-employment sought under the National Recovery Act will prove of material assistance in strengthening the financial resources of the whole Labor movement.

The Committee desires to commend Secretary Morrison and his entire staff for the very efficient supervision and general conduct of the increasing requirements of the Secretary's office, and

for the efficient and capable performance of all duties required of them. In addition, we desire to express our appreciation and thanks for the special assistance rendered your Committee in the temporary duties which it was called upon to perform.

Fraternally submitted,
W. M. BRANDT, Chairman.
FRED W. BAER,
HENRY F. SCHMAL, Secretary.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

DEDICATION OF GOMPERS MEMORIAL

Secretary Morrison: I desire to say that at a meeting of the Dedication Committee it was decided that all delegates and guests would be admitted to the reserved seats upon their badges. In some mysterious way about 750 green tickets have disappeared from the steel cabinet downstairs and that is the reason for the change. We have printed new tickets which bear the picture of President Gompers. These are white tickets and will be given to the local trade unionists of Washington, but all delegates and guests from outside the city will be admitted on their badges. The green tickets will not be received and they are recalled.

President Green: Those of us who attended the Denver convention of the American Federation of Labor a few years ago will recall the stirring and inspiring address delivered to the officers and delegates in attendance at that convention by Dr. George Laekland. He is here this morning—a sympathetic, real friend of labor. I know he has a message that will be helpful and educational, and I am glad to present him to you now for an address.

REVEREND GEORGE LAEKLAND (First Church, New Haven, Connecticut)

Mr. Chairman and fellow workers—I think we all realize that labor is confronted today with the greatest opportunity that has confronted labor in the history of America, also that labor is confronted with the greatest responsibility that has ever confronted the organized body of workers in this country. I am not going to burden you with a lot of statistics, but I would like to bring to your attention just three or four facts that have come out of re-

search work in the last few months that are striking.

Do you know that the income of all the people in this country has declined from a total of seventy billions of dollars in 1929 to thirty-five billions of dollars last year? I submitted those figures to Irving Fisher, of Yale University, and he said if anything they are conservative. I think we as workers ought to have in our mind a clear cut picture of the situation as it concerns not only the workers but the entire country. That means that one half the consuming power, if you eliminate the rise in the cost of living, has been reduced. That means and explains the fact that there have been variously estimated between thirteen and fifteen million of unemployed workers in this country.

Now there is still a more serious situation in my judgment. There has been recently published by a Mr. Evans a book entitled, "The Internal Debts in the United States." That book makes this statement, that approximately one dollar for every two dollars in this country, if you take the total wealth, every conceivable form of wealth, there is a mortgage of 50 cents on every dollar's worth of wealth in this country, if you take into account city debts, state debts, national debts and private debts. I have done a little figuring of my own. I figure that if the debts of this country represent one-half of the total wealth, if you paid 6 per cent on those debts it would cost this country approximately eight billions of dollars interest.

Go back to my original figure, our income last year was thirty-five billions of dollars. The economics of our situation are such that for every dollar, roughly, that was earned last year, almost 25 per cent of it had to go to pay interest on debts, assuming that those debts were carrying 6 per cent interest. I think that gives us all a picture that will explain very readily why the whole deck of cards, the house of cards went down with a crash last March. It is literally impossible with almost one-third of the workers of the country unemployed, to take 25 cents out of every dollar that came into the people and pay that for interest charges on debts.

There is no way in which those debts can be paid except through some sort of an increase in the purchasing power of the consumers of this country. In my state, Connecticut, in the city of Hartford, there happens to be the greatest aggregation of insurance companies in America. Those insurance companies upon which your families will depend in the event of death depend upon the ability of the people to pay interest on the indebtedness.

You remember what Will Rogers said about the banks of this country. He said, "Every time a banker goes to bed he ought to thank God for Roosevelt

and also for interest." You have heard what our Hebrew brothers said when they were in a discussion as to what was the greatest invention that ever confronted the American people. One man thought it was electricity, another steam power, and they went all down the line, including the automobile and all the rest of it, and finally they said to our Hebrew friend, "What do you think is the greatest invention that has befallen humanity?" And he said, "Well, I tell you the fellow that invented interest is no slouch."

Don't forget that it concerns more than one half of the people who own homes, and probably three fourths of them. It is extremely difficult to pay interest on indebtedness when your income is cut, and that is the problem that confronts the President and the workers of this country. That is the problem that has to be solved, no matter whether we adopt codes or anything else, if we are going to work out a solution.

I would like to bring to you one or two notes of cheer, if I can, before I leave that I think I ought to say, in behalf of my friends in the west, the farmers, that it was estimated that last year it took 60 to 70 cents of every dollar of the money the farmers had to pay interest on the debts owed by the farmers of this country. I simply say that because every once in a while you will meet the employer who will say, "The NRA is going too far and the workers are going too far." I sat in a room in the city of New Haven, Connecticut, last January, and on one side of that room were fifteen persons representing from five to ten thousand unemployed. On the other side were a group of the leading business men of New Haven, and the head of our industrial unemployment commission said to these unemployed workers, "I want to tell you men right straight from the shoulder that if conditions continue three to five more months as they have, we are going to walk across from this side of the room to your side of the room and join the unemployed and ask the Government for aid." I am saying this because if the business man says to you, as a representative of organized labor, that you are going too far, you may in turn ask him what would happen to business with the income of the people cut in two, with the people of the United States being compelled to pay 25 cents out of every dollar of their income in interest? What will happen to the business of this country and what will happen to the banks of this country? What will happen to the insurance companies of this country unless a new deal, unless a new power of consumption, unless a new organization of society can come into being that will be sufficient for this?

For that reason personally I welcome the attempts that are being made. I don't think they are perfect, I doubt if there is any leader in America who would say the experiments now being tried are perfect, but they are an attempt for the first time in peace time to give the people something better than they have enjoyed in the past. You people live under an American flag that waves over a group of men and women who are not seeking to destroy life but are seeking to build life.

I happen to be a preacher. You may say, "What are you doing here?" Well, I would like to tell you. For seven years I gave my services to the city of Denver and to the states of Colorado and Wyoming, and if there are delegates here from that section they will testify to the fact that I gave my services to the organized workers' education movement in those states, because I believed there was no hope even for the business of this country, first, unless the workers organize, and second, unless the workers within the ranks of organized labor appreciated what organized labor had meant to the workers of this country, and third, what organized labor could mean not only to the workers but to the total social fabric of America if it was only intelligently managed, not simply by leaders in the sense of trade union presidents, but if every trade union president in this country could put his hand on ten men in his local union who knew what it was all about, who had a vision of what the labor movement could mean to this country and who would give their time and talents going out and organizing the unemployed, and secondly, taking the rank and file into the organized labor movement and mobilizing them into an intelligent and constructive force in the community. I had that vision. I saw labor rise to it. I don't think labor has ever failed to rise to an educational opportunity when it has been presented, but you know and I know that between 75 and 90 per cent of the communities in America where there is an organized labor movement have said, "Well, this is just a fact to have an educational program, it is high-brow." If there are delegates here from Wyoming they will tell you how out in the coal camps there are men representing fifteen or twenty nationalities who came together and sat in a class room and hired their teachers, and out of it came a new labor movement, a new consciousness of labor's political power when it voted intelligently. Out of that within the ranks of business man there came a new appreciation of what the labor movement could do and could be in the light of this thing, when labor intelligently understood its place in community life and insisted it was ready to take its place in the regulation of civic, political and economic life of our country.

I would like also to say, not because I am here as a propagandist, but because I think the condition in these times is so critical, so strategic, that if I was in your place, if I were sitting as a delegate I think I would tremble if I had any sense of my personal responsibility, lest I was not alive, lest I was not alert, lest when the history of America is written in the year of 1933 or 1934 or 1935, it can ever be said that the rank and file of labor did not measure up to their opportunity and to the responsibility that will rest upon you at the bar of American history.

Therefore, I would like to say first that within all churches, Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish, there is a growing number of the younger leaders who are saying this: "We can't prove what is going to happen to us after we are dead, but we know it is possible to have a more abundant life here." All you have to do is to pick up your daily papers and see what has happened to the industrial leaders, read the list of business and industrial leaders who have taken their own lives because they could not see any way out of this situation. That is your leadership, and in the midst of that it seems to us as spiritual leaders that labor has an opportunity to say here, what is life about after all? Are we simply trying to take so many dollars and pile them up in so many vaults, or are we building life? Is America going to be a land where not one per cent get into the doors of college? My church is right across the campus of Yale University and I know that not more than one per cent of the workers' children can possibly get into college. I don't know how that hits you, but when I look into the eyes of my own boy and girl I don't care how many figures there are in my bank account, I want to know what kind of lives those youngsters are going to have. I was one of the joyful fools or sublime preachers, according to your viewpoint, that participated in the 1923 shopmen's strike. I shall never forget stopping a friend of mine, a worker on the street, and I said to this railroad worker, "Will you tell me why, after a year of this thing, you still keep on and you are out, you are sticking and your family starving?" The Union leaders told me that in Denver at that time there were from fifty to sixty families—and it was in the winter—who simply did not have coal in their houses. And I said to one of these men, "Why do you stick and strike? I am interested to know your viewpoint, just as a lover of human beings." And this is what he said: "Parson, I have two boys. You know how it is, once a railroader always a railroader, and I have a hunch that one or both of those kids are going to work in the railroad shop, and if they do I want them to have a better life, I want them to love America, I want them to enjoy their home more than I have done, and, Reverend, when I am through I don't want them looking

at me and saying that when it came to a crisis their dad failed, he did not have the courage, I want them to say of me, 'My Dad stood true for a bigger and a holier life.' That is why we are sticking, Reverend."

I don't know what your religion is, I don't care, but I went away from that man seeing a new religion. If the people of this country would live for the next generation, for a more abundant life for the boys and girls, and in the spirit of that fellow who had been without income for a year, who was sticking not because he had to but because he saw a vision, if we could get that kind of religion seven days a week in the labor movement there would be something doing. I know preachers, and I am going to make a bold assertion, that those under forty years of age trained in modern seminaries and colleges understand your problems, they understand what the masses are up against. Second, no matter what their creed may be they are interpreting it in this way: Unless we can get this brotherhood stuff down to seven days a week, unless we can get what we are talking about in the realm of ethics and ideals right down where workers live, unless somehow in this, the richest country in the world, we can build a kind of society that will make a better and a finer life, not for a few, but for every boy and girl in America, it is not worth very much.

You can count upon these men. It is a growing group and you can count upon from one third to one half of them—and I like to say facetiously that every time an undertaker functions with the older crowd he is just increasing the number who are seeing labor's viewpoint.

Here is what I mean. Just suppose, for instance, that during the last war 75 per cent of the people of this country had been opposed to war. Suppose that half the churches had thundered against it and said, "This war is wrong," what chance would there have been? Personally, I am rather ashamed of my own part this far, for what we did was to organize a man's attempt to kill. I believe we were honest in our war aims, but later developments brought a new angle.

For the first time in the history of America our Government is saying, "Create morale, create vision, create unselfishness, create a sense of comradeship, not that men may go forth, under the banner of the United States to destroy human life, but to build up human life." And you can see how any intelligent clergyman today who wants the abundant life for all people is feeling that there is a possibility, if you can get a sacrificial spirit, if you can get an ethical idea of life, if you can get a feeling that not only man, but God

almighty is anxious that this terrific vision that we have of our intellectual and moral energy that has brought us to where we are can somehow be swept away and in its place will come intelligent cooperation, labor leaders and civic leaders not fighting each other as enemies, but facing each other as partners, translating patriotism, not in terms of the iron heel to crush some other race, but translating it in terms of building a larger life.

What can you do? May I make just two or three practical suggestions as one who has spent between seven and ten years of his life working in workers' education? Here is a young fellow at twenty-one who comes into the Union. Men, let us cut out just taking his dues. I have spoken in five or six hundred unions and in them there has been too much of marching members over to the secretary's or the treasurer's desk and collecting his dues and pointing out to him that if he pays so much dues, in return he will get so much increased income. They do not tell him that back for one hundred years workers have sacrificed, not for the dollar but for a larger life, workers have given themselves when it has been unpopular.

I can see my friend, Tim Healy, out in the jail in Denver now, and I said to him, "Tim, why are you here?" And his answer was, "How could I be anywhere else in this situation?" I don't know how you feel. You look pretty comfortable, but Tim Healy was in jail out there for the labor movement. I have been out there on the Ludlow field, as President Green has, and whenever I feel myself getting a little bit calloused I take out a little tip of an American flag. It is burned, it is charred, and I look at it. It was an American flag that was burned in a labor conflict where innocent people were shot down, and every time I look at it I feel like the sincere Catholic does when he looks at his cross and I say, "Old man, you had better do some straight thinking and right living for yourself and you had better begin to get an intelligent vision of how we can reconstruct humanity and build human life instead of private fortunes."

How can we do it? First, won't you pledge your President today and pledge your labor movement today that from now on you won't take a single applicant into a single labor union without telling them there is blood on the labor movement in the sense that men have sacrificed and gone to jail, men have been ostracized, men by the scores in every community in America there are who cannot get jobs but still have their heads up. They cannot get jobs because they have been fighting labor's battle. If these young men understand that they will come into the labor movement with the same spirit that the Black

Shirts or any other kind of shirts are marching in Europe today. Young people are wanting to get into something that will make their lives count, and I ask you, is the labor movement offering to the young people an intelligent picture, so that the youth of the land can find out what it is all about? Let us get down a bit on our knees to youth and say the labor movement is not what it might have been, and certainly this society of ours is not what it might have been and our part in the world is not what it ought to be, but we see the vision and we hope you young people will profit by our mistakes and go on in the larger and fuller life.

How can we do that in the local unions? First, don't ever have a meeting where the only business is to read the minutes and communications. I know they are eloquent communications, but for goodness sake, have somebody stand up and tell that labor group what the present problems are, and instead of having 2 per cent attend your labor meetings you will have from 50 to 75 per cent if you impress upon them that they are missing something by not attending. Every leader of the local movement may ask this question: Why should the rank and file come to meetings? What is there to interest them? Why is there so much that strikes right there to interest them? That is an educational job, and how can you do that? The simple suggestion is to take three of the liveliest men and women you have in your union and make them an educational committee. In New Haven where labor has had a difficult situation, Jerome Davis has provided a speaker at least twice a month in the winter time, and you will find the attendance three or four times as great at meetings when labor is hearing something.

When you take these young fellows into the labor movement have a labor college or a labor class you can put them into. If they only understood what the possibilities are you would have men coming to the presidents of your unions saying, "How can we help? Give us a job. We don't want honors, we want a job."

My friend, Spencer Miller, head of the Workers' Education Bureau for twelve years, has been on the job. It must have been pretty discouraging a lot of the time. In 1926 it was my privilege to visit Ruskin College in the workers' education movement of Europe. They said, "Listen, we are hopeful about the American labor movement because of the significant educational program that labor has."

I understand that from two-thirds to three-fourths of the international bodies are supporting this movement, but what you want is results. You might as well take a mob of ten or

twenty-five million men, as far as getting anywhere is concerned, and put them in the front line trenches untrained as to take the tremendous incoming hordes that are sweeping into the labor movement—and they are coming. The average union meeting I attended last March in Connecticut had fifteen or twenty members in attendance, and since then I personally have talked to between 800 and 1,000 at union meetings. I might just tell you about one in Hartford, Connecticut, that of the aeroplane mechanics, the finest in this country. They came to us and said they were getting 20 cents an hour. They wanted to organize and I think they did organize. But you can have ten million or twenty-five million men in a mob or that number in a movement, trained men, men who know what it is all about, and men who have a spiritual vision.

Men, will you make this resolution, that as far as your influence goes, in every union you will have an education committee of three and will put it up to the initiative of the average worker to build up a program for his union, to get his apprentices who are willing into the educational classes. Secondly, remember that you cannot just put a man in the labor movement in a mob and won't you resolve that you can afford to spend at least one cent a member in supporting the Workers' Education Bureau, something that will take this great army and train them, not to criticize your leaders, but to back your leaders in carrying out what, in my judgment, is like one trying to build a church in America—the greatest spiritual opportunity that ever confronted the masses.

I thank you.

President Green: Delegates, you have told Reverend Laekland how much you appreciated his presence this morning and how grateful you are to him for his inspiring and educational address. In behalf of these officers and delegates, Reverend Laekland, I thank you for your visit this morning and for your wonderful address.

MEMORIAL TO DECEASED MEMBERS

President Green: At each convention of the American Federation of Labor a list of our active, outstanding members who have passed away during the year has been submitted to the convention. We endeavor to include in this list all those whose passing has been reported to the office of the American Federation of Labor. We have the list prepared

this morning, in conformity with past custom. This list will be read by Secretary Morrison. After it is read we will, following the usual custom, stand in silence for a minute to pay our tribute of respect to the memory of our departed brothers.

I hope that all officers and delegates will be seated so that we can carry out this beautiful service in a properly impressive way. The Secretary will read the list as we have it prepared. After it is read ample opportunity and the widest privilege will be accorded officers and delegates here to add others who have passed away, whose names are not included in the list.

List of Labor Officials and Representatives Deceased Since Cincinnati Convention, 1932, and Date of Death

John M. Finan, First General Vice President, Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America, December 8, 1932.

Nell J. Ferry, Member, International Executive Board, United Mine Workers of America, December 23, 1932.

R. H. Curran, Secretary, New York State Federation of Labor for 16 years. At the time of his death was Secretary to the Molders' Union in Rochester, New York, December 22, 1932.

Patrick F. Duffy, Salaried Organizer, American Federation of Labor, January 5, 1933.

Albert E. Hill, Organizer, American Federation of Labor, January 24, 1933.

George Hayes, Member of the Executive Council, United Textile Workers of America, General Organizer, American Federation of Labor, Secretary United Textile Workers of America, Local No. 439, January 30, 1933.

William E. McEwen, Editor and Publisher of the Duluth Labor World, Chairman, State Conservation Commission, February 15, 1933.

G. O'Keefe, Organizer for the Operative Plasterers' International Association of the United States and Canada, February 24, 1933.

William F. Hart, 7th Vice President, International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America, and Business Agent of Local No. 641, February 6, 1933.

W. J. Spencer, Secretary-Treasurer, Building Trades Department, American Federation of Labor, April 24, 1933.

W. A. Cunliffe, General Organizer, Pattern Makers, member of Pattern Makers for thirty years, May 25, 1933.

Newton A. James, Executive Board Member, International Brotherhood of Firemen and Oilers; also Financial Secretary, Central Labor Union of Washington, D. C., May 29, 1933.

Thomas F. Flaherty, Secretary-Treasurer, National Federation of Post Office Clerks, June 3, 1933.

Phillip Schug, International Brotherhood of Teamsters and Chauffeurs Local No. 721, Chicago, June 5, 1933.

James P. Ogletree, Member of the General Executive Board, Fourth District of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, June 7, 1933.

Frank A. Doyle, Member, Executive Board, United Garment Workers of America, June 18, 1933.

Robert T. McCoy, Editor, International Molders' Union of North America, July 1, 1933.

Joseph W. Morton, Secretary, International Brotherhood of Firemen and Oilers, July 12, 1933.

P. H. McCarthy, United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, June 30, 1933.

Harry L. Morrison, Secretary, Laundry Workers' International Union, July 31, 1933.

J. M. Alexander, Grand Vice-President, Order of Sleeping Car Conductors, March, 1933.

Gus Becker, Member, General Executive Board Baker and Confectionary Workers International Union, September 21, 1933.

G. D. Robertson, Vice-President, Order Railroad Telegraphers.

George McTague, Vice-President, International Association of Bridge, Structural and Ornamental Iron Workers, February 12, 1933.

Joseph Flanigan, Member, Executive Board Firemen and Oilers, June, 1933.

Robert E. Gann, Member Typographical Union, Past-President Alabama State Federation of Labor and Past-President, Atlanta, Ga., Federation of Trades, January 20, 1933.

John F. McDonough, International Brotherhood of Firemen and Oilers, February, 1933.

Walter Watson, for twenty years a member of the Executive Board, International Brotherhood of Firemen and Oilers, June, 1933.

A. C. Mendell, for twenty years International Representative Barbers' International Union, June 16, 1933.

Edward P. Flynn, First Vice-President International Seamen's Union of America, August 16, 1933.

Charles Child, Vice-President California State Federation of Labor and Treasurer Laundry Workers of San Francisco, July 22, 1933.

Emil Ebenhol, Business Manager Pattern Makers Association of St. Louis, Mo., June 13, 1933.

John A. McArdle, Third Vice-President International Typographical Union, July 23, 1933.

J. Fremont Frey, Vice-President Emeritus, International Stereotypers and Electrotypers Union, September 27, 1933.

Martin Devlin, former First Vice-President, National Brotherhood Operative Potters, September 1, 1933.

Frank E. Smith, Past President National Letter Carriers' National Association, June 18, 1933.

Charles C. Couden, Cincinnati, Past President Letter Carriers' National Association, September 7, 1933.

William J. Lyons, Newark, N. J., Special Representative Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers International Union of America, May 19, 1933.

William H. Burt, Vice-President Switchmen's Union of North America, April 8, 1933.

Henry W. Duly, Ex-member International Board of Directors, Switchmen's Union of North America, May 13, 1933.

Frank Shiska, President, District No. 84, International Association of Machinists; also President, System Federation No. 103, representing Shop Crafts on New York Central Lines, February 3, 1933.

George Preston, former General Secretary-Treasurer, International Association of Machinists for twenty-two years, leaving that office in 1922, February 18, 1933.

B. E. St. Clair, Member of General Law Committee of the International Association of Machinists since 1922, and President and General Chairman of System Federation No. 21 and District No. 4 Southern Railway and Allied Lines, March 27, 1933.

John T. Thorpe, Vice-President International Association of Machinists for twelve years, August 16, 1933.

The delegates and visitors, at the request of President Green, arose and stood in silence for one minute in tribute to the deceased members.

COMMUNICATIONS

Secretary Morrison read the following telegrams:

New York, N. Y., October 3, 1933.

Hon. William Green,
Care American Federation of Labor.

Heartiest congratulations on the stand taken by the American Federation of Labor and yourself for sound money and an honest dollar. It will give renewed confidence to the country and be an effective help in bringing back prosperity.

CASS GILBERT.

New York, N. Y., October 3, 1933.

William Green, President,
American Federation of Labor,
Willard Hotel, Washington, D. C.

The American Federation of Labor convention of 1933 faces great problems and opportunities. America is undergoing crucial changes in its economic and spiritual concepts. The reconstruction program as enunciated by the President of the United States has awakened the nation to group responsibilities and to the power that lies in cooperation. This power, however, is a two edged sword which can be used to the detriment of labor as well as to its good but it is evident that the American Federation of Labor through the work of its president is guarding labor against these dangers. At the various hearings before the NRA administrators President Green has set forth the incontrovertible rights and dignities of labor as an indispensable half of the modern machine of living against those greedy forces who would use the new cooperative trend for furthering their own ends and destroying the inherent franchise. President Green has fought valiantly and effectively to preserve that franchise. It is evident to all sane thinkers that the trade union movement is a movement that emancipates the worker from oppression, raises the standard of his material and cultural life, and by making him a better citizen contributes to a finer humanity. In the spirit of cooperation and continued service to the American Federation of Labor we greet the convention and wish it a successful deliberation and conclusion of its manifold problems.

UNITED HEBREW TRADES,
M. C. Feinstone, Secretary.

New York, N. Y., October 3, 1933.

William Green, President,
American Federation of Labor,
Convention Hall,
Hotel Willard, Washington, D. C.

Greetings upon the great achievement of organized labor under the banner of the American Federation of Labor. May the deliberations of the delegates as-

sembled in this historic 53rd convention result in enrolling the millions of unorganized workers into the folds of the American Federation of Labor and united in closed ranks march on to a world of economic security and happiness.

HARRY BEGOON,
Furriers Joint Council of New York.

ANNOUNCEMENTS

President Green: The Chair desires to announce the appointment of the following delegates as a committee of escort to the Secretary of Labor when she comes to address this convention this afternoon:

Chairman of the Committee, Martin Francis Ryan, Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor; Michael J. Casey, International Brotherhood of Teamsters, San Francisco, and Brother Robert J. Watt, Delegate, Massachusetts State Federation of Labor.

And as a committee to escort Hon. William F. Stevenson to the convention the Chair will name the following:

Vice-President James Wilson, John P. Frey, Secretary of the Metal Trades Department, and Brother Harry Bates, of the Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers International Union.

The Workers Education Bureau will hold its third session this afternoon in the Willard Room at 2 o'clock. All delegates are cordially invited to attend. The representatives of Federal Unions, Central Bodies and State Federations will be particularly welcome.

Delegate Koveleski, Hotel and Restaurant Employees: I desire to make an announcement for the benefit of delegates who will travel through New York and for the delegates who live in New York, that our General President, Edward Flore, signed a union agreement with two chain cafeterias in New York yesterday, October 3rd, the Willow and Steward Cafeterias, having forty-one stores and employing two thousand workers. We ask you to patronize them in your travels.

President Green: Congratulations to the officers of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees.

I am pleased to make this announcement for the benefit of delegates who wish to attend the World Series games, that tickets at box office prices will be available in the rear of the hall.

Delegates Phelps, Minger and Little, Rubber Workers Locals Nos. 18319, 18323, and 18321, desire the announcement made that all delegates interested in automobile manufacturing and automobile tires are requested to meet in Room 707, The Willard, immediately after an adjournment for a conference.

RESOLUTIONS

The following resolutions were not published in the proceedings of the second day:

Equal Employment Rights for Women

Resolution No. 103—By Delegate E. G. Hall, Minnesota State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Women workers are greatly aroused to the need for immediate action in behalf of justice and equality between men and women workers and for a solidified stand to this end on the part of labor; be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor stand for the principle that regulations regarding hours, wages, and other conditions of labor be based on the nature of the work and not on the sex of the worker, in all laws, national, state and local, and in all codes now being drawn for the various industries, to the end that equality of the worker, with no distinction on the ground of sex, be established in law and practice throughout the United States; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That copies of the foregoing resolution be sent to the President of the United States and to General Hugh Johnson, Director of the National Recovery Administration.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Retention of the Panama Railroad Steamship Service for the Benefit of Panama Canal and Panama Railway Employes

Resolution No. 104—By Delegate A. M. Horle of the Canal Zone Central Labor Union.

WHEREAS, During the last session of Congress, the Shannon Committee recommended the discontinuance of the Panama Railroad Steamship service; and

WHEREAS, This service is of vital importance to the employes of the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad Company, as it provides reduced rates for transportation, enabling these employes to take much needed vacations in the United States, in order to recuperate from the effects of a tropical climate; and

WHEREAS, Many thousands of American citizens, employes, and dependents, of the United States Government, as well as personnel of the United States Army and Navy and their dependents, who are in the isolated tropical service on the Isthmus of Panama, 2,000 miles away from home, are dependent on this steamship line for transportation; and

WHEREAS, Living costs on the Canal Zone are slightly reduced because of low freight rates allowed the Supply Department and the employes on freight shipments; and

WHEREAS, Private steamship companies would undoubtedly raise the tariff rates on both freight and passenger traffic if the Panama Railroad Steamship Line was discontinued; and

WHEREAS, The private steamship lines operating between the Canal Zone and the United States ports are not equipped to handle peak loads of employes going on recuperative leave; be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, go on record as being opposed to the discontinuance of the Panama Railroad Steamship Line, and that the Legislative Committee of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to make every effort to continue the operation of this line so that the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad employes will be assured reasonable and reliable passenger and freight transportation to and from the Canal Zone.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

15 Per Cent Pay Cut

Resolution No. 105—By Delegate A. M. Horle, of the Canal Zone Central Labor Union.

WHEREAS, The Economy Act of March 30, 1933, resulted in a reduction in compensation of 15 per centum for employes of the United States Government; and

WHEREAS, Such reduction was predicated upon a decrease in the cost of living; and

WHEREAS, There has been a rapid increase in the cost of living since July 1, 1933; and

WHEREAS, The United States Government should apply to its own employes the theory of shorter hours of work and increased compensation contained in the National Industrial Recovery Act; be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to make every effort to induce the President of the United States to cancel the 15 per cent pay cut at the earliest opportunity and to induce the Congress of the United States to enact such legislation as will result in the application of the principles of the National Industrial Recovery Act to all employes of the Federal Government.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

25-Year Retirement for Panama Canal Employees

Resolution No. 106—By Delegate A. M. Horle, of the Canal Zone Central Labor Union.

WHEREAS, Climatic conditions incident to employment on the Panama Canal are very rigorous due to the high temperature, great humidity, and the actinic rays of the tropical sun; and

WHEREAS, The effects of such a climate on the health of white men, women, and children, are cumulative as an employee grows older and his resistance is undermined; and

WHEREAS, Large numbers of employes now entering the service of the Government on the Panama Canal are all of such an age as will require them to work more than 30 years in the tropics to reach the present retirement age of 62 years; and

WHEREAS, The Panama Metal Trades Council is desirous of presenting a bill to Congress which will provide for retirement with 25 years of service at 55 years of age; be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, be instructed to assist the Canal Zone Central Labor Union in securing such a law when conditions render it advisable to warrant such action.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Disability Retirement

Resolution No. 107—By Delegate A. M. Horle, of the Canal Zone Central Labor Union.

WHEREAS, The Canal Zone Retirement Act provides that an employe leaving the service on account of physical disability shall not receive annuities under the terms of that Act if the phys-

ical disability is due to vicious habits, intemperance, or wilful misconduct on the part of the employe at any time; and

WHEREAS, The Civil Service Retirement Act provides that an employe must merely prove freedom from such vicious habits, intemperance, or wilful misconduct for a period of five years immediately preceding retirement in order to receive annuities on account of physical disability; and

WHEREAS, In equity, the more liberal provisions in connection with this matter contained in the Civil Service Retirement Act should be incorporated in the Canal Zone Retirement Act; be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor use every effort to secure the amendment to the Canal Zone Retirement Act providing that employes of the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad subject to the provisions of the Canal Zone Retirement Act shall only be required to establish proof of freedom from vicious habits, intemperance, or wilful misconduct for a period of five years immediately preceding retirement in order to be eligible for retirement under the physical disability clause of the Canal Zone Retirement Act.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Proposing a Resident Commissioner for Canal Zone

Resolution No. 108—By Delegate A. M. Horle, of the Canal Zone Central Labor Union.

WHEREAS, The Territories of Alaska and Hawaii are represented in the House of Representatives by delegates; and

WHEREAS, Puerto Rico and the Philippine Islands are represented in the House of Representatives by resident commissioners; and

WHEREAS, American citizens resident on the Canal Zone have no representation in the House of Representatives; and

WHEREAS, The Canal Zone has no legislature but is governed directly by laws enacted by Congress and the Executive Orders of the President; and

WHEREAS, American citizens resident on the Canal Zone have no official representation which will enable their wishes to be properly represented to the President and the Congress of the United States; be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled approve the policy of establishing a resident commissionership for the Canal Zone similar to such positions now in effect in Puerto Rico and the Philippine Islands; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor will endeavor to have an act creating such a resident commissionership approved by Congress.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Removing the Prohibition on Promotions for Employees of the Federal Government

Resolution No. 109—By Delegate A. M. Horle, of the Canal Zone Central Labor Union.

WEREAS, The Economy Act of March 20, 1933, continues the prohibition contained in previous economy acts with respect to both automatic and administrative increases in compensation for employees of the United States Government; and

WHEREAS, This prohibition is working a great hardship on thousands of employees of the Government; and

WHEREAS, The financial status of the Government is on a more sound basis than at the time of the passage of the Economy Act of March 20, with a good prospect of having the budget more than balanced by the end of the present fiscal year; be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, approve the abolition of those clauses of the Economy Act of March 20 which prohibit administrative and automatic increases in compensation; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor use their best efforts to have the Economy Act of March 20 amended so as to allow administrative and automatic promotions for employees of the Federal Government in the future.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

At 12:30 o'clock the convention was adjourned to 2:30 o'clock p. m.

Third Day—Wednesday Afternoon Session

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

Absentees—Hamilton, Horan, Nelson, Dubinsky, Kaplan, Katovsky, Greene, Lawlor, Gallagher (N. H.), Moynihan, Weise, Ryan (J.), Camaida, Scully, Morningstar, Brown (T. H.), Murray, Boylan, Hartneady, Fagan, Fremming, Berry, McGrady, Mahon, Robbins, Evans (A. A.), Soderberg, Evans (E. L.), Runkle, Noxon, Scott, Rosqvist, Soderstrom, Lewis (J. C.), Ritchie, Verink, Graham, Walsh (J. A.), O'Hanlon, Sandefur, Boner, Slater, Yager, Cherry, Van Collie, Flowers, Rich, Vest, Hartley, Burr, Plemmons, Langley, Allen, Ischey, Horle, Johnson (C. T.), De Nayer, Ryan (J.), Dwyer, Fensore, Motta, Koster, McCarroll, Dadin, Fowler, Kamin, Groth, Addy, Jeffries, Hamilton (H. T.), Miller, Rupard, Forsyth, Jackson, Seaman, Seifert, Wegener, Schlageter, Cottell, Smith (C. O.), Bailey, Snow (M. H.), Guy, Steinmetz, Trogdon, O'Dell, Becker, De Witt, Merrill, Dixon, Fechner, Kuriger, Merritt, Spearing, Rogers, Blacker, Barnett, Hulett, Norman, Walker, Blande, Ceglowski, Williams, Freeborn, Davis (J.), Pope, Clay, Newcomb, Phillips, Erwin, Jackman, Oleson, Hanley, Hawkins, Price (S. M.), Madigan, McFarlin, Barber, Ladd, Engle, Boyd, McGuire, Warning, Meyer, Kontas, Petty, McKiel, Geraghty, Sparrow, Wedekind, Foust, Mack, Millis, Latham, Ward, Whiting, Joseph, Cuthbert, Gallagher (P.), Lore, Watson, McElligott, Burns, Tigel, Mitchell (T.), Ocker.

President Green: The Chair recognizes the Secretary of the Credentials Committee for a further report.

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT, COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

Delegate Schmal, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

The Committee on Credentials desires to offer the following supplement to its initial report.

We have examined the credentials of the following representatives and propose that they be seated:

Window Glass Cutters' League of America—Harry D. Nixon, 6 votes.

Council Bluffs, Iowa, Central Labor Union—A. H. La Heist, 1 vote.

Grand Forks, North Dakota, Trades and Labor Assembly—Carl Jacobson, 1 vote.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

COMMUNICATIONS

The following messages were read to the convention:

Akron, Ohio, October 4, 1933.

Wm. Green, President,
American Federation of Labor
Convention.

Officers and members of United Rubber Workers Federal Labor Union,

Goodrich Local No. 18319, send our greetings and wishes for a successful convention.

Fraternally yours,

S. H. DALRYMPLE, President.

Omaha, Nebr., October 3, 1933.

Wm. Green, President,
American Federation of Labor,
Washington, D. C.

Carpenters' Union No. 253, Omaha, Nebraska, congratulates you for your work for Labor and urge you to continue to fight for six-hour day and five-day week.

Fraternally yours,

WM. HANSEN,
Recording Secretary.

ANNOUNCEMENTS

Secretary Morrison read the following announcement submitted by Isadore Lubin, Commissioner of Labor Statistics, United States Department of Labor:

The Bureau of Labor Statistics of the U. S. Department of Labor is publishing reports on wages and hours of work, on productivity of labor in industry, unemployment and the cost of living, on social insurance and other problems pertaining to labor conditions.

The bureau is also publishing a regular Monthly Labor Review and is issuing special bulletins on timely topics dealing with labor.

Samples of this literature may be found on the Bureau of Labor Statistics' table on the south side of this hall. The attendant has special printed requests for literature which will be forwarded to applicants free of charge.

The Bureau of Labor Statistics is anxious to receive recommendations and suggestions from the delegates as to ways and means of improving and expanding its services to labor.

President Green: I desire to submit for inclusion in the proceedings of today the report of the fraternal delegates of the American Federation of Labor to the Sixty-Fifth British Trades Union Congress, which was held at Brighton, England, September 4-9, 1933. This report is submitted by Fraternal Delegates Thomas Burke and Christian M. Madsen.

I also submit the report of Brother James Quinn, fraternal delegate to the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress. This report will likewise be incorporated in the proceedings of today.

REPORT OF FRATERNAL DELEGATES OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR TO THE 1933 BRITISH TRADES UNION CONGRESS

Submitted to the American Federation of Labor Convention, Washington, 1933.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Fifty-Third Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor,

Greetings:

As your Delegates to the 65th Annual Convention of the British Trades Union Congress, we herewith submit the following report:

This great Congress opened on September 4th in The Dome, in the City of Brighton, a place of significant historic interest and which is classed as the "Queen of Watering Places," and, in our opinion, the Atlantic City of England.

The Congress opened with 564 Delegates present, representing a membership of 3,367,911 Trade Unionists. Mr. A. G. Walkden, who was President of the Congress, introduced his Honor, the Mayor of Brighton, Counsellor F. J. Beal, who was accompanied by the Lady Mayoress of Brighton, Mrs. J. M. Bray (Counsellor Beal's daughter.) The Officers and Delegates to the Congress were given a most hearty and cordial welcome in a very appropriate and tactful speech by his Honor the Mayor, demonstrating by his expressions his great interest in the welfare of the Trade Union Movement and its great achievements for the workers of Great Britain. His whole-hearted welcome and address in general were received with the same whole-hearted feeling by the Officers and Delegates.

Mr. R. Penniford, President of the Brighton and Hove Trade's Council, delivered the welcoming address on the part of the Trade Unionists of Brighton, which was very enthusiastically received because of its poignancy and understanding of Trade Union affairs, as well as the rich humor interjected which fitted the occasion and the scene.

President Walkden responded to these notable addresses in a very appropriate manner and opened the Convention officially. The first order of business being the President's report, which was a masterpiece in relation to the trend of the times, as well as the dangers surrounding the great movement of Labor in the apparent Fascism that seems to be the order of the day in many countries, especially "Hitlerism" in Germany; the significance of this movement which maliciously means on their part the destruction of the great democratic principles that

have been built up by the workers and their friends throughout the world, for the preservation and defense of true liberty and freedom.

The President in his welcome to the great annual gathering of the British Trade Unionists movement, which was a true and sincere one, and his eulogisms of the great assistance rendered to him during his year of office by the Officers and General Council, and to all the staff, was very inspiring and he demonstrated his gratitude in beautiful words for the cordial and undivided support given him in the great responsibility entrusted to his care, after which he struck the keynote of the Convention when he stated in the beginning of his report the following expression: "Our Sixty-Fifth Trades Union Congress meets at a crucial stage in the history of organized labor. More than one of my recent predecessors in this chair have warned past Congresses that grave dangers threatened our working-class movement. Events have confirmed these foreboding utterances. Within the last twelve months we have seen the organizations of democracy and the institutions of free citizenship smashed to fragments in Germany; and we now know that the destruction of freedom and democracy in that country is not an exceptional or isolated incident. Evidence accumulates to show that in many other countries there are powerful and ruthless influences at work with the same sinister end in view."

President Walkden in another part of his report praised the courage and vision of President Roosevelt in his Industrial Recovery Act when he states, in part: "The other event which illustrates the impossibility of restoring prosperity by orthodox methods is the remarkable program of industrial recovery set going by the President of the United States. It is remarkable because it involves a radical departure from the traditional policy of economic individualism which has dominated American industry. The Industrial Recovery Act applies two sound Trade Union principles. Moreover, it requires for its fulfillment the full recognition of Trade Unionism by employers, and the utmost co-operation between the unions and the employers in carrying out the recovery program. Fundamental to the program is the Trade Union principle of the shorter working week and the raising of wages, with the object of redistributing employment and increasing consumer's purchasing power."

After the President concluded, his report was received with a tremendous ovation and he, as well as the officers and delegates, got right down to work immediately on the many important

and serious subjects that were laid before them and which were submitted in accordance with the law, two months previous to the convention, which numbered some sixty-two resolutions which formed the agenda and which were grouped into composite resolutions to clarify the issues and policies. They covered such subjects as:

Forty-hour week.

Unemployment and industrial recovery.

Holidays with pay.

National Health Insurance and Contributory Pensions Act 1932.

Industrial Assurance.

War.

Capital and Trade Unionism.

Fascism and Dictatorship.

Meerut Prisoners.

Workers' Control in Industry.

Freedom of Speech.

Housing and Slum Clearance.

Price Levels.

Anglo-Russian Trade Agreement.

Vigorous Campaign for Organization of the Workers.

In conjunction with these there was also a General Council's report to the Sixty-fifth Annual Congress which contained 150 pages, covering also every conceivable phase of Trade Union Activity.

All these serious and important subjects, that mean so much for the advancement and welfare of the workers of Great Britain, were discussed exhaustively by the officers and delegates in cool, calm deliberation in a very practical and common-sense manner, and also with a grace and eloquence of the best statesmen or economists that England ever produced, which demonstrated clearly the sincere earnestness displayed by every officer and delegate, and their profound knowledge of the perplexing problems and economic conditions that surround them, and the constructive remedy that should be applied to these great issues; the knowledge of which was secured not by academic tuition but by burning the midnight oil, and the tuition received in the old university of hard knocks, and in the liberal yet exacting school of organized labor.

One of the most interesting features of the Congress was the very able and learned analysis and exposition of the Hitler regime in Germany which embraced the general subject of Dictatorship by Secretary Walter Citrine, wherein he excoriated and denounced in a most eloquent manner this dangerous policy to our political and economic liberties. He was speaking in support of the composite resolution No.

8. "Fascism and Dictatorships" on this subject, put forth by the General Council and other organizations condemning dictatorships of every kind. Mr. Citrine reached a great climax when with great force of masterful logic he exclaimed against dictatorship of every kind, whether from the right or the left or the middle of the road, and received a tremendous ovation from the assemblage. This was in keeping with the policies laid down by the General Council and the general movement of Great Britain.

This subject engendered an exhaustive debate of some opposition from the Left, who tried to claim that a dictatorship of the proletariat could not be classed as such in comparison to Fascists or Nazi dictatorships. Mr. Citrine in response to this tore such heretical arguments to shreds, and as the Irishman says "he didn't leave a philtter on them." Many of the able men on the Council and from the floor supported the resolution in a very practical and logical dissertation after which the resolution carried unanimously with a splendid response in a great ovation.

Among the group of Fraternal Delegates present, besides your own, were:

Mr. H. Mitchell, M.P., International Union of Operating Engineers, representing the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada.

Mr. B. Shiva Rao, representing the National Trades Union Federation of India.

Mr. L. Jouhaux, of France, representing the International Federation of Trade Unions.

Mr. J. Keen, representing the Co-operative Union.

The Rt. Hon. George Lansbury, M.P., representing the Labor Party,

and several others, including the Rt. Hon. Arthur Henderson, M.P., as friend and guest who just returned after a most strenuous campaign at Clay Cross, Division of Derbyshire, wherein he was elected a Member of Parliament with largest majority ever given a candidate for this constituency, and was given a whole-hearted ovation when he made his appearance upon the platform.

Your own fraternal delegates were the first called upon to address the Congress, one of us confining our discourse principally to an analysis of the National Industrial Recovery Act, and the both covering in a lucid manner the more important activities and achievements of the American Federation of Labor, and which we knew would be of interest to the men and women of Great Britain.

Our addresses were received very enthusiastically, and especially that part pertaining to the Recovery Act and what had already been accomplished under it.

During later sessions the other fraternal delegates addressed the Congress in masterful discussion on the great economic and political subjects of the day, and which were of such tremendous importance to the future advancement and progress of humankind, and which aroused the officers and delegates to a high pitch of enthusiasm, which they sincerely manifested by their long and continued applause.

Another important and significant event worth special mention, which emphasized the constructiveness and logical action of the officers and others in the National Recovery Act, was when almost immediately after your delegates addressed the Congress on Tuesday, September 5, they put forward their famous "Composite Resolution No. 2," entitled "Unemployment and Industrial Recovery" which reads as follows:

"UNEMPLOYMENT AND INDUSTRIAL RECOVERY"

(Emergency Resolution, in favor of which Resolutions No. 3 and 4 and Amendments have been withdrawn.)

"This Congress records its strongest protest against the continued failure of the present Government to take effective measures against unemployment, to support the proposal for the 40-hour week and the construction of useful public works, and to produce a positive policy for promoting the recovery of industry and trade.

"Whilst reaffirming belief that social ownership and control furnishes the only adequate and lasting solution to the problems, Congress appreciates the significance of the vigorous efforts now being made by President Roosevelt towards the stimulation and regulation of industry by means of the Industrial Recovery Act and allied legislation; it welcomes the recognition given in that legislation, and in the "codes of fair practice," promulgated thereunder, to the trade union policy of reducing working hours as a means of diminishing unemployment, and of raising wages as a means of increasing purchasing power.

"Congress congratulates the American Trade Unions upon their energetic assertion of the worker's right to bargain collectively through their own independent organizations. Congress expresses the earnest hope that with the cooperation of the trade unions, President Roosevelt will be able to overcome the difficulties involved in this

decisive departure from the traditional individualism of American industry.

"Congress further trusts that the present British Government will pursue a similar policy by taking immediate steps to initiate useful schemes of public works, financed by the use of the national credit; to enact a maximum working week of 40 hours without reduction of wages; to prohibit child labor under 16 years of age, and to raise the school leaving age to 16.

"Further that the Government will set an example to employers by raising wages in the public services, beginning with the restoration of the "Economy" cuts in wages, salaries and social services; to make more liberal provision for pensioning aged workers; and generally to take all possible measures for increasing the purchasing power of the masses, and for planning the economic life of the nation in the interests of the whole people."

Moved by W. M. Citrine.

Seconded by S. P. Viant (Amalgamated Society of Woodworkers).

Supported by:

R. A. Taylor (National Amalgamated Society of Shop Assistants, Warehousemen and Clerks), A. Illman (Boilermakers and Iron and Steel Shipbuilders Society), J. Harper (Amalgamated Union of Upholsterers).

After a most learned and exhaustive debate by those named above and several other delegates the resolution carried unanimously.

Another most important and serious question, which subject has to do with Better Homes and Slum Clearing, met a splendid response from the officers and delegates, knowing as they do the profound necessity for better and more congenial homes, for the workers were entitled to the very best there is for their very great efforts and activities in relation to our industrial life. The subject which received whole-hearted approval and which was put forward by the General Council and is what is known as Composite Resolution No. 12, entitled "Housing and Slum Clearance," which reads as follows:

"HOUSING AND SLUM CLEARANCE"

(Resolutions 53, 54, 56 and Amendment.)

"That this Congress views with grave concern the continued existence of terrible slum areas in most of our towns, and the frightful conditions of overcrowding of the working population generally.

"In view of the failure of private enterprise to provide suitable housing accommodations at rentals within reach of the workers, of the throttling of municipal enterprise by vested interests, and of the complete inadequacy of the present Government's measures to deal with the situation, Congress calls for the appointment of a National Housing Board to co-ordinate all the available resources in men and materials, and to initiate a really adequate scheme of housing and slum clearance as a National Social Service, an essential feature of such a scheme being to provide proper housing accommodation at rentals within the capacity of lower paid workers."

Moved by C. Dukes (National Union of General and Municipal Workers).

Seconded by S. P. Viant (Amalgamated Society of Woodworkers).

Supported by:

G. Hicks (Amalgamated Union of Building Trade Workers).

V. Beacham (National Amalgamated Society of Operative House and Ship Painters and Decorators).

To be taken with Section K of the report.

After a very intelligent and patriotic discussion on this very useful subject the proposition was carried unanimously.

We would be amiss in our duty if we did not make particular reference to the keen and intelligent grasp the General Council and the Delegates have in regard to the devastating episode of war.

Some quite intelligent persons believe that it is a biological impossibility to eliminate war, believing that all life is a struggle and that war is part of this struggle, yet it has always been the opinion and view of trade unionists, which is based on human experience, that the conflict of nations could be settled by the enlightened method of conciliation and arbitration, similar to that in which the labor movements of the world advocate and foster the adjustment of their industrial and economic difficulties. There are none more alive to the dangers of another war than the workers of Great Britain because they live in close proximity, and we may say almost in the environment of the so-called European diplomacy and ideals, if they may be called such, and have usually settled their difficulties by physical conflict. Hence the earnestness and sincerity of the workers of Great Britain, and we might say the other unions affiliated with them throughout their domain, see the absolute necessity of using every means within their power to avert another war which they, as well as we, all realize will mean the

destruction of our civilization. Therefore, the General Council, as well as the other affiliated unions, have put forward the composite resolution No. 6, entitled "War," which reads as follows:

"WAR"

(Resolutions 36 and Amendment, 37, 38, 39, 40 and 41)

"That this Congress, ever mindful of the possibilities of an outbreak of War, press upon the Labor Movement the urgency of initiating suitable propaganda and plans to successfully combat any attempt that may be made to embroil nations in war.

"In an effort to maintain peace, this Congress expresses our goodwill and fraternity towards fellow workers in all countries throughout the world, and our determination to continue in cooperation with the workers of all nations, every possible effort for disarmament and prevention of war.

"With this end in view this Congress impresses upon the members of the affiliated unions the necessity of continuing and strengthening their propaganda efforts by all effective methods at their disposal. Mass meetings should be held, using where possible films, lantern slides, lectures, petitions, etc., exposing the efforts of the Capitalist Governments to provide highly mechanized armies, strengthened navies, powerfully developed air forces, and the most scientifically improved implements of slaughter and destruction—from poison gases to bombing planes—which would involve terrific casualties and ruin among the civil population, equally with the actual belligerents.

"This Congress also instructs the General Council, in conjunction with the Co-operative movement and the Labor Political Movement in this country:

(a) To organize among the workers an intensive campaign against war preparations, emphasizing:

- (1) The growing acuteness of the war danger.
- (2) The appalling nature of modern methods of warfare and their results.

(b) To work within the International Federation of Trade Unions for:

- (1) An uncompromising attitude against War preparations.
- (2) A determined boycott of War if and when it should be declared; and
- (3) An organized refusal to assist in any shape or form in measures calculated to help in the prosecution of the War."

Moved by J. Collick (Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen).

Seconded by G. Hicks, M. P. (Amalgamated Union of Building Trade Workers).

Supported by:

V. Beacham (National Amalgamated Society of Operative House and Ship Painters and Decorators).

H. H. Elvin (National Union of Clerks and Administrative Workers).

G. M. Hann (National Amalgamated Union of Shop Assistants, Warehousemen and Clerks).

J. Jagger (National Union of Distributive and Allied Workers).

After a most exhaustive and general discussion on this great fundamental question of the necessity of eliminating war from our economic and political curriculum, together with the necessity of united action by all the world it is needless to say that this resolution was not only carried but was referred to the General Council with the distinct understanding that a special conference will be called before next year to consider the General Council's report on the whole subject, which means that deliberate and profound action will be taken and we believe will not only have the effect of their desires being put forth in Great Britain but also will have the most salutary effect throughout the entire world.

In speaking again on the great important subject of War—every Trade Unionist and every student of political and economic affairs understands that real progress in the elimination of War from our ethical standards cannot be achieved until the economic question is settled conclusively in accordance with our aim and goal in the great aspirations in which we seek to accomplish our objective. Therefore, the swifter we bring this realism into the hearts and minds of the people, the sooner they will respond to the call of a great spiritual awakening to hasten the dawn of the new day—the higher and better life for all humanity. We cannot do better than quote again President Walkden's appeal to the young people of Great Britain in his concluding remarks on the subject, "Militarist spirit is Growing"; "Youth's Great Opportunity," "To our Young People, dazzled by the glamour of war and led astray by militarist propaganda, I make this appeal. War is no longer heroic. It has become a matter of scientific slaughter. The militarist discipline, the uniform, the parades, which keep alive the war spirit in times of peace, are the traps by which young people are snared into the murderous enterprise of mod-

ern warfare. The struggle for freedom, for democracy, and for world peace calls forth higher qualities and a better kind of courage. These causes are noble. They have always engaged the loyalty and devotion of the best of the men and women of our race. In the long struggle that has gone on to broaden the boundaries of freedom, and to bring peace and goodwill amongst men, the finest energies of mind and spirit have found their highest employment. I beg our young people to refuse to be led astray by false ideals, or by a flashy new movement which, if successful, would destroy liberty and re-establish the conditions of economic servitude from which the working people are trying to escape."

We have dwelt on what we consider the most important subjects of the Congress, though we realize that the other great measures are by no means less important, because they fit in and are very necessary to complete the picture as a whole for the welfare and advancement of the workers and to bring cohesion into the general program of contemplated achievement. It was truly an inspiration to observe the sincere and intelligent devotion given to every subject coming before the congress by the officers and delegates and the constructive action taken on their consummation. We attended every session of the Congress from the opening gun to adjournment, which occupied five days, and not an idle moment was lost in the transaction of the colossal amount of business before it.

The Officers, General Council and Delegates deserve the highest encomium for the efficient and profound manner in which they conduct the affairs and management of their great Trade Union Congress.

We consider the 65th Annual Congress one of the most constructive and logical ever held by this mighty organization of Labor, the fighting legions of all the workers of Great Britain.

From serious observation it is our opinion that the Labor movement of Great Britain is a splendid cohesive organization and a mighty influence not only in securing the necessary social and economic preferment, but what is really more important it is also a mighty force in educating the people of Britain to a proper understanding of the great profound ethical aim and goal of Labor's aspirations in working out to a successful issue its destiny. Their splendid political activity in conjunction with the Labor Party is another mighty equipment for the advancement and progress of political, industrial and social legislation, without which, under their form of Gov-

ernment, they could never have made the progress and the achievements that they have attained, and which is truly recorded in their archives and the great measures that are contemplated for the future which we know will be successfully consummated because of this logical solidarity.

In our observance of the condition of trade, business and labor, we find a large unemployment situation almost similar to our conditions in comparison to population. If it were not for the unemployment Insurance, and the activities of the Labor Movement in assisting and protecting the workers in their severe difficulties it would indeed be a very serious situation, to say the least.

We have found very little complaint by the workers by bemoaning their fate but are "Taking it on the chin" and fighting like red blooded men should, to bring better and brighter days for labor and all the nation.

Before the close of the Convention the scrutineers announced the result of the elections for the General Council, General Purposes Committee, Auditors, American, Canadian and Co-operative Delegates, the nominations being made three months previous. All candidates and those elected representing the 18 different groups are men of great experience and ability properly fitted and equipped for this great stewardship.

Among those elected were:

Mr. A. G. Walkden, Railway Clerks Association and the President of the 65th Congress.

and

Mr. J. Stokes, London Glass Bottle Workers Trade Society, received the high honors of being elected Fraternal Delegate to the 1934 Convention of the American Federation of Labor.

Mr. J. Marchbank, National Union of Railwaymen, was honored by being elected Fraternal Delegate to the Trades Union Congress of Canada. Many of the delegates will remember Mr. Marchbank, who was Fraternal Delegate at the New Orleans Convention of the American Federation of Labor.

Last year the Newcastle Congress unanimously carried the following resolution: "This Congress places on record its deep appreciation of the service rendered by the Tolpuddle Martyrs to Trade Unionism and Humanity and hereby resolves to celebrate the centenary of their martyrdom, 1834-1934.

"It further instructs the General Council to arrange for a national demonstration in keeping with the character and devotion of these pioneer stalwarts"

Because of this action the Congress decided, on recommendation of the General Council, to hold the 1934 Congress at Weymouth in the County of Dorset and to concentrate the main event in connection with the celebrations in the town of Dorchester itself. Extensive and elaborate preparations will be made throughout the coming year to make this celebration and commemoration of these heroes the greatest event in labor's history in England.

The closing of the Congress was unique in its spirit of eulogism and commemoration given to its officers for their great efforts, especially during the year past in behalf of the movement, and the joining of hands, with the whole assemblage singing that old favorite farewell, "Auld Lange Syne," was truly inspiring and long to be remembered.

Those of the Movement of Labor, leaders and members who passed beyond the eternal hills of time during the past year, were not forgotten. Their names were recorded on the roll of honor and the great assemblage stood in silent tribute in loving memory of their great loyalty and deeds performed throughout their lives for the great cause they loved so well.

In concluding this report we have been delegated by the officers and delegates of the British Trade Union Congress to convey to you and the officers of the American Federation of Labor, their sincere greetings and congratulations on your great achievement for the workers of America, especially during the serious and desperate days of economic stress and its resultant trials and tribulations which sorely try men's souls.

Indeed words fail us at this time to express adequately our sincere appreciation and most profound thanks to the officers and delegates of the Trade Union Congress of Great Britain for their kind and courteous reception given us all through our sojourn with them. Their real friendship and fraternalism and generous hospitality at all times accorded to us shall never be forgotten.

The climax of these kind-hearted, good people was demonstrated when Mr. Walkden, President of the Congress, in behalf of the officers and delegates, in kind and well chosen words of eulogism, presented us with solid gold watches and gold medals, and solid gold wrist watches to our good wives in order to substantially commemorate our visit as Fraternal Delegates of the American Federation of Labor to the Trade Union Congress of Great Britain.

These beautiful and substantial gifts of esteem and honor from our appreciative brethren across the sea shall al-

ways be deeply cherished and treasured as long as life lasts, and shall always be an inspiration to still greater achievements in the Great Cause that both nations have consecrated themselves and their movement to accomplish.

We desire to assure this convention that we have to the best of our ability and experience carried out the great mission that you so kindly entrusted to our care. The experience was an intellectual treat and at the same time memorable and delightful. We again sincerely thank you all for the high distinction of honor conferred upon us as your representatives on such a noble mission, and hope that the report of our stewardship shall meet with your approval.

Fraternally submitted,

THOS. E. BURKE,
CHRISTIAN M. MADSEN.

REPORT OF FRATERNAL DELEGATE TO THE TRADES AND LABOR CONGRESS OF CANADA

New York, September 30, 1933.

To the President and Members of the Executive Council, American Federation of Labor, Washington, D. C.

Greetings:

As the fraternal delegate representing the American Federation of Labor to the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada Convention, held in Windsor, Ontario, Canada, September 18-23, 1933, I desire to submit the following report:

The 49th Annual Convention opened in the Prince Edward Hotel, at 10 a. m., on Monday, September 18, with 218 delegates in attendance.

Bro. E. W. Hutchinson, President of Essex County Trades and Labor Council, delivered the opening address and welcomed the delegates to the Dominion of Canada. He then introduced the following speakers who addressed the convention: The Hon. D. Croll, Mayor of Windsor; Hon. F. W. Wilson, Member of the Ontario Legislative Assembly for Windsor; Col. Sidney Robinson, Member of the Federal Parliament for Windsor; Hon. George Bennett, City Commissioner, who is also the President of the local division of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America.

There were 111 resolutions introduced vitally affecting the workers in the Dominion of Canada. One of the particular resolutions was the one dealing with the injustice involved to railway workers in their second 10 per cent reduction in wages.

An interesting discussion took place relative to this matter, and it was the decision of the convention that they would request the Canadian Government to return to the basic rates before the first 10 per cent reduction.

Another important matter which was discussed by the convention was the Bennett Government's Unemployment Relief Camps. Several resolutions calling for the abolition of "forced labor" and application of the Federal Fair Wage Act in these camps were presented. The demand for the prevailing wage scale and decent working conditions in these Departments of Militia encampments came from five provinces in Canada. Summing up their case against those camps they ask the removal of "economic slavery" and application of the Fair Wage Act.

The convention further reiterated its demand for the establishment of a system of national control of the banking system of the Dominion of Canada.

Regarding public works program, the convention gave its unanimous approval to the resolutions calling upon the Federal Government to start a recovery program and thereby hasten building and road construction in order to stimulate employment. There are now indications of the Federal Government, in cooperation with provincial and municipal governments, initiating and carrying on a large program of public construction projects for the alleviation of unemployment.

The Dominion of Canada, like the United States, has suffered greatly from unemployment, and believes that the United States National Recovery Act will fulfill its purpose in bringing hope to many, and are hopeful that the Dominion of Canada will pass legislation enacting a similar law.

A resolution was adopted to inaugurate an organizing campaign among the unorganized workers in the Dominion of Canada.

In the report of the Executive Council noted with interest their report in reference to the Union Label, which states that "while union men are neglecting to buy goods bearing the union label thousands of union men influenced by propaganda of the enemies of trade unionism, are spurning label goods and thus encouraging the non-union shop operator. Thus the label serves as a centre of attack by its enemies as well as a rallying point for loyal workers. The union label is the only guarantee that goods are produced under clean, sanitary, fair conditions.

Your delegate extended the fraternal greetings of the American Federation of Labor and discussed briefly the similarity of unemployment and other prob-

lems in the United States and Canada, stressing the benefits to be derived from the National Industrial Recovery Act, in organizing bona fide trade-unionists, and talked at length on the problems confronting the workers in general, also citing the provisions of the Act, particularly Section 7-A, which states specifically the right of the workers to organize and bargain collectively, also stating that much progress has been made by the American Federation of Labor in organizing many of the unorganized into bona fide trade unions. Also that this Recovery Act eliminates child labor, thereby giving further employment to adult workers.

The fraternal delegate representing the British Trades Congress was Mr. John Bromley, the former President of the British Trades Congress, also an officer of the firemen and enginemen workers, one of the large organizations in the British Empire, who addressed the delegates, urging them to continue their efforts for the establishment of the shorter work-week as a means of alleviating unemployment, also citing that there are still large numbers who are unemployed in Great Britain, also that the worker's problems in Great Britain are very similar to those of the Canadian workers.

The officers of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada were unanimously re-elected for the ensuing term: President Tom Moore, who was re-elected for the fifteenth term; Secretary-Treasurer P. M. Draper for the thirty-third term. Vice Presidents are: R. J. Talton, James Simpson, P. R. Bengough. The fraternal delegate elected to the British Trades Congress in 1934 was John McLeod, of Toronto, and the fraternal delegate to the American Federation of Labor Convention in Washington, D. C. October, 1933, was Fred White, of Calgary.

The convention then took under consideration the Convention City for 1934. After a general discussion Toronto, Ontario, was selected as the Convention City for 1934. This will mark the 50th annual convention of the Trades and Labor Congress. In Toronto at that time they will be celebrating their 150th anniversary as a city.

In conclusion, I wish to state that I deeply appreciate the many courtesies extended to me as the representative of the American Federation of Labor, by the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, and the kindly manner in which I was received, which indicates the friendly feeling which exists in the Dominion of Canada toward the international movement.

I desire to extend to the officers and members of the Executive Council my

sincere thanks to the delegates of the American Federation of Labor at its Convention held in Cincinnati, Ohio, in 1932, for the honor which they extended to me in selecting me as the representative of the American Federation of Labor to attend the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, at Windsor, Ontario.

Respectfully submitted,

JAMES C. QUINN.

Announcements were made by Delegate Bugniazet, on behalf of the Committee on State Organizations, Delegate Galmor, on behalf of the Committee on Shorter Work Day, and Delegate Howard, on behalf of the Committee on Resolutions. The announcements informed the delegates that the committees were prepared to hear any delegates who were interested in resolutions referred to those committees.

Miss Frances Perkins, Secretary of the Department of Labor, was escorted to the platform by Treasurer Ryan, Michael F. Casey, and Robert Watt.

President Green: We have all been waiting for this moment, and I know you are all in an expectant state of mind, because I am sure we feel we are going to enjoy a real treat this afternoon. The Secretary of Labor accepted our invitation to address this convention. She did it with fine spirit and she did it with alacrity. We are happy indeed to have her here, and I am pleased beyond expression to present to you Miss Frances Perkins, Secretary of Labor.

MISS FRANCES PERKINS
(Secretary of Labor)

Mr. President, and may I say my friends, at the beginning of what I hope is a long friendship between all of you who are here and those of us who strive to serve your interests in the Department of Labor—I want to say this in opening what I have to say to you today, that this is a very great day in my life, one of the most important and solemn days and a day to which I shall look back for many years with a deep sense of responsibility to you and to the millions of people who are not here, but who, although without organization, find their voice and find their opportunity for expression of their desires and their needs in this

great industrial commonwealth of ours through you and through your organization. It is with a sense of solemn responsibility of the functions which I have been called upon to assume in the Government of the United States that I address you today, a sense of very solemn duty to you and to all of the people in this country who work for wages, for it is to me that the President and his other advisors are bound to look for information which shall be the guide as to what are the conditions and needs of the working people of America in these days of trial and trouble.

I want to say to you at the outset that although I may not always know the truth, I shall strive to find the truth, and to find that truth through cooperation with you and with others who are in position to know what are the desires and the needs of the working people of these United States. As I look this audience over and see among you many who are old and personal friends of mine, looking at the New York delegation with a good deal of, shall I say assurance, that there at least is a group of friends, and looking at many of you whom I have known for years and many others whom I have known only in recent months, I have again a renewed sense that there are in this audience many people who know labor conditions as well and better than I and who have quite as much right and more right to speak for labor and its needs than have I. And as I think it I am of course—well, what is it the psychologists say, somewhat inhibited, I would speak much more freely to an audience that knew less of the needs of wage earners, but since I am here and since I am Secretary of Labor, since you are all looking at me so expectantly, I feel that it is my obligation to say something on the subject.

I suppose for the first time in my life I feel some sympathy for a civil servant who went to work in the Department of the Interior for the Bureau of Indian Affairs. He was a very nice and well intentioned young man, and the Chief of the Bureau of Indian Affairs sent him out to represent the all-wise and all-powerful United States Government and to deal with a notorious Indian chief who was maintaining a household of twelve wives. Now it seems that the Government, through the Bureau of Indian Affairs, does not permit that sort of thing, and they sent this young civil servant out to deal with this Indian chief and tell him to do something else. So the young man went out into the far western country and found the notorious Indian chief who sat with his arms folded, looking straight ahead and with no expression on his face, as Indians do, and the young man told him the United States Govern-

ment would not permit a polygamist household and would insist on monogamy, and would the Indian chief kindly make other marital arrangements? The chief sat looking straight ahead and the young man said it all over again: "Government say twelve wives too many, eleven wives have to go." And still the Indian chief sat looking straight ahead, saying nothing and with no change of expression on his face, and the young man said it all over again: "Eleven wives must go, one wife enough, eleven wives must go." And the Indian chief, still without a change of expression, turned his head and looked at the young man and said, "You tell 'em."

And so as I stand here I have this sense that you expect me to do the telling, even though you after all could do the telling much better than I could do it, but I shall have to do my best.

As I was coming over in the cab with Mr. Ryan and the committee which you so kindly sent to meet me, I had a realization of what a long time, measured in points of events, it has been since March of 1933 for we talked at that moment of some of the things which the committee which I called together to advise me with regard to the program of the Labor Department suggested. We talked of some of the things which that committee recommended, and to my astonishment I was able to report to Mr. Ryan, and I am glad to report to you now, that many of the things which your committee solemnly advised me were the desires of labor are now under way.

You will remember, Mr. Green, that I asked the committee, on which the presidents of many of the international unions were included, to meet with me on the 31st of March and to canvas some of the outstanding problems of labor and to draw up for me and for the Department of Labor a certain program of accomplishment which we might desire to see put under way within the next four years, I think we said. We said it in all innocence, for we did not realize that within the next four months we should see that program so nearly on the way to achievement. I have the original paper here, Mr. Green, on which I made the memoranda, I believe, on the 31st of March, 1933, of the advice and the recommendations that were made by that advisory committee to me. These were the points. There were ten points in all.

First, that the unemployment relief should be provided in some way by the Federal Government, with state cooperation, and that it should be general, and that there should be labor representation upon the boards administering the relief. That is under way, as you well know.

The second point that this advisory committee wished to register with the Federal Administrator was a warning to take care that relief is not used to supplement sweat shop wages, thus subsidizing sweat shops, and this was illustrated by the fact that it had occurred in some industries. And you know that the Federal Administrator is aware of that problem and is avoiding that problem today.

The third point was the recommendation of the public works program. We went ahead and wrote a paragraph about the need of a public work program to stimulate the building industry and to provide employment for high grade mechanics, and to stimulate the basic capital industries.

The fourth point was that we regarded the abolition of child labor as an immediate job of the working people of this country, and as you know, the abolition of child labor is one of the points which, under the codes adopted by the NRA, is well under way. I don't say that it has been accomplished. Let us all take care and not fool ourselves that because a thing is written on paper it is completely accomplished.

Then we recommended a thing which was extremely important, the utilizing of public and semi-public buildings for people who were out of work, for educational and other centers. This was particularly recommended for women and children. I am sorry to report that that is not under way except in certain cities throughout the states where they have been able to do that.

Sixth, we recommended that there should be a drastic limitation of hours of labor, both now and in the future. At that time we were talking about the Black Bill and the thirty-hour week, and I have to report, as you well know, that the drastic limitation of the hours of labor both now and in the future is well under way.

We said we believed that better wages and more adequate earnings should be secured for workers by any method—and we underscored the "any," because we didn't care how it was done, just so it was done, and I expect this audience would say the same thing. We wanted it done by any method which seemed practical, either by Federal or state laws, by agreements or by any other possible methods, and I have to report what you again know, that progress has been made in the direction of raising the minimum wage levels and, we hope, imposing upon those minimums better wage levels for the skilled workers.

Then under Point 8, we said that while there is no consensus of opinion

on the suggestion that industrial boards be established, the possibilities were that this might prove helpful, particularly to the unorganized trades in putting a bottom to the drop in wages and standards of living. We felt that that question should be studied further, and that, as you know, has been partly accomplished, though not in just that terminology. It is already under way in the treatment of the NRA and the National Labor Board in all these problems and industrial disputes, as well as all disputes affecting hours and wages.

Then on Point 9 it was the consensus of this meeting that the Government be urged, in the purchase of supplies of all sorts for public institutions to specify in the contract that the standards of wages and hours and general working conditions should be fixed by the Department of Labor, having due regard to any agreements made in any industry between the workers and employers, so that we might be sure of at least the minimum level of wages and hours in the interests of public policy. And I have to report that although not in just exactly that term, the standards of purchase of the United States Government have, by executive order, been made to conform to the requirements of the codes in the President's agreements adopted under the NRA, which amounts to almost the same thing.

And here we have, under the instigation of your committee and through the agency and prompting, I am proud to say, of the Department of Labor, a recognition that the Government, as one of the greatest purchasers of supplies in the United States of America, is using its consuming power to raise the level of working conditions of the working people of the United States of America.

Our tenth and last recommendation was that underlying all the proposals of this conference is an agreement upon the necessity of recognizing universally the right of the workers to organize and select representatives of their own choosing and this we added naively at the time and argumentatively, constitutes the major problem in several industries, and in no industry is it as yet completely established. It is essential that this principle be recognized as basic in the United States of America. And already I have the honor to report to you the recognition of the right to organize and the right to bargain collectively through representatives of the workers' own choosing has been established in the law and in the custom of the land—not yet perfectly performed, of course, and I think that an audience like this, an audience so devoted to this principle, ought to recognize that when the principle is established there is still a long

distance to travel between the establishment of the principle and the complete performance under that principle. And it is to sober and judicious men like those of you who sit here today that we must look for the orderly progress toward a state of affairs in which this recommendation can be given that substance and that strength which it deserves.

And so it is a very great pleasure to me today, Mr. Green, to realize that in that little meeting in which we sat on the 31st of March in the year 1933, we did manage to put down in black and white a few simple and sound aspirations of the working people of America which were so practical and so plain that within the next few months it was possible at least to start a movement in the direction of eight of them. I hope that we shall continue to make progress in that line throughout all the years that are to come.

I want to thank you very much, as I stand here today with you, I want to thank you and your president for the very helpful and considerate cooperation which he and the presidents of the international unions and the presidents of the state bodies have given to me and the other officers of the Department of Labor in our effort to develop during these months of stress and strain, a service in the Department of Labor which will be truly useful to all the working people of the United States of America. Without that cooperation, without the cooperation of those of you who are representatives of the oldest and the largest and the strongest body of organized workers in this country, we could not have been able to make any progress, and I should look forward with misgivings to the future if we did not have that support. I thank you not only for myself, but in the name of your president for your hearty and intelligent and thoughtful cooperation in these past few months.

Now may I say that as we face the problems of today, the problems that confront us at this particular autumn of 1933, I suppose every organization which is meeting in October and November of this year will find speakers who will be saying this is the most momentous meeting this organization has ever had. All sorts of organizations are saying that today, but perhaps it is more true of those of you who represent the American Federation of Labor, that this is one of your most momentous meetings, than it is of any other organization, for today you are faced with new problems of strategy, and today you have before you, under the aegis of the national recovery administration, an economic program which, if read out in the country sitting under an oak tree by someone who had never been near Washington or who had never read the papers at all during the

first few months, would sound to him a good deal like the aspirations of the old-fashioned trade unionist. You have that put forward today under the basis of a free economic plan for recovery.

You know there is a great difference sometimes in the names you use to describe different situations. Have you ever realized that? We Americans are particularly influenced by the words we use and we mix up our ideas somewhat on the basis of the words we use. I have an English friend who travels a good deal, one of those world travelers who goes around from country to country, wearing a cap with a visor at both ends, always looking into things, and he is particularly interested in the native foods, and when he goes to a new country he always likes to sample the native foods. Just a few weeks ago he came over and landed in Boston. He had never been here before, and remembering his liking for the native food he went to the old Parker House in Boston, and looking over the menu he ran his eyes down the list and saw Boston baked beans. He recognized at once the native food and he ordered that and thought it was very good, he liked it very much. Then he wanted dessert, so he ran his eye over the menu again and finally came to the title "Washington Pie." And he remembered, of course, that Washington was one of our great heroes and that was probably a native food, and so he ordered Washington pie. They brought him, as they do in Boston, under that name a wedge-shaped piece of sponge cake with jelly in between and quantities of white sugar spread over it. He ate it and thought it very good.

He had to go to Philadelphia on business that evening and as he was still interested in native foods he had Philadelphia scrapple—I suppose he liked it, some people do—and when he looked for his dessert he could not find anything but funny French names. He was looking for native food and he did not see anything, so he said to the waiter, remembering his pleasant experience of the day before in Boston, "I will have Washington pie." So the waiter went off and was gone a long time. The head waiter was called in and there were whispered conferences and running back and forth and after a long, long time the waiter came back and he bore on a plate a wedge-shaped piece of chocolate cake with custard filling between the layers and chocolate frosting on top. He put it down with a flourish and my English friend, remembering his experience of the day before, said, "Oh, no, that is not Washington pie—Washington pie is a nice yellow cake with jelly between and white powdered sugar all over the top." "Oh," said the waiter, "My dear sir, I see by your accent you are a foreigner and you do not understand our ways here in this

country. The fact is we have two Washingtons, George and Booker T."

As you consider today the programs that are before the country you must sometimes be struck by the remarkable resemblance of the program of economic salvation on the terms of economic necessity, the remarkable resemblance between that and what has always been spoken of as the aspirations of the working people of America for a better chance of living, for shorter hours and some leisure and wages sufficient to make it possible for every family to buy for itself and for its own use those things which go to make life worth living in modern civilization.

And now it so happens that the economists and the statisticians in their study have found out that the thing the working people of America always wanted and always knew was right is right not only for the working people but it is right and necessary for all the people and for all the partners in industry and in every aspect of our life in the United States of America. This is a curious and new aspect of the unity which we have developed out of the necessities of this depression. As a nation we are recognizing that the program long thought of merely as labor welfare, such as shorter hours and higher wages and a voice in the determining of the conditions of work are altogether essential factors in our economic recovery. These are provided for in varying degrees in the codes adopted under the N.R.A. The opportunity for collective bargaining is established. Child labor is abolished. Certainly these are great gains for labor in the test to adjust our industrial life to the patterns of democracy and the needs of a new day.

I think that a group like this sitting here today must recognize the political as well as the economic responsibility, a responsibility to see that the things which we are doing today in the name of recovery are also items in a program of a great democracy, and that nothing shall be done which is not done for the welfare of all the people. This is the peculiar contribution, it seems to me, which American labor has to make to the situation, a contribution so intelligent and so wise that it will insist upon the patterns of democracy, the forms of democracy, the publicity of democracy and all that is done in the name of a national industrial recovery program. There has been a measure of success beyond what most of us thought would have been possible by the first of October, 1933.

Employment and payrolls have shown a steady increase for five or six months in this unhappy and much tortured land of ours. And that, I think, has brought a sense of relief to every working man and woman in this country, even to

those who are still without work, even to those who, in this seasonal situation where there are lay-offs common in some industries. It has brought a sense of relief and a sense of hope to those in the belief that there will be a steady, continual progress between now and next March.

There are millions of men out of work still, and no one knows that better than this audience here assembled, and I think that before you adjourn you and the members of the Government who are interested in your program ought to say to the working people of the United States of America that there is the deepest sympathy and understanding with those in our population who have not yet felt any of the benefits of this return-to-work movement, and you and I know that there are still millions who have not had their share in this improvement which has been shown for five successive months. You and I know that there are people whose pay envelopes are still so thin that they hate to take them home to their wives, and you and I know that until these pay envelopes are fat, until they can go out and spend the contents freely and with confidence over the counter on Saturday night, there will be no true recovery in America. You and I and all those who care about this phase of life in the United States of America must constantly remember there are those who are still feeling the pinch and the grind.

We cannot fool ourselves into a belief that all is well, because for five successive months there has been improvement. We have gone up 25 per cent, but there is a long, long way still to go, and only by the coordinated and cooperative efforts of the people of America shall we make the progress that must be made to restore purchasing power to the wage earners of America in an amount commensurate with our mass production system, so that they may be the great internal market upon which the United States of America and its industries and its banks, I may say, must depend for our future prosperity.

Under the President's inspiring leadership there is, however, a new spirit abroad in the land, and that should help the people of the United States to the steady and conscientious efforts which must be put forth to make this great wish come true. That new spirit is one of unity and of action. The worker, the employer and the consumer are united at this moment in co-operating in a drive against the forces which have brought want, despair and misery into so many homes in the last few years. Such a concerted attack, if it continues with patience and intelligence, can hardly fail of its objective.

I think that for the only time in my memory the people of the United States are united in the acceptance of one common idea, and that is the idea that upon the prosperity of the wage earners of America depends the prosperity of the whole United States. Since we all see that, if we can all be but patient and have the character necessary to carry through this responsibility, I think we shall win through.

We cannot stop with the present minimum wages and maximum hours of labor. We must go on with a unified purpose to an ever improving standard of living and assurance of economic security for all our people and sufficient leisure to enable all to enjoy the blessings which our resources and our equipment in this country can make available to all of us.

These things can be achieved if industry and the people of this country recognize that workers must receive increased wages and shorter hours of work in fair proportion as the profits of industry increase. This will continue, I am sure, to be essential to economic balance in this country—a larger proportion of the money product of our industries must find its way to the more useful forms of distribution; it must find its way to the pockets of the farmer, the wage earners in industry in order that they may have the purchasing power necessary to hold up and to balance the mass production power of this country.

The wage earners and the farmers make up the bulk of the nation's purchasing power, as you know. You know and I know only too well, though we should remind ourselves of it, that two-thirds of the goods which were disposed of in the last ten years in the United States of America have been bought by those whose incomes are less than \$2,000 a year. There were only 75 people in this country who had incomes of over a million dollars, and only 146 people who had incomes of over half a million dollars, so that it is not the multimillionaire who makes the great markets for the great industries of this country. It is the man of the small income, the small wage, and the small profits from his investments of himself and his time—these are the people who make up the almost limitless possibilities for further expansion of this market if the total amount going to wages in this group is steadily increased.

Employment, management, and investors will make their income from increased volume of sales, while the greater and ever greater proportion of the money product goes to the farmer and the wage earner. That must be so if we are to have the truly balanced economy which will make us a great, a happy, and a united people. Certainly we cannot have the purchasing power

necessary to balance our production capacity unless we develop opportunities for work and wages, stabilize the employment of wage earners and create opportunities for leisure. These are the objectives of the Administration, and the National Recovery Act has created an enormous machinery for helping in the attainment of these national labor standards. It is also giving impetus in a very extraordinary way to the movement already represented by the Conciliation Service of the Department of Labor, the movement for developing constructive labor relations through the National Labor Board.

And I want to say to you at this point, since I understand it has been a matter of newspaper gossip lately, that the Conciliation Service of the United States in the Department of Labor is, in my opinion, a great and valuable service and it will be preserved. And for your further assurance I want to say to you that no reorganization of that service has been planned or contemplated except the strengthening of that service. In putting Mr. Edward McGrady, who has recently done us the honor of accepting the assistant secretaryship in the Department of Labor, in that post and in waiting for his coming into the office for any further development in that field, I have indicated to him and to others whom I have consulted my desire that the development of that Conciliation Service shall be in the sound and permanent interests of the working people of this country, as well as in the interests of justice. I am one of those who believe that orderly and systematic relations between the employers and their workers is to the advantage not only of the workers but to the permanent advantage of the employers.

One of your great leaders who is at the head of one of your great unions said the other day, "If only they would take us for granted"—meaning the employers—"if only we could be taken for granted for once, so that we would not have to use every ounce of our energy to fight for our existence, then we could make the constructive contribution to the affairs of this particular industry which is so needed and which only the labor groups can make, because only the labor groups know intensely what are the problems and needs of this industry."

In that remark lies the clue to what is hoped will come out of this recognition of the importance of labor in the modern state, a recognition of the fact that labor has a contribution to make in the solution of all social, economic and industrial problems which is way beyond and outside of the interests of the people who work for wages. For labor's contribution, which is spiritual and intellectual, will be for the benefit of

all the people of the United States of America, even for the banker and the investor and those who look to see some profits returned to them from the investment of the savings which they made in the industries of our countries from time to time. It is labor's conscientious recognition of this responsibility that gives hope, I think, to those who believe that in the integration of labor with the modern state there lies an opportunity for a fuller expression of the aspirations of all Americans than we have seen in recent years.

I want to remind you once more of the maintenance of democracy. It is the essence of a democracy to develop the discipline and the technic to deal with each other successfully in an honest spirit. In such times of stress as we are passing through, when we are embarked on a great experiment which may determine whether or not this nation is to go on to new heights of civilization, it is essential that wage earners and employers agree with each other quickly and with justice. Justice and clear thinking and open dealing on both sides can avoid, I believe, unnecessary clashes which no worker has ever desired, because it slows up their wage returns and tends to slow up the recovery process.

The challenge to participate in this recovery program is inescapable. I know the American Federation of Labor will do its part, and do its part down to the last of its members. The direction of this administration will be in the joint interests of wage earners, industry and the general public. It is the aim of this administration not to favor one group or class at the expense of another. Only by fair and unbiased administration can the measure of the N.R.A. achieve its aims. For we must have unity and action and unity of purpose if we are to conquer the depression and restore living conditions of the right kind to our people.

The keynote of the Recovery Act is unity—not the unity of a chorus of unthinking "yes," "yes," but the unity that comes from mutual recognition of the essential dependence of all of us on each—of employer on workers, of workers on management, recognition not only of rights, but of obligations—and, may I underscore it, of obligations and duties of one group to the other group and to the common good.

The Department of Labor in our Government is at all times the trustee for the public to see that fair and desirable conditions for labor prevail throughout the country. Its job is to help safeguard the interests of labor and to assist labor, and to this end it is exerting every effort. I want to recall to you and repeat to you what you already know, that the Department of Labor is dedicated to the service of

the working people of America and that so long as I am there I pledge you, with all the sincerity and solemnity of which I am capable, that it will be administered for their economic advancement and the promotion of their interests.

The Act which creates the Department of Labor says that its purpose shall be to foster, promote and develop the welfare of the wage earners of the United States, to improve their working conditions and to advance their opportunities for profitable employment. The Department was created in the interests and the welfare of all the wage earners in this country, whether organized or unorganized, and it must be administered in fairness between worker and employer, between employer and employer, and between each and the public as a whole if it is to accomplish its set purpose.

The Department of Labor stands ready to carry its responsibilities in enlarged opportunities for labor to enjoy a fair share of the hope for national well being. It has a large responsibility in keeping the nation informed of the needs and the aspirations of the forty million odd industrial wage earners. Not only must it make employers aware of the necessity for providing fully and equitably for the wage earners, but it must be ready to provide—and this we are ready to do today—information, service and help to labor in labor's own program of solving problems and improving conditions for workers.

I want particularly to stress the point that the only new move we expect to make—and I reserved the announcement of this for this particular meeting because I preferred to tell you about it before I told the world, and I have consulted the President and he is willing to have us develop within the Department of Labor a Division of Labor Service and Labor Standards to be peculiarly devoted to giving to labor that information and that help which it needs in carrying out its own program. The function of this new Division will be to study particularly the problems of industrial health and safety, the problem of security of jobs and all of the ways to promote security of jobs, all of the types of insurances or reserves which may be feasible in different industries or different parts of the country to assist wage earners, to study the problems of wages and working hours in all the various industries, not focusing alone upon the minimum, but focusing upon what the statisticians in our department are coming to call the optimum. That sounds like a wonderful word. I don't know what it means, but I am for the optimum.

A young friend of mine, a pretty curly-haired graduate from one of our women's colleges, came into my office

the other day and told me she had just finished reading a wonderful book by Einstein on relativity. I sort of blinked my eyes because I had heard that only six people in the world could understand that theory and I said, "Well, Evelyn, did you understand the book?" "Oh, yes," she said brightly, "I understood all the words and some of the sentences."

At any rate, I am for the optimum wage. I suppose what they mean is a desirable wage, a wage sufficient to balance our economic civilization and to bring about that purchasing power and that standard of living on the part of the wage earners which shall put our whole economic system into a true balance.

This Division will also study everything which the workers of this country indicate they want studied and upon which they want information, and I want to say to you right now we have instructed those who are to begin this work that if an inquiry comes in upon which we have no information they are not to reply to it in the usual, stilted Government official's letter, "We are sorry but we have no such information," they are to say, "We will get you the information." And if it cannot be had without going to the Library of Congress and all of the departments of Government and all of the universities in this country and Europe, if it cannot be had without going out into the sweat and the toil and the turmoil and the difficulties of our ordinary industrial life, we will go there to get it if it is possible for us to get it.

I want you to make many demands on us, for this Division will not grow to its full stature unless you make demands full of common sense and reasonableness and immediate usefulness, which will put our Government servants who want to be helpful to the test of being immediately practical in the work they do for the wage earners of this country.

There are many other things we are going to study for you and those of your group who want that help, all of the problems, economic, financial and structural which are included in a movement for better housing for the working people of the United States of America. It ought to be a fairly simple thing for some central bureau to advise any group of working people or any municipality who wants to go out on a program of better housing, it ought to be simple for us to say, "Here is the cheapest and best and most useful way of starting a movement for better low-cost housing for the workers of this country." There are lots of kinds of housing plans which are available, which are useful,

and which are known, and we ought to make the great variety of these plans, both financial and structural, available to the wage earners of America.

On matters of education and health provision for workers we want to be as useful as we can. I see opening up before the working people of America, with this new leisure which seems to be around the corner but not quite here yet, opportunity for a cultural and happy life beyond anything we have been able to experience in this country before, and any service which the Department of Labor can be to you in your efforts to work out a rational and reasonable scheme of cooperation for better education for your children, for better opportunities for yourselves and your families and the families of those whom you know in the great congested cities, for pleasure, for recreation, for education, for happiness—in any of these plans we will be willing to put at your disposal our research people, our economists, our statisticians, our investigators, our financial people in order to help you work out and make practical the recommendations which you are making.

Wage earners need from time to time specific information on prices and on living costs. As you know, we are already revamping our whole cost of living study. A group of your organization was kind enough to recommend to the President that this should be done—and I cannot tell you, by the way what a boost it was to us to have you put to the President the desire of the American Federation of Labor for a better, a newer, a revamped and more practical study of prices and cost of living. We wanted to do it and were only being held back by the cost, but if the President says "O. K., go ahead," then we do go ahead. We are already making progress in that line and shall hope soon to be working in cooperation with some of your committees on a field check-up of actual cost of living of workers' families, so that there will be no theoretical cost of living study based on articles which the people do not use, but a real cost of living study based on the things which the people have to buy and will continue to buy.

Every resource of the Department is at the service of the wage earners of this country, and it is our job to answer such calls as the nations' workers may make upon us for information or advice. You can count upon the Department's willingness to serve at all times. We will do our part insofar as we are able, and I know we can count upon your cooperation to bring this new program of ours into a more useful and practical fruition.

I want to affirm here today my belief that the voluntary organization of labor for mutual help, strength and experience will prove, under your able leadership, to be a blessing to all the people of the country, giving coherence, purpose, standards and principles to the fulfilling of these new demands of labor.

Let every one in this country who thinks of labor's problems lift up a prayer that before another year passes all those who work for wages shall see through increased employment and increased payrolls, jobs and economic security with the doors of opportunity wide open at all times to all those who are willing and able to work.

Once more, before I sit down, although I have greatly encroached upon the time you gave me, I want to thank you for your cooperation and to ask you again to regard the Department of Labor as your Department, a Department developed by the United States Government for labor and for the service and help and information of labor, and I want to ask your cooperation in a very positive way.

I have a doctor friend in New York who grew up on the lower East Side and he had some very strange acquaintances down there, among them a couple of boys who never worked for their living. When one of them was about thirty years of age he inherited a nice little fortune from an uncle in Vienna, and when he got this little fortune he decided he would make an investment where he could live without working. So he bought himself a nice little restaurant next door to a bank and he thought there would be a nice flow of customers coming from the bank, because people going in and out would stop in. So Morris moved into the building and did a wonderful business. Almost from the beginning it was successful. He made a lot of money, and very soon he was doing very well with his steaming urns and his nice white tiles.

The news of Morris' success went broadcast all over the East Side, and some of his poor friends who had never had any money began to think about Morris, and one day one of his friends, Joe, came over and said, "What a beautiful restaurant you've got, Morris, white tiles, lots of work, lots of wages, lots of money coming in. You must be rich." And Morris said, "Well, yes, I am doing very well, thank you." Joe said, "Well, Morris, after all this could you lend me ten dollars?" and Morris said, "Joe, I am sorry, truly I am very sorry, but the fact is we are cooperating with the bank next door. They have agreed not to sell any food and I have agreed not to lend any money."

That is what I call negative cooperation. What we want in this movement today, what the Department of Labor needs and asks from you is a positive, whole-hearted, constructive cooperation, and on that I feel we can most surely count.

I thank you.

President Green: If each of you could meet the distinguished Secretary of Labor you would personally assure her of your very sincere and deep appreciation of her visit and of her inspiring address this afternoon. I presume that is impossible on this occasion. For that reason I wish to say to her before all of you that we are grateful for her visit. We thank her sincerely for her magnificent address and we are inspired and heartened by the noble sentiments she expressed this afternoon.

She could not have selected a more auspicious occasion nor a more sympathetic audience to speak to upon the subject with which she dealt in her address than this occasion and this audience. All of us, officers, delegates and visitors, are peculiarly and definitely and directly interested in the Department of Labor and in the work she is so well trying to do.

You know labor regards the Department of Labor as its Department, and we are more interested in that Department than in any other Department of the Government. The policies originated there, the application of those policies to our social and economic life touch very vitally the homes and the firesides and the lives of the working people. I want to assure her with all the sincerity I possess, in answer to her plea, that this great American labor movement will give to her and those associated with her in the administration of the Department of Labor full, complete and unreserved support. And if she gets into a fight with those who would seek to hamper her in her work or limit the activities of this Department, call upon the hosts of labor and we will supply millions to help you.

I repeat again that we thank her sincerely for her visit and I wish that

she may go back to her work as much heartened as we are by reason of her visit this afternoon, and together we will endeavor to make the National Recovery Act a full and complete success.

President Green: We have another distinguished visitor, one who brings to us something in which we are tremendously interested. The people of the nation have been passing through a terrible period, especially as it has affected the home owners, the working men and working women who have been striving and struggling to own a home and to save a home. Upon these homes the mortgage has rested heavily, so we are interested in the Federal Home Loan Bank Board and the Home Owners' Loan Corporation. The President selected a distinguished American citizen to administer this Act, and he is here this afternoon to tell us about it. You are interested in it and you can learn many things you ought to know about the administration of this Act. I therefore take great pleasure in presenting to you the Chairman of the Home Loan Bank Board, Honorable William F. Stevenson.

HON. WILLIAM F. STEVENSON

(Chairman, The Federal Home Loan Bank Board and the Home Owners' Loan Corporation.)

Mr. President and Members of the American Federation of Labor: It puts a mere man in what the boys call "a hot spot" to put him up to talk immediately after a speaker as eloquent and as well informed on her subject as the one you have just listened to, our distinguished Secretary of Labor. I do not feel adequate to entertain you after that effort in anything like the degree to which you have been entertained and instructed.

It is both an honor and a privilege to be permitted to address this very representative assembly of American industrial life. I have been familiar with the operations of the American Federation of Labor since I entered Congress at the beginning of the World War. It was then headed by Mr. Samuel Gompers whom I came to consider one of the greatest living Americans of that period. His patriotism, his energy and his wise counsel were a tower of strength to the Administration then facing that great contest, and I am glad to see that recognition is to be given

to his memory by the erection of a monument in this city, where as head of your organization he labored.

My experience throughout sixteen years of service in the House of Representatives gave me an extensive insight into the principles and aims of this great organization. Coming from a district in which there was no connection of this organization, when I was first elected to Congress, naturally I had no preconceived opinions as to its purpose, policies or strength.

As time went along through the years, I found myself voting for the aims which it advocated in legislation. In all that time I never dissented from the program which was offered by the American Federation of Labor on more than one issue and that was one upon which there was not a great effort made at that time.

My support and advocacy of its views in great contests like the contest over the Esch-Cummins Bill which, in many respects, was unfair to labor, and the contest over the Howell-Barkley Bill which was aimed to remedy, to a certain extent, that unfairness, was always the result, not of lobbying, because no representative of the Federation of Labor ever asked me to support or oppose any measure, in my recollection, but it was because the things this organization stood for were, in my judgment, fair and right.

I have often asserted this in public addresses down in my district when my actions in supporting measures advocated by the American Federation of Labor were criticised. But never was there a successful attack on the fairness of the position taken by you.

So much for my past relation to your great organization.

My observation is that your policy has been the maintenance of standards that are fair and right, as applied to all persons and classes; because if the laboring population receives a just deal the entire country is benefited thereby.

Our country is now in the state of economic transition. We have been in the depths of a depression which paralyzed commerce, caused unemployment of labor, destroyed property values and threatened to undermine our whole financial structure.

The President laid down a program of rehabilitation, the principle of which was, first, to restore confidence in our banking structure; second, to restore industry to that position where it could employ labor and to build up for the labor which was employed a compensation which would enable it to live decently and thus increase the purchasing power of the great body of our people to restore commerce.

It also started a program of increasing the value of farmers' products and of easing the terrible load of debt which rested upon them.

What I desire to discuss for the few minutes before you is the program of the President in providing the means whereby the average citizen, and the laboring people constitute an enormous part of that class, the basis of all our civilization in fact, should be saved from having their homes wrested from them under mortgages which were past due and in default; not because of want of desire to pay, but because of unemployment and the poor wages which rendered it impossible for them to pay the installments due on their mortgages.

In order to do this it was necessary to supplement the activities of the Home Loan Bank System, which had just started to function, by a provision for direct loans to distressed home owners, and it is my privilege and I might say my burden, to be the Chairman of the Board that controls both the Home Loan Bank System and its newly-organized supplement, the Home Owners' Loan Corporation.

The Home Loan Bank System is doing a splendid work. It has authorized \$75,287,039.80 of loans to its member building and loan institutions; of this \$65,000,000.00 has actually been advanced—\$44,383,137.00 since March 4th. They are paying their own expenses and that of the Home Loan Bank Board in Washington and are thus not costing the Government anything. They are driving to build up a great reserve of credit, confined to long time financing of home loans, which will be permanent and is rendered necessary by the temporary retirement of some insurance companies and other great financial institutions from that field.

There are \$21,000,000,000 of mortgages on homes in the United States and to finance them in the future will require such a cooperative institution with vast resources and the Home Loan System was designed and is being fostered and developed for that purpose. The public who desire to invest in loans of that kind will be able to do so without having the trouble and expense of taking individual mortgages but will be able to buy the bonds of the Home Loan Banks which will be backed by 130 per cent of real estate home mortgage. For each \$1,000 bond issued, there are pledged \$1,900 of home mortgages. So the capitalists and the home owners are brought together in this way to their mutual benefit. There is no antagonism to the great insurance and trust companies who have heretofore handled these loans, many of whom are retiring from this field, but they will be thus enabled to afford

the aid and secure the same investment by dealing with the Home Loan Banks.

Now of the millions of home owners not accessible to building and loan associations many thousands were facing practical eviction, severing of home ties, dissipating home influences and destroying family morale. The President recognized the importance of action and the danger to the National stability if help were not rendered. He made the call on Congress for action and it acted. What did it do? Provided a means of helping home owners, who were (a) of the small home class not in value more than \$20,000, (b) were about to be sold out or evicted, (c) and were unable to secure funds to redeem their homes otherwise.

And today there are 257 offices in the United States to which the home owner may apply to make applications for loans. More than one million applications already have been filed, and many more will be, which indicates the extent of the distress of home owners who are desirous of being saved from the sheriff and from the execution hammer.

How was it to be done? First, the Federal Home Loan Bank Board was to organize the corporation known as Home Owners' Loan Corporation and set up convenient agencies over the United States to which the distressed class should go to secure the aid desired. Under that, as stated above, the board set up the organization in every State, and is now ready to grant and already is granting loans.

It has 200 million dollars cash subscribed by the Government, and two billion dollars in bonds of the corporation, bearing four per cent interest, payable semi-annually, and the interest is guaranteed by the Government for 18 years. The distressed home owner applies to one of the agencies established in his State, proves that he is about to be sold out, and that his property is not worth over \$20,000, and that it is worth 25 per cent more than the debt on it. The agent asks if the man holding the mortgage will take our corporation bonds for it. The mortgagee agrees to do so. The property is appraised and the value is there. The title is searched and found correct, then, say the mortgage is \$4,000—the corporation goes with the owner and delivers \$4,000 of bonds to the holder of the mortgage and he assigns his mortgage to the corporation.

Then the corporation uses cash to pay taxes and assessments due on the home and when all is cleared up they add the expense and taxes paid out to the debt and take a new mortgage divided up into payments running 15 years, and at five per cent interest, so that the home owner is put in a position

where, by paying a small payment each month, he will have his home clear at the end of 15 years.

One thing I want to emphasize is that you pay nothing unless you get a loan. No appraiser's fee is allowed to be collected, nor attorney's fee, for that matter, until the loan is made. The board has definitely decided that no fees shall be collected unless the loan is made, and then the appraiser's fee, the attorney's fee and recording fees are to be collected, but they are paid by the corporation and added to the mortgage.

No outside agency or attorney is allowed to charge the borrower any fee for procuring any loan. Our duty and determination is to relieve the distressed and we do not intend to increase his load, or rob him under the guise of helping, and then gouging him in fees. We expect also to see that the law against charging fees for helping to procure loans by outside parties is strictly enforced as the design is to help the helpless and this must be our major objective and one effective way to do it is to protect him from the sharks that always prey on the weak.

Now if the holder of a mortgage refuses to accept these corporation bonds in exchange for his mortgage, and the debtor cannot raise the money elsewhere, the corporation can loan him cash, but only to 40 per cent of the value of the home, and at 6 per cent. If his home is worth \$6,000 and the debt \$4,000, we can't help him, unless the mortgagee will take bonds. Forty per cent of \$6,000 is only \$2,400, and that is all we could loan in cash.

What then is behind the bonds? If they are all loaned we will get \$2,000,000,000 of real estate mortgages for them, and we have \$200,000,000 of cash making back of the bonds, on the start, \$2,200,000,000, and then each borrower pays monthly. Each time the borrowers pay, they pay 1/180 or each year they pay 1/15 and that is cash to apply on bonds, cutting them down 133 1/3 millions a year while the security (the homes covered by the mortgages) remains the same till the debts are paid.

So in the judgment of the best financiers, the bonds are good, non-taxable, backed by ample security and guaranteed as to interest by this Government. The United States Treasury accepts them as security for Federal deposits at par, in that respect placing them on equality with United States bonds. The holders of mortgages, the great bankers and investors should remember that if this fails and the millions of homes in the country are sold under the hammer, the value of their billions of home mortgages will be destroyed, and one of the major units of the recovery program will fail, and after that what can we expect? I earnestly solicit their support of this humanitarian and financially

sound and wise program, and I confidently ask the support of this great body of home owners represented by you for whose benefit this legislation was passed, to give this institution, and its management, and its bonds your enthusiastic support.

In closing, let me say something that I believe should appeal particularly to the great laboring constituency you gentlemen of this convention represent. The various state agencies of the Home Owners' Loan Corporation are receiving and passing upon thousands of loan applications under the new emergency law. Many are eligible for relief under the terms of the Act; many others do not come within its limitations.

It is worthy of special note here that the larger proportions of these applications are filed by families coming within the so-called laboring classes. The applicants are men and women of modest means. They are trying to save their cottages and homes of the smaller type, properties they purchased when times were better and the mortgage installments seemed easy to meet.

I feel, therefore, that everyone affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, an organization which responded so nobly during the period of the World War upheaval and patriotic fervor, has an especial interest in this home-relief legislation and the steps we are taking to make it effective. It is a part of the general recovery program of this Administration and the New Deal. I urge your cooperation and am confident that it will be extended to the fullest degree.

President Green: We thank Director Stevenson for his visit this afternoon and for his educational address. This address, as well as all of the other addresses that have been delivered, will be printed in the proceedings of today's session. I am sure that all of us will supplement the hearing of this address this afternoon by a careful study of it as it will be printed in the proceedings.

We are grateful to you, Mr. Stevenson, for your visit this afternoon, and we thank you most sincerely for your address.

ANNOUNCEMENTS

President Green: I wish to announce at this time that I have extended an invitation to General Hugh S. Johnson, of the National Recovery Administration, to address this convention at his convenience. I am sure that he will respond to this invitation and that he will bring a message to the officers and delegates in attendance at this convention just as soon as it is possible for him to spare the time from his arduous duties.

I have also asked that great humanitarian, Senator Wagner, to address the convention, and I have also asked Senator Van Nuys to address us.

Tomorrow the Fraternal Delegates will address the officers and delegates in attendance at the convention. Please bear this in mind, because I know they have, each of them, a message to you and to me that will be most educational and helpful.

At tomorrow afternoon's session the Rev. Francis J. Haas, Director of the National Catholic School of Social Service, will address the convention. Father Haas is a member of the Advisory Board of the National Recovery Administration. He is an outstanding economist, a great humanitarian, and a true and devoted friend of the American Federation of Labor.

Miss Annabelle Lee Glenn, of the Local Committee on Entertainment, extended an invitation to all the ladies in the convention to attend a party to be given during the evening by the committee.

Delegate Coleman, of the Local Entertainment Committee, invited the men of the convention to attend a party at the Social Oyster Club during the evening.

At 4:30 o'clock the convention was adjourned to 9:30 o'clock a. m., Thursday, October 5th.

Fourth Day—Thursday Morning Session

Washington, D. C., October 5, 1933.

The convention was called to order at 9:30 o'clock by President Green.

INVOCATION

(Dr. W. S. Abernethy, Calvary Baptist Church, Washington, D. C.)

Almighty God, our Heavenly Father, we find courage and confidence born in our hearts as we remember that there is One who knows the end from the beginning, there is One with an understanding heart who knows all about the weaknesses and frailties of humankind, and we thank Thee this morning, beginning this day's deliberations, that we can turn to him for help.

We are passing through difficult days, and there is so much fear and perplexity, and we pray Thee to give courage to us all that we may carry on. Give wisdom to those into whose hands is given leadership, and raise up for us, we pray Thee, wise and understanding men, and save this nation, we pray Thee, from all scourges.

God bless this gathering of men from all parts of the country, we pray Thee, bless their homes and their families and all who are dear to them. And we pray Thee to give guidance this day in the things they will discuss and in the conclusions they will reach, and hasten that day, we pray Thee, when peace and fraternity and justice and good will shall prevail, not only throughout this beloved land of ours but throughout the whole world, and we shall give Thee praise and honor and glory, through Christ, our Lord. Amen.

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT, COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

Delegate Schmal, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

Your Committee on Credentials desires to offer the following partial report for adoption:

We have examined the credentials of the following delegates and recommend that they be seated.

Louisiana State Federation of Labor—Lloyd Napier, 1 vote.

Providence, R. I., Central Federated Union—Sidney P. Clark, 1 vote.

The committee has been requested to seat Wm. Schumach, the original delegate representing the Hazleton, Pa., Central Labor Union, who was substituted by G. A. Gichy in the committee's original report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

COMMUNICATIONS

Secretary Morrison read the following telegram:

Chicago, Ill., Oct. 4, 1933.

William Green, President,
American Federation of Labor
Convention, Wash., D. C.

Congratulations on the splendid organizing record made in the past few months and on basing your educational work on the historical fact that workers will be given permanently only what they have the power to take. Socialists are now assisting in the great unionizing drive in thousands of places and stand ready to aid in any way or place when called upon.

CLARENCE SENIOR,
National Secretary Socialist Party.

The telegram was made part of the permanent records of the convention.

Secretary Morrison read communications from William Hamilton, General Manager, The Ambassador, Atlantic City, and from Charles F. Hatfield, Secretary and General Manager, St. Louis Convention Publicity and Tourist Bureau. Both communications cordially invited the American Federation of Labor to hold the next convention in their respective cities.

Delegate Scharrenberg, California State Federation of Labor: I ask unanimous consent to introduce a resolution. Let me say before reading the resolution, that for the last sixteen years this convention has had resolutions on the Mooney-Billings case. This year, for some mysterious reason, neither the officers' reports or resolutions introduced have any reference to the Mooney-Billings case, so, in order that there may

be no misunderstanding, I wrote this brief resolution, merely reiterating our previous position.

The resolution was read, and no objections being offered, it was introduced, as follows:

Thomas J. Mooney

Resolution No. 110—By Delegate Paul Scharrenberg, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Since the incarceration of Thomas J. Mooney and Warren K. Billings, the American Federation of Labor has, at every succeeding convention, reiterated its belief in the innocence of these two brothers and demanded their unconditional pardon, and

WHEREAS, The recent trial and acquittal of Thomas J. Mooney on the one pending indictment has further clinched the constantly growing conviction that Mooney and Billings were convicted on the flimsiest evidence and largely because certain predatory interests demanded their conviction; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the Fifty-third Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, that we send greetings to Mooney and Billings and again express our firm belief in their innocence and demand their immediate unconditional pardon.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Delegate Christman, Glove Workers, asked for and received unanimous consent to introduce the following resolution:

Strategy Board

Resolution No. 111—By Delegate Elisabeth Christman, International Glove Workers Union of America.

WHEREAS, The impetus to trade union organization is now so widespread, and while the organized workers are now challenged to deal with industrywide problems for which the existing structure and methods of organization were not originally designed; be it

RESOLVED, That to study and advise on the united action of the trade unions and on the growth of organization in industries not hitherto fully organized, a strategy board of seven men and women representative of the main groups of industries be appointed by the president of the American Federation of Labor in order to map out general plans and policies for strengthening the united action of the regular craft unions and

at the same time for extending organization into those industries in which the present form of organization has obviously not been successful; and in other ways to adapt the national labor policy to the rapidly changing conditions now confronting labor, thus also carrying out the resolution of the Cincinnati Convention on national economic planning.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Reassignment of Resolution No. 37

Delegate Wharton, Machinists: There has been assigned to the Committee on Legislation Resolution No. 37, on the subject of the Child Labor Amendment. Heretofore the Committee on Education has always dealt with that subject. I rise to make the request that either this resolution be handled by the Committee on Education, or that the section of the Executive Council's report dealing with the question of the Child Labor Amendment be referred to the Committee on Legislation, so they may be handled together.

President Green: If there are no objections, Resolution No. 37 will be referred to the Committee on Education.

Now we have the pleasure and the very great privilege of receiving the messages which the Fraternal Delegates bring to this convention. I am sure we are happy, indeed, to have our Fraternal Delegates from the British Trades Union Congress and from the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress in this convention.

We have observed this wonderful custom of exchanging fraternal delegates between the American Federation of Labor and the British Trades Union Congress and the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress for many, many years. This beautiful custom followed out has tended to cement the bonds of fraternity and good will between these wonderful economic organizations. We hope, and I know you do, that we shall always continue to exchange fraternal delegates. We have been helped by their presence and by their addresses. I am sure we will be helped this morning by the addresses that will be delivered by our Fraternal Delegates.

I take pleasure in introducing to you Brother James Rowan, J.P., General Secretary of the Electrical Trades Union.

MR. JAMES ROWAN

(Fraternal Delegate, British Trade Union Congress)

Mr. President, Fellow Trade-Unionists: I feel much honoured in being appointed by the British Trades Union Congress to convey to this great convention the fraternal greetings of the British Trade Union movement, by tradition the greatest in the world, and although like other countries severely crippled by the adversity of recent years, not yet so lame that it cannot make its power felt and with sufficient reserve of power as will insure its further progress as and when trade revives. True, Britain has, like your own country, been through a much too lengthy testing time and the trade unions have had to shoulder financial burdens that should never have been placed upon them. Such burdens should be the responsibility of the state. So far as Britain is concerned the government, by its misguided policy of false economy, has been the dominating influence in accentuating the "slump". The mis-called national government, led by a deserter from the British Labor Party in the person of J. Ramsay MacDonald, has done all they possibly could to worsen matters by preaching no more spending, longer hours of labor, and a lower standard of living—about the maddest policy any one outside a lunatic asylum ever tried to impose upon a sane people. Unfortunately it was successful in bringing about the biggest slump Britain has experienced since the hungry forties of the last century. Every other country appears also at some time or other during the last few years to have been propagating the same false economic policy that you can only improve your own position by worsening the position of others, and they never seem to have seriously considered the more sensible proposition that they might do much better for themselves by assisting each other towards recovery. In my opinion, this mad policy was imposed on weak governments by the bankers and international financiers. The world slump is directly due to the international economic war that for some time past, and still, is being waged by these sharks to the detriment of the industrialists and the workers of the world who are being bled white in the process. What is the remedy? It is difficult to say with any degree of certainty, but the same general economic crisis which has provided you with tremendous opportunities for developing the influence of American Trade

Unionism has confronted us with enormous perils.

It would be interesting, if one had the time at one's disposal on this platform, to speculate upon the reasons why the same economic conditions in Europe and America should produce such different political and social reactions as we have seen during the last six or nine months. Almost at the moment when your President was beginning the bold and far-reaching experiment in national economic planning which we have been watching with keen interest and sympathy, a wave of political reaction was rising in Europe. It has engulfed one section of our organized movement and threatens to engulf others. Events in Germany, and later in Austria, with similar menacing developments in other European countries, have brought us as trade unionists face to face with the fact that a definite and determined attempt to destroy the organizations of democracy and the institutions of free citizenship has been set on foot.

I do not exaggerate when I say that my fellow trade unionists at home and in Europe at large feel that our organized movement is involved in a struggle which will decide for generations to come whether they shall remain free or become enslaved under an economic and political tyranny more oppressive than history has yet known.

The destruction of German Trade Unionism marks the beginning of this struggle. I don't suppose American Trade Unionists have underestimated the significance of that event. Here was the most powerful and highly organized Trade Union movement in the world, with a membership of nearly 8,000,000, strongly centralized and efficiently administered, disciplined and loyal. It has been wiped out. German Trade Unionism disappeared between two sunsets, as if it had been a feeble struggling thing. Practically within 24 hours the working class organization was smashed, its leaders imprisoned or driven into exile, its funds seized, its journals suppressed, its offices occupied, and its entire machinery taken over by Hitler's emissaries.

It happened so suddenly that most trade unionists found it impossible to believe that such a thing could take place. As a member of the General Council of the British Trades Union Congress I was made aware along with my colleagues that the German Trade Unions were confronting a very real peril; but even our General Council was taken by surprise in the swift march of events after Hitler seized power in the spring of the present year.

We all know now that Hitlerism is a political dictatorship, naked and un-

abashed, ruling by methods of terrorism and persecution in the interests of the employing and landowning class, the militarists and monarchists, whose power was broken but not destroyed by the defeat of Germany in the great war. This is the first fact I want to emphasize. There may be American Trade Unionists, Mr. President, who have been deceived by the propaganda of the Nazis. Admittedly there are those who have been confused and puzzled by the fact that the Hitler movement calls itself "National-Socialist." It claims to be a popular movement, supported by the overwhelming mass of public opinion. It alleges that its only opponents are communists, internationalists, pacifists, socialists and Jews. You have to know something of the origins of this Hitler movement in order to understand it for what it really is—a sinister, well-planned conspiracy on the part of the former ruling classes of Germany to regain the power they lost when they lost the war.

Hitler, in my opinion, an opinion which is shared by a great many of my colleagues, is only the instrument, the figure-head, the willing agent of these reactionary interests. He is the man who organized, in association with Field Marshal Ludendorff, financed by big industrialists, the abortive insurrectionary movement in Bavaria in the closing months of 1923. In the trial that followed in the spring of the following year it was proved that Hitler's organization had been liberally supplied with money by representatives of the South German employers' association; by Bechstein, the piano manufacturer and other big industrialists, and by the chairman of the Union of German employers' associations.

You will find these statements recorded in the famous "Brown Book" compiled by an international committee of which the famous scientist, Einstein, is the president—the book which caused the Nazis to place a price on Einstein's head and drove him to seek sanctuary in my own country. In that book it is further stated that an agent of Hitler's in Switzerland obtained money also from French capitalist groups and it is alleged, too, that your own Henry Ford contributed to Hitler's financial resources.

This latter allegation, I am aware, has been denied. It is not, however, denied that evidence of the financial support given to Hitler by the big industrialists was produced at the Hitler-Ludendorff trial in 1924 which resulted in Hitler's conviction and sentence to five years' imprisonment. Nor is it possible to ignore the close connection of the big industrialists, the landowners, the militarists and monarchist elements with the Hitler movement. These groups and classes, avowed and bitter

enemies of the German democratic and parliamentary regime, established under the constitution of Weimar, framed in 1919, joined Hitler in the assault upon the parliamentary system. They made their own attempt early last year (in May, 1932) to establish a dictatorship without Hitler, when von Papen and General Schleicher assumed the powers of Government and tried to rule by decree. That was a Government of big industrialists, landowners and generals. It failed to retain power because it had no popular following.

It was when these people realized that they must have the reinforcement of a powerful mass organization that they joined forces with Hitler who had control of a great armed force, a disciplined private army that called itself a political party. In fact, the Hitler regime of dictatorship and terrorism began in January, 1933, as an open coalition with these capitalists, landowning and military classes and groups.

I hope no delegate at this convention, or any American trade unionists, imagine that because Hitler now holds supreme power and his capitalist colleagues have retired into the background they have ceased to control the situation in Germany. Make no mistake about it—the Hitler Government is the instrument of the reaction these people have engineered. It is to serve their interests that the German Trade Union movement has been destroyed.

And not only German Trade Unionism—the whole political system founded upon the principles and the practice of democracy has been shattered in Germany. It is no longer a country ruled by a freely elected Parliament, controlling a Government, representative of a majority of the people, and governing with the consent of the governed. It is a country under the heel of an iron dictatorship which rules by methods of terrorism and lawless violence for which no parallel can be found until you get back to the Dark Ages.

I don't know how much the American people have learned from your newspapers of the awful, the degrading, the abominable atrocities perpetrated by the Nazis. Tortures of the vilest description are known to have taken place. The cases are on record. Murders, floggings, mutilation of the bodies of hapless victims of Nazi terrorism, arson, and worse crimes too filthy to describe, are fully authenticated.

In our own country we published, under the auspices of our National Joint Council, a pamphlet giving the details of numerous cases. Other publications have since appeared, including the "Brown Book" to which I have referred, which repeat and amplify the evidence of this appalling outbreak of terrorism and persecution, incendiarism and crime.

No fewer than 250 murder cases are listed by the Einstein international committee, who state that they have definite information of over 500 murders carried out by the Nazis since March last.

The recorded cases of torture are in some instances more revolting than anything you can read about in medieval history. Worse things have happened to Jews, men, women and even children, in Germany during the last few months than they suffered in the Tsarist pogroms or in the persecutions of the Middle Ages. I have myself seen photographs of women who have been shamefully beaten with steel whips and rubber truncheons. The horror of the thing passes belief.

And it goes on as a part of a deliberate policy. You must not imagine that these atrocities are merely isolated incidents, a mere matter of individual excesses perpetrated by a few criminally minded creatures; they are systematic, deliberate, organized crimes instigated and connived at by Hitler and his immediate colleagues who have the power of Government in their hands; some of them are known criminals, murderers, incendiaries, drug addicts, sex perverts, and sadists.

I speak of these things with a full sense of my responsibility as a member of the general council of the British Trades Union Congress, and as an accredited representative of the British Trade Union movement. I am not exaggerating the facts in any single particular, and I do not dwell upon these horrors for any other purpose than to let the American trade unionists know what has taken place.

The truth is coming out. As I left the shores of my own land an international committee of eminent lawyers were meeting in London to prepare for an independent examination of the facts concerning the burning of the Reichstag, which gave the signal for Hitler's seizure of power. Your newspapers have been carrying accounts I suppose whilst I was on my way to this country of the trial of those accused of this incendiarism. You have seen it stated that the real incendiaries were not the men accused, but Hitler's own associates, and that Hitler himself had guilty knowledge of the plan to burn down the Reichstag. The truth should be published far and wide. The conscience of civilized mankind has been outraged by these events. All the truth is not even yet fully known. They are mysterious aspects of the rise and progress of Fascism in Germany particularly and in Europe generally, about which we are not fully informed.

We shall learn more presently, I hope, of the connection of international capital with these events. We shall understand better than we do now, when all the facts are known, what it is that

Communism and Fascism have in common. Questions are being asked that frankly I cannot answer about the connection of the Russian Communists with these events in Germany. The Communist Parties in the various European countries avow themselves in active opposition to Fascism, but I have seen no evidence that the Russian Communist Government or the Third (Communist) International has done anything to try to stop the abominable atrocities of Hitlerism or has made any representations to the Hitler Government such as other Governments have made, including even the Mussolini Government, along with the French and British Governments.

For political reasons, arising out of the position of Austria under the peace treaties, the three governments I have named have protested against some aspects of Hitler's policy. But so far as I know, so far as the public generally knows, the awful outrages which have taken place in Germany have evoked no governmental protest. There has been no suggestion, as far as I am aware, of any country breaking off diplomatic relations with the criminal gang that holds power in Germany today.

I confess that this makes me suspicious and uneasy. Having in view the policy these governments have pursued in relation to Soviet Russia, one would have expected some protest against the excesses of the Hitler dictatorship in Germany, some threat that unless these atrocities ceased Germany would be expelled from the comity of nations as Russia was expelled. No such steps have been taken; even Soviet Russia itself, for reasons that I personally cannot fathom, remains in diplomatic and trading relations with Germany notwithstanding these terrible—these revolting brutalities and outrages.

Can it be possible that Hitlerism is condoned by international capital, and by capitalist governments; even by the Communist Government of Russia, because Hitler is destroying democracy and liberty. He has already destroyed Trade Unionism and wiped out the workers' political organization in Germany.

My question must for the moment go unanswered. That there are sinister forces at work in all countries in undermining the institutions of free citizenship and weakening the workers' organizations seems to me a proven fact.

In my deliberate judgment, the small group of international financiers who control the great aggregations of capital, with the governments they create and maintain in power, are fighting desperately and unscrupulously against the advance of democracy. Within the last generation we have seen working class organization gain great influence and power, indus-

trially and politically. In one country after another, the organized working class movement was able to challenge the domination of capital. Trade Unionism had developed the method of collective bargaining and had compelled employers to meet them on something like equal terms. Industrial autocracy was coming to an end. The organized wage earners were beginning to assert their claim for a voice in the control and direction of industry.

Further, in countries where organized labor had formed political parties, it was beginning to reach out to grasp the reins of Government.

It would be stupid to think that these developments of labor's power, industrial and political, have been regarded complacently by organized capital. One cannot imagine that capital has seen these things taking place without wondering what was going to happen.

I don't suppose your Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan and his fellow magnates liked having to testify about their financial transactions before the senate committee, and I don't imagine employers as a class liked having to deal with trade unions on matters of wages, hours, and conditions of employment. It is probable that they resented the growth of organized labor's power.

I gather that there is a suggestion over here that they have not given a very warm welcome to those provisions of the National Recovery Act and the Industrial Codes framed under it which require recognition of and cooperation with the workers' free and independent unions.

That being so, it seems to me to be probable, *prima facie*, that big industrialists, financiers and international capital generally will not have frowned upon the leaders of the Fascist movement, or have tried to dissuade Hitler from destroying the foundations of democracy, Trade Unionism and free citizenship in Germany. It seems to me more probable, on the face of it, that they will have helped him to do these things and will stand ready to help anybody who will play the part of Hitler in other countries where Trade Unionism is strong and militant. That is why, fellow workers, I have spoken at some length of the state of affairs in Germany and Europe at large rather than of the British Trade Union movement generally. I now desire to refer to what, in my opinion, is one of the most important organizations in Europe—The International Labor Office, brought into existence by and through the Versailles Treaty. However many complaints there may be in respect to certain clauses of this treaty there is nothing to be said against the principle contained in Part 8, of the Treaty of Versailles of June, 1919. Section 1,

on the organization of labor is well worth repeating, it is ideal in its way:

SECTION 1

Organisation of Labour

"Whereas the League of Nations has for its object the establishment of universal peace, and such a peace can be established only if it is based upon social justice;

"And whereas conditions of labour exist involving such injustice, hardship and privation to large numbers of people as to produce unrest so great that the peace and harmony of the world are imperilled; and an improvement of those conditions is urgently required: as, for example, by the regulation of the hours of work, including the establishment of a maximum working day and week, the regulation of the labour supply, the prevention of unemployment, the provision of an adequate living wage, the protection of the worker against sickness, disease and injury arising out of his employment, the protection of children, young persons and women, provisions for old age and injury, protection of the interests of workers when employed in countries other than their own, recognition of the principle of freedom of association, the organisation of vocational and technical education and other measures;

"Whereas also the failure of any nation to adopt humane conditions of labour is an obstacle in the way of other nations which desire to improve the conditions in their own countries;

"THE HIGH CONTRACTING PARTIES, moved by sentiments of justice and humanity as well as by the desire to secure the permanent peace of the world, agree to the following: . . ."

The method of giving effect to these excellent intentions, is contained in a very long series of articles all necessary where international bodies are concerned because every detail must be clearly defined.

The opening of the International Labor Office at Geneva is but a continuation of the history of this centuries-old center of religious, political and civil freedom. In this city a most wonderful monument stands, over eighty yards in length and some fourteen yards high, on which is engraved in marble the declarations, over three hundred years old, of the various European countries relating to their liberty. Amongst others are two in the English language; First, the Bill of Rights, wrung from the royalists in Britain by the forces of Cromwell; and, Second, the Mayflower Compact of the Pilgrim Fathers, in themselves

two of the most historical documents in the world's history. In this hallowed spot the International Labor Office is centered and since its inception has done wonderful work. It ought to be remembered that at the end of the war most of Europe was in a most deplorable condition socially. True, one or two of the countries, such as Britain, thought the era of artificial prosperity that immediately followed the war would continue, but very soon they were disillusioned and nearly down to the low level of other European countries. Neutral countries, such as Scandinavia and Holland, certainly had a good harvest during the war out of both sides. None the less they were later brought into the maelstrom of the industrial depression. The Treaty of Versailles so far as organization of labor on an international basis was concerned was an honest and sincere endeavor to allay the terrible degradation of labor that might, and did, take place. Millions of workers have been on the poverty, even the starvation line, without any signs of political easement. What little easement has taken place in Europe was owing to the machinery of the International Labor Office through the pressure of trade union representatives at the International Labor Conferences. The good work accomplished would have been considerably increased had it not been hampered at every turn by reactionary governments and hostile employers' organizations. In spite, however, of this formidable opposition the International Labor Office is making steady and certain progress. Conventions have been presented dealing with such important questions as unemployment; employment of women; minimum age of admission of children to industrial employment; restrictions of employment of young persons on night work; extension of the workmen's compensation to agricultural workers; weekly rest day in industrial undertakings—conventions affecting those who go down to the sea in ships, such as indemnities in the case of foundering or loss of the ship—minimum age of employment at sea—facilities for finding work for seamen and many others. In respect to the social services many conventions have been brought into existence dealing among other subjects with sickness, invalidity, widows' and orphans' and old age pensions. These are only a few examples of the work accomplished.

It might be said,—Yes, but how does that affect us? We already had most of these laws operating to a greater or less extent? True, but the International Labor Office is in existence for the express purpose, as stated in the preamble, of coordinating the social and industrial legislation of the world, and endeavors to bring backward countries into line.

Samuel Gompers said in the American Federation of Labor Convention, 1919:

"But I see in this draft convention for labor, not that it will bring very much of light into the lives of American workers, but I do believe that its adoption and operation will have the effect of bringing light into the lives of the workers in the more backward countries. What concerned me most was that there should not be in the draft convention anything by which the standards of American labor could be reduced, and that the Seamen's Act should be protected by that protocol to Article 19 of the draft convention.

"I hold that the resolution must be interpreted upon the basis of the preamble to the resolution, and the preamble to the declaration in regard to the labor provisions declares that 'It is of the utmost importance that the conditions of labor the world over must be improved, and that therefore labor cannot be regarded "merely" as a commodity or an article of commerce.' It has got to be read in the light of the declarations contained in the preamble."

Could we, for example, bring Japan into line on hours, conditions of work, social services, and protection of child labor, along with other conditions brought into being by the International Labor Conventions we would not at present be faced with the unfair and indefensible competition we in Britain, like yourself, are suffering from. There is an economic side to this question that alone, in my opinion, will bring America into line to assist in her own best interests in removing the many international anomalies at present existing. Your own government has already to some extent realized this by sending a deputation this year to Geneva with a watching brief. I had the pleasure of meeting there this year one of your representatives, our good friend Mr. Frayne, and on one or two occasions, compared notes with him. I am bold enough to believe that as a result of his visit he will have convinced himself of the necessity of the continuance and strengthening of this body. I, myself, as a result of attending the last three conferences have become a very strong advocate of the continuance and extension of this institution, believing it is one of the most necessary in the world, and if it is my good fortune to attend further conferences at Geneva I shall be a most happy man to meet your delegation there as fully accredited representatives of the great United States of America.

About our movement at home I am not going to speak at any length but I feel I must briefly refer to the increasing menace to the working class of uncontrolled rationalization, or as you more aptly put it—technocracy. In my own section of industry—electrical en-

gineering—we have as remarkable examples as yourself of changing conditions which have bitten us as much as they have bitten you. For instance, while bald statistics may show for Britain the production of electrical machinery to be not more last year than in previous years no allowance is made for the fact that during the last decade the cost of production and the weight per electrical unit of the product has considerably decreased. Therefore we have the spectacle of more productive machinery being actually manufactured and put on the market while the statisticians say there is less. Statisticians, of course, say that statistics never lie.

I will here quote only one example of the displacement of labor caused by new methods. In the manufacturing of electrical machinery Stator Carcass were made of cast steel, necessitating the employment of engineers, pattern makers, and moulders. A decision was arrived at to fabricate these stators by welding steel plates together to form the carcass. The result was, no pattern makers or moulders were required, and a class of labor introduced to do the welding at semi-skilled rates of wages. This halved the cost and halved the weight and halved the labor of the out-put, giving another opportunity to the statistician of showing he knows nothing of the practical application of his theories. What has happened with electrical engineering has happened in nearly every other industry. The irony of it all is that when this machinery is finished it is used for the purpose of putting further people out of employment and so the vicious circle is ever growing larger. Another factor that widens the difference between producer and consumer is that every machine made increases production and reduces consumption; machines don't eat.

This all tends to emphasize the necessity of the program put forth in your President, Mr. Green's splendid address on Monday, that the only immediate solution in the present state of society is a substantial reduction in hours and a large increase in the spending capacity of the workers in order to do something to more nearly balance the present uneconomic position. I might add we in Britain are struggling with an economic crisis that has lasted longer than yours, with an unemployment problem which has been with us now for a dozen years, and with a reactionary Government that is not even capable of learning the lessons your Government has been teaching.

Let me say to you that British trade unionists have been profoundly impressed by the most characteristic features of your Government's recovery program. We regard those features as an attempt to put into practice the principles of trade union policy. I am charged to convey to you our warm ap-

preciation of the fight your Federation has made for full recognition of Trade Unionism in the working out of the recovery program. We hope and believe that the ultimate result will be such an improvement in trade, revival of industry, and permanent elevation of the people's standard of life as will vindicate your Federation in its insistence upon the policy of reducing hours of employment and raising wages as the first steps toward recovery.

I believe that you have initiated here in the United States a departure in the economic life of nations and that other countries will be compelled to follow your lead, in matters of fundamental policy. And out of our common tribulations and our common interest in the maintenance of the principles of freedom and democracy, I hope that a closer organic relationship will grow between you and ourselves. There is no denying the fact that European Trade Unionism has suffered a grievous blow; our international organization has been weakened; we have to strengthen, rebuild, consolidate and expand our organization. You can help us. No other country can help us so much. We need your help. Never have we needed it so much as now.

Take my fraternal message from British Trade Unionism as an appeal for international trade union co-operation against common dangers, and for unity and active work together in support of the ideals we hold in common with you in the brotherhood of labor and the cause of human freedom.

I thank you.

President Green: Now I have the pleasure to present to you Brother Joseph A. Hall, J. P., from Yorkshire, England, member of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain and Financial Secretary of the Yorkshire Mine Workers' Association. He is also a member of the City Council of Wombwell, Yorkshire. I present to you Fraternal Delegate Brother Hall.

MR. JOSEPH A. HALL
(Fraternal Delegate, British Trades Union Congress)

Ladies and gentlemen: This is one of the most pleasing duties it has ever been my task to fulfill, during my thirty-five years as a Socialist, national and international, and I convey to the American workers, male and female, to you, the proletariat classes of America, the fraternal greetings of democracy in England, yea, and of the democracies of Europe. I know my task this morning is a very responsible one and the intelligentsia have told me it would be unwise for me to come to America to tell Amer-

ica what her duties are. Your geographical area and your population is at least thirty to forty times more than ours in Great Britain. But one thing I want to do is this: I want to compliment the workers of America on doing something that European civilization has not attempted to do, and that is to raise the status of the workers in America, which means this ultimately, a rising of value of labor throughout all the continents of the world.

I want you—if you will to just take a little advice from a junior scholar of economics—I want you to grasp this opportunity that you have now. If ever a nation had an opportunity democratically it is this continent of America. If you do not at this moment grasp it, it may eventually escape your care and ultimately thrust you into far worse economics than you have been for the last ten years.

Capitalism, world-wide, has got its back to the wall. Ever since the beginning of the War in 1914 capitalism was thrusting with all its energy, was using every influential care to protect that which she had brought into existence in the years past, and ultimately found out after the War that a greater struggle keener than ever before had arisen. America was not the only one in endeavoring to secure the world's full supply of gold. She and the French Government used all intrigue, used all methods national and international, to secure the world's supply of gold, and in 1929 you had the proud boast in America to say that two-fifths of the world's supply of gold was in your vaults in Washington. France boasted that two-fifths of the world's supply of gold was in her vaults in Paris. Between you and the French Government four-fifths of the world's supply of gold was in your possession.

But sad to say, the last three years has taught you American people a lesson that has never been told before, and you ought to go down on your knees this day and for many days to come and thank the great Diety that He has presented to you a man who dares to strive with might and main to bring you out of the economic abyss you are passing through now.

I want to deal a little with the economic position prior to going into the main question I have come to speak to you about. There are approximately 20,000,000 workless throughout this world. Our country, like yours, has been passing through it with a severity such as it has never experienced before in its industrial history. There are in the town I come from two unemployed men out of every four.

If ever a statesman used diplomacy it was used in the 1920 conference at Versailles; it was used at the 1920 conference in London, when that diplomatic Liberal idol, Mr. Lloyd George, declared

that there were returning from the front men torn to shreds, men who had been pledged their work on their return. And when they returned there was no work for them, and this Liberal diplomatic idol, Mr. Lloyd George, said, "There has got to be something done." And that something was this: He being the Premier of Great Britain announced to the House of Commons that there was the necessity for an Unemployed Act on the contributors' scale of 50 per cent workers' contribution and 50 per cent owners' contribution.

What was the main object of Mr. Lloyd George's administration? What was his desire to bring into being an unemployed Act for relief? If Lloyd George had not attempted a scale of administration benefits for unemployed in 1920, he would for the first time since the days of Cromwell, have passed through a bloody revolution no less in extent than the revolution of almost four hundred years ago.

But our unemployed roll now in Britain is such that it was the means, they say, of breaking up the Labor Government of 1931. Was it? You Americans have read much about our whims and our fancies. You have been told naturally, in your *Herald* and in your *New York Times* about the fallacy of our administration. Remember this, that the British working class, yes, the British middle class and the British upper class are watching America now. If America succeeds—and from the bottom of my heart I hope she does—then be sure of it that whereas America used to say, "Where England was we will go," the psychology of the British people will turn around and say, "Where America has gone we will follow."

That reminds me of a story about two Irishmen. These two Irishmen were sent to do a little building on one of the upper lofts on some of our buildings. One of them was a little lazy and when the bell rang for food he went down. The other Irishman said, "No, I will stop up here." But his friend said to him, "Come on down," and the Irishman replied, "No, I will stop up here." Then the Irishman said, "Jump down." The Irishman was guaranteed that if he jumped down the other Irishman would catch him. And so the fellow on top jumped, but his pal did not catch him, and when the fellow who had jumped asked the reason for not being caught the other Irishman said in that inimitable style of Irish, "I was waiting for you to bounce."

We are waiting to see how you bounce, and I want now to give my opinion as to what I think is your greatest danger of defeat. This is one of the most important particular matters that confronts not only the labor and socialist movement of Britain, but this particular question I am going to

deal with now confronts the whole of the civilized countries of the world. You cannot declare here vehemently, truthfully and well that you have gone over the border line now. Roosevelt in the next three months of his career will find out that there are a lot of forces in America, powers hitherto unknown, commercial, industrial and political that have to be reckoned with.

The British labor government failed in 1931. It failed not because of its lack of intellectual policies, it did not lose control of government reign in 1931 because of its inferiority of intellect—nothing of the kind. The British government failed in 1931 in a manner similar to what other governments have failed. It failed like what may be the possibility of the fall of America. We must size up the strength of the banking system of the world. They who have not considered the powers of this fraternity are lacking in the true knowledge of uprising and progress.

In spite of all of the denials that there was a bankers' ramp, and all the tributes and compliments paid to the bankers by Mr. Ramsay McDonald and Mr. Philip Snowden, there is not the slightest doubt that no credits would be given unless the government agreed to make a 10 per cent cut in the benefits of the unemployed. What does that mean? It means this, that in England now where an old man may be going to work at the age of 60, he may have two sons living with him—two sons thirty years old, we will say—and if that old man's income is sufficient to meet their needs, according to the scale laid down by the government, that old man has to keep those two sons. If one son is married and the wife and children are living with him, then the old man has still to continue to keep those two or three families existant in that house. The same is true of the man who has his father and mother and who may be married and have three children. If the income is sufficient to meet, according to the scale, the keeping of the father and the mother, that man has to keep his father and mother and the whole of his family. That was one of the factors of the Means Test in the 10 per cent cut in Great Britain. That was done, not because McDonald or Snowden wanted it to be done, it was done because there is a power stronger than government, stronger than constitutions, that power that dethroned the labor government in 1931 in Britain, that power that may yet dethrone the power of Roosevelt under the present recuperative act in America, namely the banks.

Now let us look at the importance of this. One can stand at a point in the city of London and be within a stone's throw of a handful of banks and financial agencies which by an agreement

come to quite legally, though perhaps in defiance of the intention of law or government decree, would influence materially in a very short time the business operation of the country.

Nor is the growing importance of American finance in international trade an assuring event. One of the things that can be assumed as a certain consequence of the War is that finance is to hold a more important grip on international industry than hitherto, and that in their own interests communities must protect themselves so far as possible against an imperious international financial trust.

In any event, it is quite clear that this country will have to watch not only Lombard Street, but you will have to watch Lombard Street and Wall Street in New York in America.

If international finance is to fight within itself, the battle is to strew the world with industrial debris. If it is to combine, the slavery of labor, both in its aspects of toil and of management, is inevitable, and the politics of the world will become the will of finance. For finance can command the sluices of every stream that runs to turn the wheels of industry, and can put fetters upon the feet of every government that is in existence.

Those who control finance can paralyze the nation, can make it drunk, can keep it normal. And in all their transactions their own interests are put first. Of course these interests, they say, are involved in the general interest. They cannot flourish in a dead economic state. But they fix exchanges, bank rates and capital values at their will.

What is happening now in England? Why, if you remember in 1929—and we are sorry to say we were following suit to what you were doing in this country, we were insensible to the policy you were adopting—but in 1929 up goes the bank rate in America from three to four per cent, from four to five per cent and from five to six per cent. Now will you not bear with me here when I say that before the change from the credit which had been normal for many years in America, before it increased its present rates, your unemployment figures were very, very small indeed, in fact infinitesimal, but immediately the bank rate began to increase, up goes unemployment, and ultimately we find out that at the end of three years of this new policy of the banking system of America, your increased unemployment went up to 10,000,000. In England we thought you were wise financiers, and in England the Bank of England followed Wall Street, and ultimately found out that after following Wall Street from three to four per cent and from four to five per cent, from five to six and from six to seven, unemployment

went up in our country from 1,625,000 to 2,300,000.

What happened then was that the press of our country immediately began to blame the Labor Government for the increase in unemployment. They began to say, "Ah, yes, this shows you the Labor Government is not able to discharge the duties of mitigating unemployment, and the press was declaring that the British Labor Government was to blame for unemployment, when at the same time the responsibility for the increase of unemployment rested on the shoulders of the banking financiers of England, simply because of following the policy of America in increasing credit charges.

We knew nothing much about this dictator in our country, but we were told by the Americans—in fact, what we did not know in England we have got to know from you, who is the dictator of the world of finance. So I am going to read to you now, not a matter from an English paper, I am going to read to you a matter from your own press in America.

"Who is Montague Norman?" Well, Americans can tell you who he is, and this is what the *New York Times* made mention of on April 3, 1927. It says in a printed article in which the writer, Calir Price, is able to tell us that he is a bachelor in the middle fifties, that "he was unknown in financial London until he was first elected Governor of the Bank of England in 1920, and that his firm was Brown, Shipley & Company—an American bank better known in New York than in London."

Then in the *Wall Street Journal* of March, 1927, we find the following:

"Montagu Collet Norman, as Governor of the Bank of England, has wide powers in determining the course of British credit. No foreign issue appears in London market without his approval. He, more than other bankers, has inspired the policy of banks issue in a dozen countries. His personal influence is such that he has been variously called a 'crusader' and 'the currency dictator of Europe.' He keeps his name out of the press as much as possible, rarely appears in public, and goes to extraordinary length to hide his movements." The article continues:

"From the time he entered office Mr. Norman set out to reestablish approved proportions between gold and credit at the Bank of England. He was with Mr. Baldwin in America when he reached the settlement of Britain's debts. It was evident then that Mr. Norman regarded American support in returning to gold and maintaining the standard as more important than the sacrifices in debt settlement. The extent of his power well makes him the currency dictator of Europe. The Federal Reserve Board has not ignored his desire in shaping bank-rate policy. . . .

"Empire borrowing, especially that of Australian states, has been closely regulated by the Bank of England. Governments which refused to return to the gold standard and to fall into line with the issue policy of the Bank of England found the London market closed to them."

And the last statement made by the *Wall Street Journal* is this:

"Mr. Norman has been governor of the Bank of England since 1920. In the opinion of business circles, there is no reason why he may not continue indefinitely in office."

Norman and his colleagues in Wall Street are responsible for the economic circumstances which you are passing through. He's responsible for the huge unemployment roll in Britain continuing and responsible mainly for the destruction of the Labor Government in 1931.

I want to appeal to you men and women here representing the greatest labor federation in America. Be alive. The next three to six months will try your prowess and your intelligence, and the greatest obstacle Roosevelt has to meet is the obstacle from the bankers and financiers in America who are using every effort possible to destroy the possibilities of his success. But I think your Federation here, from what I can see of you, have made up your minds definitely. There can be no return to the squalid conditions of unemployment and bad labor conditions in America. You have made up your minds, and rightly so, that the ship of state in America has left the harbor of distrust and insecurity. It is now on its journey to the harbor of reusucitation and recuperation. There must not be any going back this time. If you do you will destroy the loyalty of the proletariat masses in America, you will destroy the faith of the European countries in you. Democracy is now on trial in America. Pray today, you men, be up in arms and understand the rudiments of finance, and when the time comes for the task to be completed you must play your part and play it manfully and well.

I am going to deal now with coal. There was a wise politician who said that gold, ever since the days of the battle of Troy, had been the sinews of war, but ultimately they came to the conclusion in England in 1915, 1916, 1917 and 1918 that coal was the sinews of war. Without coal there could be no ammunition, no steel, none of the necessities that go for the making of ammunition. In 1916, 35,000 miners of Britain were liberated from the front to come home and produce this magnificent and inimitable material named coal.

Why am I going to deal with coal? For the simple reason that at the age of twelve years I was sent down in the

coal mines and worked as a pony driver, a trammer, a collier, victimized, not allowed to work in any of the mines in Great Britain for two and a half years, classified under the title of socialist in Britain, which I am proud of today and more proud than ever I was in my whole history.

The British coal mining industry is passing through an ordeal now that it has never passed through before. You are suffering from technocracy similar to what we are passing through. Since 1920 in England our output per person has been increased from 14 cwt. per person to 21 cwt. per person. Our wages have dropped from 20s. to 10s. 6d. per year. We have fought tremendously, tenaciously and consecutively for the government to do what you are doing now, to reduce the hours and increase the wages.

Ramsay MacDonald, during the election of the year 1929, told the people of Britain and the representatives of labor, "Go to your villages, go to your towns, go to your cities and tell the men to vote labour, and if they do the first legislation put on the statute books will be on behalf of the miners. MacDonald attempted to fulfill the obligations of his pledge, and in 1930 we got a new Mines Act, an Act that has never been efficiently worked by the owners in Britain. It was the best MacDonald could get. Our hours were reduced from eight to seven and a half per day, but with that reduction came a reduction in wages, and we found out in twelve months after the passage of that Act that 300,000 miners were unemployed in Britain.

The owners have now attempted a new scheme for the purpose of producing coal in greater mass, through the installation of machinery, the new science, which gives greater tonnage. With this increased tonnage per person, still wages have gone down, and now the owners are declaring it is impossible to guarantee wages even under the 7½ hour day. It was the purpose of Part 1 of that Act to give the owners the opportunity of regulating the selling prices, the opportunity of regulating output, like you in America. This is a statement that I must make here. Is there a man or a woman here or even not here representing the labor federation of America who will deny me this truth, that although tonnage has gone up, even in America wages have not automatically followed that increase? Will the people of America agree with me here that the productive side has not more than exceeded the distributive side?

The working men of America, like those in England, have used might and main to produce. It is the distributive side that is at fault. A ton of coal at Yorkshire will bring approximately 20

shillings per ton. The same ton of coal in London will bring 58 shillings—a difference of 38 shillings from the pit head to the consumer. The owners have had the opportunity of regulating those prices and regulating markets. They have ignored that opportunity, and yet you hear the hue and cry in the British coal industry that if there is no reduction of wages or no increase in hours it will be impossible for the industry to be worked economically.

Then we must also look at the export side. We cannot now look to that. France is getting her reparation coal from Germany. The same is true of Italy and Belgium, and those countries have no need for our coal. Our coal is not in demand. The other countries are producing coal of necessity through circumstances, so therefore we cannot look to export coal.

There is another thing that will interest the Americans, and that is this. We are adopting, or have been attempting to adopt, the process of extraction from coal of everything that is in it. This will seriously affect the American nation so far as her exporting of oil is concerned. I am more than a nationalist, I am an internationalist, but nevertheless a country like ours, a country that relies more on export than anything else, must take every step possible to see that exports must be on the increase and imports must be on the decrease. And so in Britain we are attempting a scientific process in the extraction from coal of the numerous oils that coal contains. We have to go from 1,500 to 2,000 feet down into the bowels of the earth to get to and over 2-foot seams of coal. There the mechanism and the cunning of man is producing coal under those circumstances.

What we have to do with this, especially for the miners represented here. Is there a man or a woman in this assembly that can tell me the actual value of coal? Can the greatest minds of Europe tell you what actually is the price of coal? Every ton of coal that comes up the shafts of England has blood on it. We are killing more men now in the mines of England than we have killed before. It is nothing short of 100,000 who have minor accidents in the mines of our country per year. We kill 1,200 men each year. We had six explosions last year, brutal explosions, and this is with the advent of electricity in the coal mines, this is with the advent of mass production. Every ounce of energy, vitality, fiber, bone, muscle and brain is given for the production of coal, and when coal is only coal it must be used efficiently, commercially and 100 per cent gotten out of this mineral which is so costly to produce.

In England we have three processes—low carbonization of coal, high carbonization of coal and hydrogenation of

coal. If I may I will illustrate it as if I were speaking to a number of school children and I should say to them, "Well, low temperature carbonization of coal means roasting it. High temperature carbonization of coal means steaming it." Those processes have been worked for at least ten to fifteen years. Under those processes we could get two gallons of benzol—you call it gasoline here—two gallons of gasoline to the ton of coal produced. We get tar, sulphate of ammonia, and scent. The lady goes to the shop and wants some scent to display the dress she is wearing and she may say it is Rose of Sharon or Lily of the Valley or some other thing, but at the same time that is a production from coal. A large per cent of the scent used as perfume in America and on the continent of Europe is extracted from coal.

This process has been going on, and ultimately we import into our country 169,000,000 gallons of benzol or gasoline, as you call it. And so the British nation, first with the object of reducing its imports, second with the object of increasing employment in the mines, has subsidized certain particular companies—first, the great Imperial Chemical Company to put up a plant, and this plant is going to be used in the hydrogenation process, which means that the scientists, instead of being able as they are now to get two gallons out of every ton of coal under the hydrogenation process will get four gallons.

We are estimating that if we can burn 30,000,000 tons of coal it will reduce our import of gasoline in Britain approximately 75 per cent and will employ 12,000 more men in the coal mines. It will also employ men in the discharge of the duties of hydrogenation and will build up the mining industry and make it better than what it is now. Of course that is not very interesting to you as far as progress is concerned in your own country.

But what is America doing now? America is attempting to build her fortunes and her progress upon rehabilitation acts. Britain is attempting to do the same thing, and I hope and trust we will meet with success in this great performing of our duties.

I know it is a difficult proposition to talk about the exchange of nations, but, my friends, it is this: Industry in England is in the hands of the banks, at least 75 per cent of it. It is not the banks, it is not the owners of mines that closed the coal pits in Britain, it is not the owners of mines who give 100,000, 200,000, or 500,000 men notice, it is the dictatorial powers of the financiers who say, "No more credit, we can go no further, your securities are not sufficient now to meet any further charge from the banks." Mines are closed and men are put on the unemployed market, and in many instances those collieries

have never been opened again. We mean to do our best to help the unemployed.

And I say that if there is a person on this earth that one must feel sorry for it is the man who is out of work, anxious to get it and cannot get it. I say that your task, like ours, is a large one, and I want to instill into your minds this thought, that all we are wanting is normal employment. You meet the unemployment situation in the coal mines, in the textiles, on railways, wherever you go. Industry is stagnated, it is wanting assistance and it cannot get it. That which has the power won't let it. And I say, irrespective of what your particular position is now, bearing in mind that America cannot live on its own, we must all work together for a common purpose. I have heard a lot since I have been in America on this subject and I have many articles in my bag, many editorial items which declare that never more will America go to the assistance of either Europe or anyone else, that America is on its own. Men, you will make the biggest mistake in your lives if you take that psychology of thinking of "America for the Americans." If you feel that you have only a nationalistic spirit, then I can see the future downfall of America.

But America is England, England is Germany as far as I am concerned. There can be no progress for the proletariat classes of the world unless there is fraternity and the brotherhood of mankind existing.

I am well aware that my time is fast coming to a close, but I want to tell you just a little story. When I was coming from my home they said to me, my solicitor friends, "What you have got to do, you have got to watch these Americans, you have got to sit silent and listen to them. You will hear much talk of what they are doing, what they have done, and what the possibilities are for their doing in the future." So of course we had not traveled far from England when I was taken into one of your courts of justice. I was shown around and one of the men began to tell me of the abilities of the Americans. He said, "What, you are an Englishman? Do you know," he said, "That you ought to be thankful to the country you are in now?" I said, "What for?" He said, "We came to you in 1916, 1917 and 1918 and we won the war." I said, "That is very kind of you. I have been from 1918 to 1933 trying to find the man who won the war and now I have found both the man and the nation."

But two of my friends came over here in 1923, and of course they had listened to this clatter for a long, long time about the Americans winning the war, and my English friend said to the American brothers, "Well, what about a swim?" "Of course," the

American said, "We will take you for a swim." They got into the motor car and away they went for a long journey and finally, on coming to a stream the Englishman said, "I am going in here." The American said, "You can't swim here. This stream is alive with alligators and sharks." "Never mind," said the Englishman, "I am going in here." And off came the clothes of the Britisher and down he went into the water. He swam a little while until he felt that he had enough. He emerged from the water untouched, to the astonishment of his American friend, and the American said, "Well, I am bewildered, will you tell me the secret of how you escaped from that infested pool?" The Englishman said, "I will tell you. On my swimming jersey I have on the front part of my swimming jersey the Stars and Stripes of America, and on the back I have, 'We won the war.'" He said, "There are neither alligators nor sharks nor anything else that will swallow such a story as that."

I am going to conclude now and go from the humorous to the serious side. I want to say to you men and women here that irrespective of whether we live on the great continent of America or in England, we are brothers of one great family. If there is to be a real genuine march to the goal of progress and security it can only be done with an international group of men and women. And remember this, too, we shall not be satisfied, we, as leaders of the social democratic movement of Britain will not rest until that day comes that we will have reached the goal of our ambitions of national security and international brotherhood.

President Green: I take pleasure now in presenting to you Brother Fred J. White, from the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress. Brother White is a member of the International Typographical Union and Secretary of the Calgary Trade and Labor Council.

MR. FRED J. WHITE

(Fraternal Delegate, Trades and Labor Congress of Canada)

President Green and fellow trade unionists: It is my privilege today to bring greetings to this convention from those members who go to make up the International Trade Union Movement residing in Canada. It has been said before, no doubt it will be stated upon some other occasions as to the need for good will and understanding as between our members, but notwithstanding this reiteration, if ever there was a time for shoulder to shoulder attack upon our economic conditions, that time is the present.

I make no apology, and I know you will expect none, for making the situation that presently prevails with the bulk of our fellow citizens as the main theme of my talk here today. Time and conditions are not opportune for addresses that might fit other occasions. But today it is paramount that we should talk and reason together for a little while on the economic insecurity which faces so many of our members and their dependents.

You delegates have a situation created by the NRA to deal with. An Act which has been passed at the request of a sympathetic administrator. Your officers have a brief given to them to see that it is sympathetically enforced. But what a problem! An attempt to make a breach here, a move to take advantage of an opening there. A desire above all to take from the workers a maximum of skill and effort with the least return possible. And so codes of fair practice have had to be fought for and vigilance now maintained to see that the codes as approved are satisfactorily enforced.

I do not come presuming that I can give advice on the method you will follow, nor have I any desire to do so, but I can and do come making reference to your situation as comparative to our own. After all, the problems of labor are but the problems of community life. If we have a well maintained family life, the community life of any section will bear testimony to such conditions. If labor is quiescent, then we invariably have an illiterate and poverty stricken community. If labor is militant and sets its goal, then progress is recorded—slow at times, quite true, but ever up and forward, even in spite of the dead weight of those who do not come within our movement and give that practical aid by membership which we have a right to expect from them.

There is an ever increasing appreciation of the assistance which organized labor is giving to bettering our national life. There is the acceptance by those, who a few short years ago refused to come along with us on the question of shorter hours and the maintenance of purchasing power in order to dispose of the results of mass production. But the end is not yet, and our efforts must be continued until the final goal is reached.

Those who opposed us in the past have had full sway to carry out their policies and we know the results just as we predicted them in the years that are gone. The advocates of long hours and short wages pled their philosophies to the fullest extent possible, hampered, it is true, in some industries and in such localities as built up a trade union movement. But the trade union movement was itself hampered by those who refused, no matter what the reason, to

come into the trade union movement. And what is the result?

It is interesting to note that a majority of those persons at present in our country in mental hospitals are between the ages of eighteen and twenty. There must be a reason. During the past few years our young people have been leaving our public and secondary schools and the universities anxious and eager to give to society the benefit of the tuition that they have received and which in no small part had been paid for through public taxation. And what has been our answer to their initiative and enthusiasm? A sign "Not Wanted," printed in such large type that it has meant discouragement at the very beginning of an otherwise important part of their life. There is not a delegate coming to this convention, traveling as we all have had occasion to do, but has seen freight after freight pass us carrying its human cargo in an endless effort to locate a job.

"'T'would please me gods if you would spare
Mine eyes from all this hungry
stare
That fills the face and eyes of men
Who search for food o'er hill and
glen."

Surely society has something better to offer its boys and girls, its men and women. We in our efforts to improve the wages and conditions of our fellow members cannot afford from a purely selfish, individualistic standpoint to ignore this condition. It is not being ignored, I know, and we accept the responsibility of attempting to carry on the educational and propaganda work to correct such conditions. I think it was Anatole France who once said that "it was the God-given right of every person to sleep under a bridge, but it was only the poor who exercised that right."

There is a changing attitude, quite true. A few short years ago for any one in Canada to have stated that Parliament would be called into special session to give consideration to the question of providing relief would have been laughed at. For any one to have thought that such action, if taken, would be by a Conservative government would have been labeled preposterous—but both things have occurred. Quite true, the responsibility is being accepted reluctantly, with an attitude of charity and a minimum of sympathy. But the important fact is that a social consciousness of responsibility is being created and accepted by our parliamentarians to make a limited application of a relief principle. Our recent convention spent a goodly portion of its time in considering this very question. In 1930, the year of our last general Federal election, the question of responsibility for unemployment was the major

issue. Promises were then given that adequate food, clothing and shelter would be provided, if the Conservative Party was placed in power. The delegates at our Windsor convention are accepting the issue to see that the promises made are honorably fulfilled, and that men will not be sent to work in camps at \$5.00 per month and food. Because as the standard of living is reduced in the case of these single unemployed men, so it must have its reaction upon the condition and standard of living of others, whether they realize it or not.

We hear today a great clamor that governments ought to stay out of business, and yet there is not a section of our citizens but look to Parliament to correct the conditions which face them from time to time. The manufacturers do not hesitate to seek a tariff, and then some more tariff, to keep imports out, but invariably he is the first person to object to his employees attempting to protect their position to the passage of necessary legislation and membership in regular trade unions.

In a radio address to the people of Canada, a few weeks ago, the present Prime Minister, upon his return from a conference in London, stated that he was not prepared to experiment in the field of shorter work week and an increase in pay, but that as Canada was an exporting country it must operate its business on a basis that it could meet the competition of the highly industrialized Orient and the efficiency of some of the central European countries. I mention this Canadian condition particularly as it indicates some of the hurdles which our organized labor movement has to make in the very near future. Needless to say, we are prepared to challenge enforcement of any such attempt, and so we have more than a passing interest in the attempt being made in this section of America to improve conditions under the NRA. As you succeed, as the experiment enters the sphere of certainty and practicability, so much easier will be the fight by those whom I represent here today.

Speaking of conferences, and a great number have been held by the leaders of the world, some person recently stated that in the Roman era they gave the poor bread and circuses, but today we are giving them bread and conferences.

If there is one gratifying aspect of the National Recovery Act and to which reference was made on the opening day by your President, it is that portion which eliminates child labor. If there is one blot on our capitalistic system that stands out above a lot of others, it is the fact that it has been found necessary to use the services of immature children in the manufacture of goods for our requirements.

Childish laughter has been stilled, bodies have been dwarfed, minds have been stunted, because the men of industry have absorbed their childish frames. And who can today foretell the havoc which is being done and the problems that are being created for those who come on in later years, due to the lack of nourishment which mothers of the coming generation are today enduring and the children who have been born into the homes presently affected by unemployment and under-employment?

We have medical science giving reasonable accurate data on what mothers require during this period, and in this land of plenty, in the most highly industrialized country of the world, they are unable to secure same. The very fact that we can say without fear of contradiction that having produced in abundance we are unable to distribute, that the policy of private development has lamentably failed to fill the mission which it undertook to do. And so it must be set aside and other efforts, co-operative in their nature, with human rights supreme must be given fair trial.

What does it matter to us if there are those who say that certain philosophies will undermine private initiative? Is there anything quite so damnable, quite so killing of initiative, as a system that asks men and women, 11,000,000 on your side of the line, over a million and a quarter on our side of the border, to tramp from factory to factory, mill to mill, and mine to mine, day after day, looking for and seeking employment, but unable to secure it? What do high sounding phrases of individualism and initiative mean to them?

The really worth while things of life have been initiated and carried to completion with no thought as to the monetary reward which might follow. The day of the New Deal is at hand, and we must prepare ourselves to take the fullest advantage of it.

After all, as we look back over the years that are gone, and fifty-three years have passed since this Federation was founded, the requests then made were supposed to spell the ruination of business, and the requests for a reduction of hours from 14 to 12 and progressively downward, as has been the case, were then claimed, as now in our present request for a 6-hour day and the 5-day week, as simply impossible. But we can look back and recognize our demands as the mile stones of our history and they mark the progress that has been made along the road which was traversed by those who fought the good fight from year to year.

Our movement is continuing to press for improvement in the social legislation of our country. As perhaps you

are aware, there has been an acceptance of the application of our old age pension act in one of the Maritime Provinces. By this action we now have seven of our nine provinces paying to the aged, needy persons a small pension per month to make them the more welcome in the homes of friends and of relatives than otherwise would be the case. One has but to meet from time to time with those who are beneficiaries under the Act to appreciate what it means to them to have this financial assistance, meager though it is. The next general move must be to reduce the age at which it is presently being paid, namely, 70 years. To follow the record of those to whom it has been awarded and note the very short space of time that a great number of the pensioners receive this assistance is lamentable. In practically every case they have struggled on with the expectation that for a few years in the sunset of their lives they would be released from the haunting fear of privation or the necessity of trusting to friends and relatives to look after them. They reach the age of 70 and there is a surcease from this fear. But too often we find that there are a few payments made, perhaps for a year, and then the need for payment is no more. What a difference it would have been to these pioneer men and women—in a great number of instances they did the rough hard work so that we might live and move under conditions much more pleasantly than was their lot—if they had been in receipt of their assurance for an earlier five or ten year period. It is essential that those who have given years of service should be pensioned and rest in a security and peace of mind impossible under present day conditions. Insurance statistics give us the data that 96 out of every 100 of our population over the age of 70 require assistance. It cannot be said that out of such a large percentage that improvidence is the main reason for this condition. You and I know better. It is inherent in the system that presently prevails, and it is interesting to note in the figures that are given out by the various provinces that while deductions are made for incomes which the applicant has up to a certain amount, the average reduction is only \$1.00 per month, which again proves that these aged persons rely wholly upon the pension which the State pays to them.

As mentioned previously, our governments have been and are taking care of our unemployed in a limited fashion. But the experience of the past few years proves without a shadow of doubt as to the need of preparing to meet this recurring problem, recurring as it will under a system of private profit, in a more systematic manner. The differences in relief payments now

being paid in the various cities and districts throughout our Dominion leave no doubt as to the desire for some central regulatory organization. I personally come from a municipality that is paying one of the highest relief rates across Canada, and that rate is too low for proper family requirements. But the banks are paying the piper, in the way of making loans to us, and so they believe that they have a right to call the tune. However, we do not always permit them to do so, as you will recall that my home city stood out against the payment of gold at the attempted dictation to us by our banking institutions. I make no apology for the action of our citizens, even to those who living on this side might feel that an injustice had been done to them. Let me say this, that we attempted to secure a list of the bonds which had been previously cleared through the New York Clearing House, so that we could meet our obligations to them, but we were refused this information. We had reason to believe that the major amount of our liability was being held in Canada, and it was decided to fight the issue and refuse to pay a premium to all such holders. We required our dollars and cents for our people who were in need, altogether too much to pay out some hundreds of thousands of dollars by reason of banking conditions.

As I was saying, there is a wide difference in the amounts that are paid in various sections of our country. There are those who fear that a centralized authority means a reduction to the minimum rather than a raise to the higher levels or even to the average. That is temporary risk that must be taken. But greater success can be achieved by pressure at one common center rather than the diversification of the same effort at a great number of points. The central point upon which we must focus our fight is the willing acknowledgment of the state's responsibility to adequately maintain our unemployed population, to place them on a basis wherein they will be entitled without any local delay, in the making of payments to them. In other words, Federal unemployment insurance!

There is one other question that I feel I should mention at this time, and that is concerning our membership which has been unemployed for a goodly period of time. There is not the outlook at the moment for improvement of conditions for our members such as you can reasonably anticipate arising out of the NRA. There is not a policy of expenditure contemplated by our Federal authorities as has been provided by your Congress. We feel that the slack period reached an acuteness in Canada prior to and will continue for some time after yours has eased up somewhat. The

question of membership arises for a goodly number of trade unionists at heart by virtue of inability to meet the dues from month to month. We appreciate that organizations cannot function, cannot carry on without financial aid. But if at all possible, I would bespeak the earnest consideration of the officers of the various organizations to work out a satisfactory policy as to the maximum leniency that can be reasonably given to the unemployed. I mention this fact, as we are all aware that the various organizations have individual policies. There is no general arrangement. Some are meeting it, I submit, more liberally than others. And so I can only make the general request for consideration on this point. Every officer knows the difficulty we are experiencing with an attempt to foster national organizations. For years our opponents have been attempting to succeed, and it can be truthfully stated that there has only been limited success. But too hasty action on our part at this time can make for dissatisfaction in our movement and give an impetus otherwise impossible to our opponents. Our workers appreciate that they should be international in their affiliations. They realize that capital has no boundary line, and so they, too, should adopt a similar policy. But if we treat lightly their membership, then it offers an excuse for the malcontents to use this for propaganda purposes.

It is gratifying to be informed of the increase in membership of your affiliated organizations. With the removal of the company union and the yellow dog contract, the workers have been free to make contacts that were impossible in the past. The good which organized labor was able to do for these workers in the years that have gone, even though they were not organized, is now bearing its fruits. These employees now feel that they can come in and assist in the work that there is still to do. We wish you God speed in securing the numerical objective which has been set.

May I make just a short reference to the event that will take place on Saturday next. I feel that I should, and I personally desire, to include in my remarks today as a matter of record, the high esteem with which the late Samuel Gompers was held by our Canadian members. We did not come in the close contact with him that you did on this side of the line, but his work was well known to us and we join most feelingly in the permanent tribute to his work that is being paid to him on this occasion. It is gratifying to know that the first citizen in your land will pay honor to him who was the first citizen of organized labor for a great number of years.

I am personally pleased to feel that I have been associated with the largest

convention in your history. My sincere hope is that our delegate next year and in the years to come will be able to make the same observation. I bring to you the most sincere good wishes from your fellow members in Canada. I close with some words from James Russell Lowell:

"Is true freedom but to break
Fetters for our own dear sake,
And with leathern hearts forget
That we owe mankind a debt?
No, true freedom is to share
All the chains our brothers wear,
And with hearts and hand, to be
Earnest to make others free.

"They are slaves who fear to speak
For the fallen and the weak.
They are slaves who will not choose
Hatred, scoffing and abuse
Rather than in silence shrink
From the truth they needs must
think.

They are slaves who dare not be
In the right with two or three."

President Green: I know we all appreciate these interesting and inspiring addresses made by the Fraternal Delegates in attendance at this convention. You have listened with rapt attention to all of them, and I am sure you will note the suggestions they have made and all the recommendations that have been offered in a sympathetic way. We are interested in the problems of our brothers in Great Britain and in all of Europe. We feel that the Canadian labor movement is a part of us, and because we are so deeply interested in the common problems of our brothers in other lands, we want to assure these fraternal delegates who brought these inspiring messages to us that we will give the workers in every land our full cooperation and support.

I am just as confident as I can be that this convention will adopt a strong, ringing declaration of protest against the persecution of our trade unionists in Germany, and against the persecution of the Jewish people in that distressed land. I am confident that the American labor movement will stand with the labor movement of Great Britain and with the labor movements of the world in opposition to the oppressive tactics used by dictators wherever they may be found.

We love democracy here and we are against despotism. We are always standing with our friends protesting

against persecutions of minorities. I am sad with you as I realize the destruction of the great labor movement of Germany that has taken place.

I should like to say more, but time will not permit. I wish to thank these fraternal delegates for their messages. They will be incorporated in the proceedings of today's convention. We wish them a happy visit with us and a safe return to their families and their friends, and we ask them to carry back to those they represent the greetings and expressions of good will of the officers and delegates of the American Federation of Labor.

ANNOUNCEMENTS

President Green: The Chair desires to announce the appointment of the following committee to act as an official escort to the convention of Postmaster General Farley, who has consented to meet with us and speak to us tomorrow morning: Brother D. J. Tobin, Brother Edward J. Gainor, Brother Leo George, Brother W. M. Collins and Brother E. Claude Babcock.

I have made that committee rather large, because I think the Postmaster General ought to be surrounded by a little larger committee.

The committee to meet and escort Father Haas to the convention will be: Brother Frank Duffy, Brother George Harrison and Brother Thomas Kennedy. I think a committee of three can handle the Reverend Father very well. Father Haas will deliver his address tomorrow forenoon, following the address of the Postmaster General, so that the arrangements for him to speak this afternoon have been canceled. I think this might give you an opportunity to suspend the rules when we adjourn and let those of you who are baseball fans attend the World Series in Washington this afternoon.

Delegate Holmgren, Brotherhood Railway Carmen: I move that the rules be suspended so that the boys can cheer the Washington team to victory this afternoon.

The motion was adopted, and at 12:30 o'clock the convention was adjourned to 9:30 o'clock a. m., Friday, October 6th.

Fifth Day—Friday Morning Session

Washington, D. C., October 6, 1933.

The convention was called to order by President Green at 9:30 o'clock.

INVOCATION

(Rev. Joseph R. Sizoo, New York Avenue Presbyterian Church)

God of the nations, God of our fathers, our God, we thank Thee that in times of crises when the resources of men shrivel the resources of God are unfolded. Give us to believe that in this day Thou art supreme and Thou doth reign, Thou art not indifferent to the wrongs of life. Grant that the sight of Thee may give us courage to carry on until a broader and better day shall come for us and for our homes, for all nations and for all people everywhere, until peace and prosperity and happiness and righteousness shall be restored. For this we pray through Jesus Christ our Lord, Amen.

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT, COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

Delegate Schmal, Secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

The Committee on Credentials desires at this time to offer a further partial report. We have received and examined the following credentials and recommend the seating of the delegates:

Springfield, Mass., Central Labor Union—John F. Gatelee, 1 vote.
 Portsmouth, O., Central Labor Council—Berry L. Bellamy, 1 vote.
 State Employes' Union No. 17659, Richmond, Va.—Frank Kruck, 1 vote.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

COMMUNICATIONS

Secretary Morrison read the following telegram and communication:

Reno, Nevada, October 4, 1933.

Wm. Green, President,
 American Federation of Labor Convention,
 Washington, D. C.

Labor is now embarking on its real work. Our victories in the future will be due to the people's confidence in our leaders and the principles for which we stand. May the delegates deal with the economic situation courageously. Best

wishes for a progressive and successful convention.

PETE PETERSON,
 President,

LILLIE BARBOUR CLINEDINST,
 Secretary, Nevada State
 Federation of Labor.

ST. PATRICK'S RECTORY

10th and G Streets N. W., Washington,
 D. C.

October 4, 1933.

My dear Mr. Morrison:

I want to invite you and the members of the American Federation of Labor, Catholic and otherwise, to attend a Solemn High Mass on Sunday next, October 8 in St. Patrick's Church, 10th and F Streets N. W., at ten o'clock.

The sermon will be preached by the Very Reverend Doctor Ryan.

Plenty of seats will be available for those who come.

With very best wishes for your Federation, I am,

Yours sincerely,

(Signed) C. F. THOMAS.

Right Reverend C. F. Thomas.

President Green: Major L. Berry, President of the Printing Pressmen's Union, served as fraternal delegate from the American Federation of Labor to the American Legion Convention in Chicago this week. He carried to that convention the fraternal greetings of the officers and members of the American Federation of Labor and your expressions of good will, your assurance of cooperation. I have received reports of the splendid address which he delivered and the splendid message which he carried to the officers and delegates in attendance at the American Legion convention. I have a synopsis of his address and I am submitting it for incorporation in the proceedings of today's convention.

Synopsis of address of Major George L. Berry, President of the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union of North America, one of the founders and a former national vice-commander of the American Legion, representing the American Federation of Labor to the National Convention of the American Legion in Chicago, Illinois, on October 4, 1933.

My presence here this morning as the representative of the American Federa-

tion of Labor and speaking in the name of the president, Honorable William Green, is a further indication of the deep and profound interest, friendship and affection in which The American Legion is held by the trade unions as representative of the American Federation of Labor.

We come to you as no new friend because the records indicate that the American Federation of Labor was interested in the men and women who served this country in the World War, and has manifested continued interest in these same ex-service men and women on the occasion of the organization of the American Legion and during all of the days which have elapsed. This attitude upon the part of labor is perhaps unprecedented in any other country of the world, but it is not difficult to understand since we are reminded of the fact that more than 800,000 trade-unionists served in the war and the great majority of those same trade-unionists are now affiliated with the American Legion. Moreover and in addition to this fact, the American Legion and the American Federation of Labor have found a very substantial community of interest in several activities and in legislation that related to the promotion and safeguarding of the interest of the country.

It was in 1920 that certain men in both of these great American institutions conceived the idea that there should be established a contact by and through which the joint influences of the ex-service men and the trade-unionists should be coordinated to the end that practical and constructive progress could be made. It is my judgment that neither organization has been disappointed in the results attained.

It must be comforting to all who have played a part in the development of this friendly relationship to know that during the past four critical years the American Legion and the American Federation of Labor have perhaps contributed more to the state of peace, patience, courage and tranquillity than has been contributed by any other group or groups of citizens in our country. It has not been an easy task; to the contrary it has been a most difficult one. This is by reason of the existence of the most stupendous, devastating war that has ever been recorded in the history of the country.

When reference is made to the war of the past four years, you must understand that I refer specifically to the depression which has demoralized our entire economic structure, which has brought privation to twelve millions of our citizens and practically bankruptcy to additional millions and, too, will leave for the unborn generations of

citizens responsibilities and prejudices, the outgrowth of this conflict, that will undoubtedly exceed that attendant to any other struggle within the life of our country. This is not an exaggerated statement and, my fellow comrades, this condition has occurred in the land of plenty, the equal of which we have never known. The analysis of the effects of the depression on the one hand and unparalleled plenty on the other establishes a condition almost inconceivable but nevertheless a fact.

The war in which we have engaged ourselves and in which we still engage ourselves has not been won, the battle still rages throughout the nation, but we have the American Legion and the American Federation of Labor with their millions of active, energetic and forward-looking citizens aligned with our government and with its President and with one of our comrades, General Hugh S. Johnson, in command of the forces of human progress in their struggle against the depression and its forces—selfishness—and we will win this fight.

Much is being said with reference to the possibilities of the failure of our forces under the National Recovery Act. These questions which are arising represent the propaganda and poison gas of our opponents, but let it be said here that if the remedy offered by the government and supported by the American Legion and the American Federation of Labor fails, the substitute, whatever it may be, will be supplied by the American Legion and the American Federation of Labor and not by our opponents who are responsible for the depression, nor those who have continuously contributed to confusion, and whose motives were of a revolutionary type.

We seek, through the National Recovery Act, the rehabilitation of our economic structure by parliamentary influences through a democracy to the end that we may conserve the good accomplished by the generations of the past and the eradication of the evils responsible for our unhappy and distressing predicament. That this is our purpose should not be construed as granting to those who are responsible for our plight and those who would make it worse by revolution, a commission to continue their iniquities. The American Legion and the American Federation of Labor, the representative spokesmen of millions, will not tolerate, if I know anything of their sentiment and purpose, the torpedoing of the National Recovery Act by the influences of selfishness and greed, nor by the influences of revolution. We propose to continue to be Americans, supporting American ideals which contemplate simple justice to

all of its citizens irrespective of their status in the social and economic classification.

The American Federation of Labor joins in the statesmanlike proclamation of your distinguished Commander, Honorable Louis Johnson, in supporting The National Recovery Act, and in supporting the National Recovery Act we propose, as I understand it, not only the establishment in America, as speedily as possible, of economic justice but we likewise propose that there shall be established a formula that will make impossible the return of the disaster, man-made in its character, which has brought us to the very edge of the precipice of destruction.

In behalf of the President of the American Federation of Labor and in the name, in consequence of his commission to me, I transmit to you the felicitations of the organized working men and women as well as the unorganized in America, and we wish for this convention the greatest measure of success in the formulation of its program for the difficult year that is before us and, too, to express the profound hope that in the struggle that is yet before us that these two great American institutions—the American Legion and the American Federation of Labor—will be found in intimate association promoting peace and justice with a tranquility that shall rest upon the foundation of practicalities with that support of a courage that is traditional in the life of the membership of these two great organizations.

President Green: Now we will be privileged to hear an address by Reverend Francis J. Haas this morning. I am happy because you will be privileged to hear this address. It has been my privilege and pleasure to associate with Father Haas as a member of the Labor Advisory Board of the National Recovery Administration, and through association with him I have had an opportunity to learn his point of view regarding economic and social questions, and particularly those that touch so vitally the lives and happiness of the working people of the nation. His breadth of view, his keen appreciation of the significance and importance of these problems, his sympathetic interest toward the masses of the people have made a deep impression upon my mind. I have learned to admire him as an economic statesman, a humanitarian, a man who is devoted really to the cause of labor. Most of you have known

him by reputation for years, because he has been directly associated with social service in the National Catholic School of Social Service. He is here this morning with his message, and I am happy indeed to present to this audience Reverend Francis J. Haas, Ph.D., Director of the National Catholic School of Social Service and a member of the Labor Advisory Board of the National Recovery Administration.

REV. FRANCIS J. HAAS, Ph.D.,

Director, National Catholic School of Social Service and Member, Labor Advisory Board, National Recovery Administration

President Green, delegates to the convention, and friends—I should really apologize for appearing before a convention of the American Federation of Labor. I must tell you that my place on the Labor Advisory Board of the National Recovery Administration is, as I have been informed by the Secretary of Labor, to somehow represent the unorganized. I am happy to tell you that my organization is going to pieces. The nearly 2,000,000 new members that have come under the banner of the American Federation of Labor shows that the work of the National Recovery Administration is successful, and I assure you that I rejoice in the results.

The subject of my address to you this morning is "Freedom Through Unionization."

In order to look forward and see where we are going, it is necessary to look back and see what lies behind. The best way to survey the past and plan for the future is to ask: what of human liberty during the last four or five decades and what of it during the era just before us?

Under the N. R. A., our Government has embarked upon a plan of public regulation in the public interest. That plan is being criticized and more or less openly denounced by powerful employers and, in some cases, by workers themselves.

What is this criticism worth? Will it stand careful analysis? In my opinion the new control will result in less control. The new curtailment of liberty in reality will be an enlargement of liberty. Actually, the Government has declared that it will not interfere more but less with personal freedom. It does not intend to do for men what they should do for themselves. It does intend to let all be free to exercise their rights as free men.

Throughout the last century certain trends stand out more prominently than others. Roughly, every eight years with cruel regularity the nation was plunged into deep depression. Business stopped, banks failed, shops closed, and millions were thrown out of work. The system zigzagged like an automobile from one side of the road to the other. Regularly, the car went into the ditch and then after a year or several years of frantic relief it was put back on the road again to be started as it went before. This has been going on for over one hundred years.

The tragic story of homes lost, starvation, sickness, discouragement, stunted childhood, and all this repeated with only brief intervals in between, is well known to you all. There are men here before me now who in their lifetime have been through these bitter periods, sometimes lasting three and four and five years, eight or nine or ten times. I need not dwell on the matter further. Rather let me ask: Why did we go on in this mad course? What was our national thinking? What were our public policies?

The answer is, we proceeded on the theory of a false and counterfeit individualism. Individualism is not just a word. In industry it means open shopism. In government, it means government enforcement of the open shop.

During the past decades, by a curious fiction, the law regarded the corporation with millions of assets as an individual. Stranger still, it assumed that the worker employed by that corporation was an individual equal in strength to it. This was not all. More and more organization was put into production and huge sums spent successfully to keep organization out of the ranks of workers. Bankers, manufacturers, wholesalers, and brokers, all organized, internally and externally, vertically and horizontally, while wage-earners and farmers were compelled to see their feeble organizations practically disappear before their eyes.

The record of that period does not make pleasant reading, but the facts should be looked at squarely and honestly. The black list, the "yellow dog" contract, the injunction or the threat of it, the spy, the company union, the welfare plan—these were the instruments used to keep workers struggling with one another for wages and hours. Besides, bankers and industrialists secured the support of the law and the courts to maintain the unreal and fraudulent fiction that every worker could as an individual deal equitably with an individual corporation possessing, perhaps, a thousand times his strength. Briefly, the national economy was open shop, backed up by govern-

ment sanction. In a word, the whole system was an employer-run system.

One thing is certain. Wage earners did not bring the country in 1929 or 1933 to the verge of disaster. They were excluded from power and cannot be charged with responsibility for the evils now upon us. The suffering and misery and degradation of the last four and one-half years must be laid at the door of those who have exercised power, the so-called best brains of business and industry.

Open shop principles could yield no other fruits than those they yielded. Disorganization means low wages. Low wages means low purchasing power. Low purchasing power means underconsumption, unemployment, and human slavery.

In direct opposition, organization means high wages. High wages means high purchasing power. High purchasing power means at least adequate consumption and, in a plenty economy such as ours, ample livelihood for all.

Because of disorganization during the open shop period preceding 1933 wages were withheld from workers, chiefly the unskilled and semi-skilled, and huge profits piled up. The money that should have been paid out to workers was turned back into industry. Factories, shops, and mills were expanded on every side. But for over four years they stood like empty sepulchers, mute testimony of the folly of leaders who would produce goods but prevent customers from buying them. This is the economic effect of a narrow and selfish open shop individualism. The human effect is written in the heavy hearts of the eleven million unemployed this morning and on the wan faces of their wives and children.

It is a sad story but it must be told that in the past our government has supported all too effectively the false and fraudulent theories of open shop individualism. Especially through the use of the injunction, it prevented workers from bettering their lot. Almost without exception, barring an enlightened judge here and there, courts upheld the unspeakable "yellow dog" contract and enjoined organizers from interfering with it.

True, a respectable body of court opinion can be cited, showing that unionism was permitted. For example, in the Buck Stove and Range Case the Supreme Court declared: "The law, therefore, recognizes the right of working men to unite and to invite others to join their ranks, thereby making available the strength, influence, and power that come from such association." But generally, the practice of courts, both federal and state, was far different from their profession. In 1917, in the Hitchman Coal and Coke Case, with which

President Green, John L. Lewis and many of you here were so intimately connected, the Court, while admitting the general principle of organization, enjoined organizers from trying to nullify one-sided contracts and thereby it erected a high wall against future unionization. Since that time the actual or threatened use of the injunction was perhaps the chief barrier to the spread of the labor movement, the emancipation of American wage-earners.

But let us turn to the present. By the enactment of the National Industrial Recovery Act the government intervenes in industry. That is the fact. But by a strange anomaly, more intervention means less intervention. Put more correctly, the new intervention calls a halt to that of the past. Still more correctly, the new legislation permits workers to do what the government itself assisted in preventing them from doing before. In this very important way it has extended freedom to all wage-earners. It allows them to organize; it allows them to help themselves; it allows them to be free men.

Section 7a of the NIRA is well known to you. It is permissive and at the same time it is mandatory. It is permissive in the sense that it leaves workers free to organize and to choose what kind of organization and what representatives they want. It is mandatory in the sense that it must be incorporated in every Code and, what is still more important, it prohibits an employer from preventing workers to form whatever kind of unions they wish to form.

Section 7a of the National Industrial Recovery Act is in all truth the new charter for labor. But we should not forget that a legal charter does not create human rights. A man has human rights because he is a man. A charter merely permits him to exercise those rights. Collective bargaining is a human right, rooted in man himself. In a machine society it is as much his right to exercise it as to use his hands or his feet or his eyes. Can any right rest on firmer ground? The collective wage contract has the same basis in human beings as government itself has. Both are founded on human necessity.

The labor movement must accept the spiritual side of man. Otherwise—and I speak advisedly—it is lost and has no solid basis for its claim. The commodity theory of labor is definitely anti-labor doctrine. It regards a worker merely as oil or coal for the energy that can be gotten out of him.

I denounce this iniquitous principle, which is the basic cause of national chaos, and when I do so I speak with the voice of the highest authority in my Church.

And incidentally, I might support what I am saying with the fine statements

that have been issued by the various Protestant and Jewish bodies here in our country. Let me quote the head of the Church of which I have the honor to be a member and a priest, Pope Pius XI.

In his Encyclical, *Forty Years After*, Pope Pius XI insists that the worker has the right not only to an individual but to a family wage. These are his words. "In the first place, the wage paid to the workman must be sufficient for the support of himself and of his family. . . . If in the present state of society this is not always feasible, social justice demands that reforms be introduced without delay which will guarantee every adult workman just such a wage." The basis for this conclusion is that marriage is not a mere animal mating but a sacred institution established by God Himself. The Pontiff does not leave the matter rest there. He is not satisfied with merely declaring general principles. To make family life sweet and normal and wholesome, every family must have an adequate family income, and to get an adequate family income there must be collective bargaining. These are the words of Pope Pius XI: "We are content, therefore, to emphasize this one point: not only is man free to institute these unions which are of a private character, but he has the right to adopt such organization and such rules as may best conduce to the attainment of their respective objects. The same liberty must be claimed for the founding of associations which extend beyond the limits of a single trade."

The need of complete and unrestricted unionization in the United States was never more urgent than it is at this moment. The NIRA has made two very important concessions to the powerful corporations of the country. The law permits them to organize in a way that makes for, first, maintenance of price and secondly, restriction of output. I need not tell you that in the past many industries have, in defiance of the anti-trust laws, organized in order to fix prices. The vital point here and now is that workers must make use of concessions parallel to those that government has made to employers. Need I add that the government cannot and does not intend to force workers to organize? This workers must do for themselves.

Organization means far more than the company union. Organization must be intercompany. It must be national. It must be independent and supported by the workers themselves. Collective bargaining under the New Deal must be as free as the law itself. There may be no restriction on the workers' choice of representatives. Telling workers that they are free only within limits, that is, that they must confine their

choice of spokesmen to their fellow workers who are paid by the employer, is a most autocratic and arrogant and presumptuous claim. No one would think of saying to employers that they had the right to form trade associations but that they had to choose their representatives from those actually engaged in an industry. Surely by every standard of justice and equity the same freedom must be accorded the workers.

Moreover, organization must set its face against the so-called "merit clause" and against every other subterfuge invented to break down real collective bargaining. The "merit" clause proposed by some employers' associations under the NRA leaves the decision on merit solely with the employer. Because it can be used as a hideout to break up union organization, it must be known for the fraud that it is and fought to the last ditch. Organized workers are not opposed to payment for performance. They do not seek to put a premium on inefficiency. They do want and they must have guarantee that "merit" will not be used to destroy their only protection. That guarantee is organization.

The argument is sometimes made that only the strong unions should be allowed to function. It is said that the strong unions enjoy the praise and confidence of employers because they are so cooperative. This is only part of the truth and a very small part of it. The strong unions are respected because they are strong. This is only a manifestation of a universal human instinct. Are not all of us disposed to respect the rights of those who are intelligently determined to defend them? In any event, the lesson for workers is clear. They should take employers at their word and organize into strong and effective unions.

Today every worker should be a member of his organization, the union in his craft or calling and do his part to make his union strong and effective. When organization embraces all American industry, the mass production wage-earners, women wage-earners, negro wage-earners, we shall have banished from our national vocabulary certain expressions that we should never have used. Then employers will stop talking about "my loyal workers." A worker is not a feudal serf, he is a free man. He does not belong to the employer. Then employers will stop using the expression "pools of unemployment." A man is not a part of a pool. Every unemployed man is a person. Then employers will stop using the expression "I work my labor 40 or 50 hours a week." A laborer is not a horse or a machine to be worked. Then employers will stop using the expression "I run my business." A worker is not a machine to be run. Under a socially sound system he will be a co-worker and a partner with the employer.

Looking into the future may I say that a heavy responsibility rests upon you as labor officials. It is a matter of great gratification to me and it must be a matter of great gratification to all who really believe in and want social justice that within the last few months you have enrolled under the banner of the American Federation of Labor nearly two million new members. The movement has just begun. But the problems will increase with the movement. You, I am certain, will meet them with courage and sacrifice.

May I plead with you to exercise a like prudence in recognizing the need of trying new methods to solve new problems. Specifically, I have in mind the necessity of wiping out narrow jurisdictional lines when those lines stand in the way of the larger interests of all, and of adjusting the legitimate weapon of the strike to the arbitration machinery, national and local, which the government has set up and on which organized labor is to have representation equal with employers.

Much is being said these days about labor's responsibility. Labor officials have new and difficult duties before them. Labor officials accept them. I can testify from four months of the closest relationship with outstanding leaders—Wm. Green, John L. Lewis, George Berry, Sidney Hillman, John Frey, Joseph Franklin, Rose Schneiderman—how conscientiously and devotedly they are giving themselves not only to the people who toil but to the entire nation. As a member of the Labor Advisory Board of the NRA it is my privilege to work with them, and I assure you that no body of men could be more deeply conscious of the grave responsibility resting upon them, or could bring greater devotion and sacrifice.

But let me add another word, and let me say it in all solemnity. Another important group have a very grave responsibility. I mean the employers' group and I do not refer of course to that fine body of representative employers who make up the Industrial Advisory Board of the NRA. They are serving their country in this, perhaps her most critical period, with rare unselfishness and patriotism.

I do refer to the employer group throughout the country and especially to that section of employers who in the past spent large sums to keep workers disorganized. The millions they have poured out for open shop literature, open shop litigation, open shop legal counsel, open shop spies and guards have had their effect. The campaign was successful. Frankly, the great mass of American wage-earners are open-shop minded. They do not know discipline. They do not know how to cooperate. Long forced to do

only for themselves they do not know how to submerge their individual interests for the common good. As they pass into organization the problems of control and discipline will be many and exceedingly trying.

Should labor officials be expected to solve these problems alone? The answer must be in the negative. They did not create them. Because certain powerful employers, ill-advisedly and by no means unselfishly, kept workers disorganized, they should in all justice now accept their responsibility. In proportion to their outlays for disorganization before, they should be ready to stand some of the expense now, in the form of losses and reduced profits, to get things adjusted during the trying years before us. Especially, they should cooperate with union officials, strengthen their leadership, generously, helpfully, wholeheartedly. This would be true industrial statesmanship, proof of a sense of justice and proper regard for the public interest. In this way lies peace and order and national wellbeing.

The NRA under the splendid administration and high public service, honesty and directness of purpose of General Johnson offers the American people an opportunity to save themselves. If, and I hesitate to make the supposition, it fails, something else with just another name will succeed it. That something else, barring the thought of bloodshed and revolution and dictatorship, will have to start from the same premises from which the NRA has started, because these premises are basically sound. May every citizen, employer, and worker, recognize his duty in these difficult years of transition and cooperate with the fullest measure of intelligence and patriotism.

President Green: I wish, in behalf of the officers and delegates in attendance at the convention, to sincerely thank Father Haas for his scholarly and educational address. It is fine indeed that we shall be privileged to have this address incorporated in the permanent proceedings of the convention. There will be many associated with this movement who will read it and study it deliberately and carefully. I know that I voice your sentiments when I say that we very deeply appreciate the visit of Father Haas and his masterly address.

We have a distinguished visitor with us this morning, and I am happy to present him to you for an address. When I extended to him the invitation to meet with you for the purpose of greeting you and addressing you he

responded with such promptitude that I became immediately convinced that he was happy indeed to be privileged to come here. He has served in various capacities. He has been serving the people of the country for quite a long while, and I think we all agree that he is a most wonderful organizer and that he has been doing some magnificent work. I should like to say a lot of things about him, but I will desist for the moment. I am going to present him to you as the Postmaster General of the United States, one who supervises and looks after the welfare of perhaps more workers than any individual employer in the nation.

I present to you the Honorable James A. Farley, Postmaster General of the United States.

HONORABLE JAMES A. FARLEY
(Postmaster General of the United States)

Mr. President, distinguished guests and delegates to the Fifty-third Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

I appreciate this opportunity to appear personally and express my best wishes to the delegates here assembled and to all your members. There can be no doubt that this convention has assembled in one of the most momentous periods of American history. You have come to the capital of the nation where seven months ago was launched an administration which immediately dedicated itself to a comprehensive program for the restoration of happiness and prosperity to all of our people.

From the lips of our courageous leader in the White House has gone a call to all Americans for cooperation in the national struggle not only to restore prosperity but to lay a firmer foundation than ever before for the maintenance in our country of a universally high standard of living. The response to this call on the part of all classes of our population is one of the most encouraging signs of the times. The leaders of agriculture and the leaders of industry, political leaders, educational leaders and all who take a prominent part in the daily activities of our economic and social structure, have loyally united in aid of the President's objectives.

It gives me great satisfaction to congratulate the workers of America, upon the splendid spirit of cooperation which they also are exhibiting. The leaders

of labor have not lagged and it has afforded me a great deal of personal satisfaction to come here today to express my own appreciation.

I cannot allow this occasion to pass without saying a word in recognition of the support which has been given to their Government by the hundreds of thousands of workers who are associated with me in the postal department. Because of the supreme necessity which confronts every organization as it does every individual, to live within its means, it has been unfortunately necessary for us to call upon our people in the Federal Government to sustain the brunt of certain economies. They have, however, recognized the fact that all of these economies were directed toward the accomplishment of the main objective of the Administration, namely, the restoration to gainful employment of the millions of men who for four years had been not only unemployed but without the prospect of employment. Never has there been, in my experience, a better or a more inspiring example of patient, patriotic and united action than that which has been displayed by the great body of the postal workers.

The spirit that animates them is the same spirit that animates all of our people. Whatever their lot in life may happen to have been, Americans recognize the fact that this country belongs to all of us, not to just a part of us.

Every great achievement in the past, every step in that marvelous progress which made America the envy of the peoples of the entire world, has been the result of united action. Never was there a time, however, when such action was more essential than it is at this hour. Never was there a time when it was more important for us to set aside with grim determination, all counsels of division. It may not be inappropriate to recall the vigorous warning uttered by Benjamin Franklin—the first Colonial Postmaster General, by the way—to his associates in the Continental Congress when in the face of doubts as to the wisdom of signing the Declaration of Independence, he told them bluntly, "If we don't hang together now we are all most certain to hang separately later."

It is now generally recognized that all prosperity depends upon building up anew the purchasing power of the masses. There was a time in the not too distant past when many persons held the view that wages should be low and hours of labor long if business and commerce were to prosper. I doubt that it would be possible to find anybody today to defend that theory. The tremendous productive capacity of our farms and factories can find a profitable

market only if the masses of the population have the means with which to purchase not only the necessities of life but many of the luxuries as well. There can be no doubt that the widespread use and ownership of automobiles, for example, has been a powerful factor in building up American industry. Yet it is perfectly obvious that this expansion could not take place unless the bulk of our population were in a position to purchase them. It is nothing new to say that after all our chief problem is not one of over-production but rather one of under-consumption. I repeat the statement here because it cannot be made too clear and because the recognition of this fact lies at the foundation of the entire plan of industrial recovery.

We must find the means of increasing the consuming power of the public. That can be done only by increasing the opportunities for gainful employment.

The splendid reception which the President's National Recovery Drive has had in every section of the country and the remarkable results which have been accomplished to date indicate that we have started in the right direction. We have well authenticated reports showing that in seven months two million, eight hundred thousand working men and women have been put back to work. Payrolls have increased at the rate of three billion seven hundred and twenty million dollars a year, work hours have been decreased, and the ground-work laid for additional employment.

More than a billion and one-half dollars have already been allocated by the Public Works Administration and it is estimated that the projects now being initiated will not only put thousands of men to work in the construction of roads and in the erection of buildings, but will make necessary the employment of hundreds of thousands of others in supplying the raw materials, the equipment and the furnishings of all kinds which will be needed to complete the tasks.

Speaking from my own knowledge, I can tell you that the volume of business in the Post Office Department is gradually increasing. This increase can have only one explanation, namely, that business activity is again expanding. If we take the figures of 1929 as normal, then the volume of the post office business in March of this year had fallen to only 60 per cent of what it was four years ago. In other words, 40 per cent of our business had disappeared from the mails. When we realize that all business and all industry are most closely interwoven with the activities of the Post Office Department, this figure makes clear how deep and widespread the depression was.

In the first six months since March, postal volume showed some increase so that in July it was 66 per cent of what it had been in 1929. I mention this fact for two reasons: first, to indicate that the turn in the tide has come, but second, and this it seems to me is much more important—to show that the increase is gradual and that most of our work still lies ahead of us. It would be a sad mistake if we were too hastily to assume, by reason of the satisfactory gains of the last few months, that our campaign of recovery had attained its end.

Child labor has been abolished. Provision has been made to relieve the strain upon the owners of homes in carrying their mortgages incurred in more prosperous times. Unemployment relief has proceeded rapidly and in many sections of the country there has been, I am told, a substantial lessening of the demand for charity. The banking system of the country has been placed upon a firm foundation. Credit is being released and the spirit of confidence is gradually being built up.

If this progress is to be maintained, we must continue to move in an orderly manner. Nothing is more important at this juncture, it seems to me, than the maintenance of this spirit of confidence and this can be accomplished only if all sections of the recovery parade move in unison. One element cannot attempt to move faster than the other because each depends absolutely upon the other.

I have always believed in plain speaking and I know that the members of this convention will understand me when I say that organized labor can make a mighty contribution to the success of this great movement by continuing to exhibit not only upon the part of its leaders, as has been eminently the case, but also upon the part of the rank and file, a recognition of the patriotic co-operation which the great majority of the employers of labor have rendered to the President's recovery program. There can be no doubt that great numbers of individual employers, great numbers of industrial corporations and business houses, have increased wages and lowered hours without knowing exactly how they would find the means with which to finance this expansion. We must make this task easier for them by reposing complete confidence in the good sense and sound judgment of the loyal men and women to whom the President has committed the administration of the National Recovery Act.

Credit and confidence, and mutual esteem, mutual reliance upon one another, constitute, after all, the life-blood of our social and economic system. Everywhere I have gone since the beginning of this Administration and all the reports which I have received

from all parts of the country, show the inspiring and unanimous faith which the American people have today in the President. He is marking the road to a new era and by the extent to which we support his hands by helping to carry out the policies which he has initiated, we shall measure our willingness to help him realize his objectives.

This is not the place for any extended review of the various elements of the President's program. It is sufficient to say that it touches almost every factor in our complex national life. Most of us are directly affected by only one phase of it but all of us are indirectly affected by all phases of it. Delay and difficulties in one field reflect themselves inevitably in every other field and that is the reason why the success of each particular line of action is important to us all.

The underlying ideals of the labor movement, namely, the establishment of a living wage, the improvement of labor conditions, the shortening of the hours of labor, are the principles which lie at the basis of the New Deal. To the accomplishment of these ideals our whole economic structure is dedicated, because all business and all industry realize now as never before that the advantage of all is best served when opportunity is broadened for all. From the very beginning of the recovery effort, emphasis has been laid upon the purpose of the Administration to bring about results by conference and adjustment, by reason and intelligence rather than by force. Nothing should be permitted to interfere with this method and I'm sure you will allow me to say that the continued confidence of the public in the determination of labor as well as of industry to pursue this course, is most essential to continued success. For myself, I have no hesitation in making the prediction that the movement which was so auspiciously started last March, will steadily gain momentum. We are entering a new era of American history in which the improved standard of living for all will justify the high hopes and the great sacrifices of the patriots who founded and who have preserved this government.

President Green: I wish to express to the Postmaster General the very deep appreciation of the officers and delegates of this convention for his visit and his address. It will be included in the permanent proceedings of the convention. It is a most timely and instructive address and it will inspire us to further efforts in behalf of the masses of the nation. I want him to know that we are indeed grateful to him for his visit and his address this morning.

President Green: At each session of the American Federation of Labor the Secretary of the Workers Education Bureau brings to us a message and an illuminating address. He is here this morning, and this seems to be an appropriate time to hear his address. All of you remember how inspiring his addresses have been. I take pleasure in presenting to you Spencer Miller, Jr., Secretary of the Workers Education Bureau.

WORKERS' EDUCATION AND THE RECOVERY PROGRAM

By **SPENCER MILLER, JR.**

Secretary, Workers Education Bureau of America

President Green and Delegates of the Fifty-third Convention of the American Federation of Labor: In the ancient world it was commonplace to assert that "All roads lead to Rome." And indeed they did! Rome made a virtue of necessity in road-building and spread its arteries of travel in all directions from the Immortal City. Today in this land it is equally true to say that "All roads lead to Washington." To an extent seldom equalled in peace time, the focus of public attention is upon Washington and the Administration in this capital city. Here is to be found the economic and political capital of the nation. It is frequently asserted that every citizen of the United States, except those residing in the District of Columbia, has two homes, the other of which is Washington. So it is logical that the Fifty-third annual convention of the American Federation of Labor should be meeting in our "second home" in the year when all roads lead to the capital city.

I count it a special privilege to be permitted to participate in your deliberations and report on our educational work during the past year. It has been a momentous year for all of us in the era of economic reconstruction. Certainly it is true to say that no person can stand before this greatest Parliament of American Labor with an understanding of what has taken place during the past seven months without a sense of profound wonderment at the speed at which changes have taken place and the new direction of our national efforts.

We have witnessed within a few short months a silent revolution in this land, whether or not we recognize it as such, or care to describe it in these precise terms. Politically, economically, industrially, a change has taken

place in the life of this nation which future historians are likely to record as so sweeping as to constitute, in fact, a revolution. But revolutions in ideas have come to be a commonplace in our day. Every year modern science is developing some new discovery which we accurately assert revolutionizes our life. And so it does. What is true in natural science is no less true in political science. There is this to remember, that the revolutions in political ideas are more enduring than any mere changes in the outer forms.

The thing which perhaps distinguishes our silent revolution is that it has taken place by the consent and with the cooperation of the people of this country. In contrast to the proletarian dictatorship of Russia, the Fascist dictatorship of Italy, or the Nazi rule of Germany, we have set about the task of preserving the principles of democratic liberty under the Constitution while we have changed our methods to suit new needs. It is not the usurpation of executive power, but the delegation of emergency powers to the chief executive by the Congress. These are extraordinary powers, but these are extraordinary times. To the timorous souls who think we have destroyed the Constitution by interpretation, let me remind you that the Constitution is a living, not a dead instrument; it is human means and not a final cause. The Constitution has been developed by its infractions; it has been kept alive by its interpretation to new situations. It will continue to live and serve our day as it is interpreted in the light of new needs.

In the midst of these sweeping changes that have taken place we have all but forgotten the questions which agitated our minds when we met a year ago in the city of Cincinnati. The forecasts of Technocracy which was then the current of our common thought, has been lost in our immediate problems of economic recovery. Action has followed with such lightning speed under the new administration that achievement seems to press hard on the heels of prophecy. A year ago, however, I felt it incumbent to lay before the delegates information with reference to the predictions of Technocracy and to attempt to appraise the report of this group of technicians. You listened with patience to my address and did me the honor to publish it in pamphlet form for distribution to your membership. Some of you will be wondering what has happened to these predictions of the Technocrats and the basis of their predictions. As a student of our national life, I should like to observe that in spite of the journalistic excesses of some of the leaders of Technocracy in reading into its data more than it would yield, there still remains an important

residue of facts to which attention must be paid. Two of its fundamental points we cannot disregard: Our extraordinary productive capacity which has not been fully utilized, and second, that we have allowed debts to pile up more rapidly than production and income have increased.

A year ago I pointed out the prediction of the rapid growth of our technology and the problems of technological unemployment as seen through the eyes of these technicians. Their problems have not become less of a situation so far as labor is concerned. I suggest that the depression may have augmented them. When a special committee of the Society of Industrial Engineers was formed last winter to consider the significance of Technocracy, under the chairmanship of Walter Polakov, they approved both the basic data and findings in a monograph which was published under the title of "The Economic Significance of Technological Progress." It is a notable report, two paragraphs of the summary and conclusion of which I make bold to give you, as follows:

"The contention that technologic and managerial progress tends to relegate physical work to power-driven machinery and increases output with a small number of employes all in a shorter working period, cannot be disputed. This process, however, does not dispose of the labor problems but gradually obliterates the distinction between mental and manual work.

"The advent of the new mode of production alters the position of labor and management in industry. Productivity of labor is determined more and more by the nature of technological process and equipment employed and less by physical strength and trained skill. Hence, compensation for work stands in no relation to old piece rates and time rates. Failure to recognize this fact has resulted in the increased intensification of work and in deterioration of earning capacity."

We are suffering not from technological unemployment, but from the unemployment of technology. The inadequate purchasing capacity of the majority of the population restricts the market necessary for the full utilization of the existing means of production. Unregulated competition led to the duplication of productive capacities.

On the first day of January of this year there was published a notable two-volume study entitled "Recent Social Trends," containing a series of summaries of monographs by a group of our foremost sociologists. These two volumes constitute the most notable sociological appraisal of our contemporary civilization that has been done. In

one chapter on Inventions, by Professor W. F. Ogburn, of the University of Chicago, there is a striking discussion of the whole complicated problem of the inventive art and social progress. He concludes that there is a lag between the development of technology and the change of social institutions, which accounts for many of our maladjustments.

"Unless," concludes the report, "there is a speeding up of social invention and a slowing down of mechanical invention, grave maladjustments are bound to result."

But there was one other problem last year to which I made reference a year ago in discussing Technocracy which has become even more grave—namely the question of our mounting debt service, and the dead hand which it lays upon our industrial recovery.

Prof. Frederic Mills, in a notable volume on "Economic Tendencies in the United States," points out that the accrual rate on our debts by 1929 was $8\frac{1}{2}\%$, having reached 153 billion, or nearly double that in 1880.

Mr. Bassett Jones, a distinguished engineer, in a notable document on "Debt and Production," pointed out as late as August of this year that, "If we assume that production as a whole is now at 50 per cent of the quantity in 1928, then even were its growth now the same as in 1928, it can now support but 50% of the 1928 debt and then only at a natural accrual rate of 3.6%, that is, it can pay in total \$3,600,000,000, which is but 1.8% on the total face value of the debt of 1928. But this amount is hardly enough to cover the tax item alone, and taxes have increased rather than decreased. It is by no means enough to cover the interest charge, to say nothing of obsolescence and amortization.

"But obviously, at the present time, the growth of production is not the same as it was in 1928. If, as for example, we take it at the level of 1890, which was probably not far from 50% of the level in 1928, then the total possible accrual to the debt as of 1928 is less than 1% and to this total deflated 50 per cent, less than 2%."

It is unnecessary for me to emphasize the problem of debt service in every community in the land. It is a fair estimate to make that probably no community in this nation is at the present time not being embarrassed in one way or another with the mounting volume of its debt service. The result is in some communities the reduction or elimination of necessary welfare activities, or some of the new services of government which are among those efficiently managed in our states. In still other communities it means a lessening of money for public education. United States

Commissioner of Education Zook told an educational conference recently that "reduced budgets have brought about a distinct emergency in education" and that the year 1933-34 was likely to be the most serious of the depression on our schools.

It would therefore be idle for us to assume that because Technocracy is off the front page and the vivid predictions of some of its protagonists have been forgotten, that the basic ideas which were being developed have lost their significance for labor. On the contrary, it would seem to be evident that future events are adding confirmation to some of the more basic of their findings.

But to return to the recovery program which has appropriately centered the attention of this convention. It has been appraised at this convention by a distinguished group of authorities in the fields of industry, government, and labor. May I summarize briefly what I consider to be its political, industrial, economic, and ethical implications.

Politically, the Recovery Act represents not only a vast concentration of power in the President, but also constitutes the greatest piece of labor legislation that has ever been enacted in this country. By a single Act we have virtually raised wages, shortened hours, and abolished child labor—the goal of years of social reform. And it has virtually swept aside the theory of the sovereignty of individual states.

Economically, the Act marks the passing of *laissez faire* in American business and the inauguration of a program of social economic planning. Cooperation is to replace cut-throat competition.

Industrially Labor is elevated to the new status of a partner with government and management in industry. For the first time the police power of the government is thrown around the principle of collective bargaining.

Ethically the Act makes wages a first charge upon industry which gives priority to human values. Furthermore, the assertion that the welfare of industry is more important than the selfish interest of an individual corporation is equally significant.

Three things, then, seem to be clear. First, that industrial relations in the United States will never again be the same with the enactment of the Recovery Act as they were prior to 1933. Secondly, though the Recovery Act may come to an end within the two-year period, we shall have put an end to our planless economic development and begun the era of a planned economy. And thirdly, the opportunity which is at the door of labor is unparalleled in range and extent.

What then, you will ask, is the function of the workers' education move-

ment in connection with this new day for labor? Let me tell you briefly of the function we have performed in recent months.

Within three days after the passage and enactment of the National Recovery Act there was placed on the desk of the President of the American Federation of Labor by the Workers Education Bureau a memorandum outlining an educational program for labor under the recovery program. That memorandum received the serious attention of President Green, who wrote to the Bureau early in July saying: "I feel that the Industrial Recovery Act is a subject for educational activities. It is occupying the center of the economic and industrial stage at the moment. It will, in my opinion, continue to occupy that position for the next two years, or perhaps longer. I am of the opinion that you can specialize upon the legislation in all your economic, industrial, and educational activities for the present at least."

The Bureau sent without delay a letter to all state federations of labor and central labor bodies of the country, offering its services in setting up Labor Institutes to inform the membership of labor about the underlying principles of the Recovery Act and the new rights and duties that had come to labor. The response was most heartening. Labor Institutes were set up in various parts of the country and competent authorities assembled to discuss with labor the principles and practices of the NRA.

There are delegates in this convention from the various state federations of labor which have set up these labor institutes with the cooperation of the Bureau, the Presidents or representatives of the Illinois, Massachusetts, Colorado, New Jersey, Wisconsin, New York, Connecticut Federations of Labor. These delegates would be glad, I am sure, to make public witness of the distinct value of these institutes in interpreting the significance of the Recovery Act to their membership.

To keep in the closest touch with NRA developments I practically commuted between Washington and New York. Things would change with such rapidity that what seemed like a final statement one week had to be modified the next week. In this way our educational service was kept up to date and authentic.

In the second place, we suggested a program of radio addresses on a national hook-up by authoritative spokesmen to keep labor and the public posted on the developments of the NRA. This general plan was in fact carried out by one of the broadcasting concerns to whom the suggestions were made.

In the third place, we carried interpretative articles on the NRA through our news services to workers.

Fortunately we have through our educational program the past twelve years been developing a program of education for laboring men and women which has been in the nature of a leisure time activity. As a result of that practical experience we have been able to assist in the development of leisure time programs for the workers on the 35-hour week.

Then finally we have gathered together at this Federation Convention the representatives of the various workers' educational centers throughout the country to consider how best our resources and services could be utilized by labor at this time. While the "economic parliament" has been meeting on the tenth floor of the Hotel Willard, the educational bureau has been meeting on the first floor. Such, briefly, are our activities. So we have tried to rally to the Macedonian call!

But a new problem confronts labor—the problem of the 1,500,000 new members added since July 5th.

The addition of one and a half million new workers to the membership of the American Federation of Labor since the enactment of the Recovery Act, constitutes a responsibility of surpassing importance to the leaders of the American labor movement. They constitute an educational challenge of the first magnitude. It is an imperative necessity that these new members should be given, without delay and as a condition of full union standing an understanding of the aims and ideals of the trade union movement, a knowledge of its policies, a record of its past achievements and a clear statement of its future program. If an alien must pass an examination to become a full citizen, why not some test for acquiring full industrial citizenship? This cannot be left to chance or to the untrained effort of volunteers. It is an educational mission that deserves both thought and plan. Upon the successful development of such a program depends to a very large measure the success of keeping these members in the unions. They have come asking for bread; it would be perilous to give them a stone. To neglect this educational responsibility, furthermore, is to invite misinformation, misunderstanding and inevitably a misdirected membership.

President Green has made it abundantly clear in his stirring opening address to the convention on Monday that he recognizes the task ahead as one of education. "I realize," he said "our problem there, the problem of education, for we want to keep them as loyal devoted members of our great trade union movement. That will be a problem of planning how we can develop these men and women and bring

them in, give them an understanding of our trade union philosophy, its policies and plans and the part that each of them must play in the furtherance of our great aims and purposes."

For labor the results of neglecting this major educational obligation is clear. At the time of the World War American labor increased its membership from 2,400,000 in 1917 to nearly 4,100,000 in 1920. It was a situation somewhat similar though not as rapid as the present condition under the Recovery program. Labor was not properly prepared for this increase in membership. The two million new members constituted a liability, rather than an asset. Labor was unable to develop an educational program rapidly enough to keep these members within the fold. It also suffered serious losses as a result of the open-shop campaign. The net result was that labor lost in six years practically this entire number. The depression has added further losses. It cannot afford to repeat that post-war experience. For an even greater destiny bids labor forward—a destiny to become partners in industry.

It would be a great mistake to assume that this educational task is an easy one. What is necessary is the re-education of workers for their new status as partners in industry. What the workers will need further is a philosophy of industry. This task requires a knowledge of adult psychology and a definite technique of instruction.

Today, labor has a new resource and a new instrumentality which it can use to educate workers in the aims and practices of the trade union movement. It is the workers' education movement—the educational arm of the movement. For twelve years now this education movement in the United States under the direction of the Workers Education Bureau has been developing a technique of instructing wage earners in economic and labor problems. It has helped to train a group of teachers among the instructors of our universities in the most effective method of teaching adults. It has developed text material to serve the special needs of industrial workers. It has defined the aim of this movement so as to relate it to the worker's place in our modern industrial society. It has been developing special schools, institutes, study classes, chautauques, with the active participation of labor to assist workers in understanding their own problems. In a word the resources are here; we but wait for a chance to be of wider service!

The labor institutes in particular which have been developed over the country have been of unique value in bringing the trained experience of experts into a cooperative relationship

with the workers in exploring practical economic problems. These institutes have proved invaluable to the workers in explaining the aims and principles of the Recovery Act. They have been developed with State Federations of Labor, Central Labor unions in a large number of communities. Here, then, is a technique which is thoroughly sound from an educational standpoint which at the same time makes it possible for large groups of workers at a minimum of inconvenience to understand these problems.

It is repeatedly asserted that the Recovery Program cannot succeed without labor. That is true. But it cannot long succeed with labor's support unless labor is kept continuously informed about the NRA.

In addition to the obvious need of giving workers an understanding of the nature of the practices of the trade union movement there is a new educational program that must be developed. It is the need for developing in labor the habit of approaching their problems from a factual rather than a combative point of view. It is clear that many of the problems which become serious can be quickly settled if at the outset the workers understood the nature of the problem.

In particular, labor is faced in the Recovery Program with the responsibility of developing a continuous program of study of the conditions not only of a particular shop but of a whole industry. In the development of the Codes of Fair Competition and in their revision there is no room for guesswork. Labor must understand the facts, must be able to present the facts, must be able to know how to secure additional facts. Here again, the workers' education movement through its courses on economic subjects, on public speaking, on labor negotiations, can do a great deal to assist in the preparation of labor for these new tasks. It is clear that labor cannot rise above the source of its own authentic information about these questions. Labor should encourage a systematic program of education among its members in study groups, in institutes, and summer schools to prepare the members for these new and important responsibilities.

Then, too, the workers' education movement can give the new members of unions instruction in the history of labor and its great leaders of the past. We are meeting in the Fifty-third Convention of the American Federation of Labor. There are men sitting in this convention today who will not be at the next convention of the American Federation of Labor; they will join that company of the pioneers of labor who

have gone over. I am jealous for these new young workers who are coming into the trade unions to know something about the heroic struggle and sacrifices that have gone into the making of the American labor movement. We cannot have our Samuel Gompers with us always, but we can give the workers some knowledge of what Samuel Gompers and the other pioneers stood for. We can impress upon them the spiritual ideals that underlie the movement. But that is the task of education. It is an old saying that "the blood of the martyrs is the seed of the church." It is equally true to assert that the sacrifices of the pioneers are the true foundations of the labor movement.

Some of you who are attending this convention for the first time may not know the men and women of labor who compose the Executive Committee of the Workers Education Bureau. President Green is our honorary president. Thomas E. Burke, Secretary-Treasurer of the Plumbers Union, is our president. The American Federation of Labor is represented on our committee by Victor A. Olander, George W. Perkins and Matthew Woll, whose names and reputations as leaders of the movement require no explanatory word from me. Then there is Thomas Kennedy, Secretary-Treasurer of the Miners' Union; Elmer E. Milliman, of the Maintenance of Way Employees; Harry Russell, of the International Operating Engineers, and Fannia M. Cohn, of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, in addition to John Kerchen and Paul Fuller, representing workers' educational enterprises, and the speaker. This is a distinguished group of men and women devoted to the trade union movement who can not only speak for labor, but who are committed to the purposes for which the Bureau stands.

May I call your attention to one other matter: Within a few weeks a very important new educational development has taken place in the Federal Government. The Federal Emergency Relief Administration has authorized the payment of work relief wages to unemployed teachers in this country. There are 80,000 such idle teachers whose services will be used in teaching unemployed and other adults. It marks the beginning of a great scheme in this country of adult education. There is an opportunity for labor as never before to share in the planning of this great enterprise. But when I outline such an opportunity to labor I am speaking to a group in our American life who perhaps are more sympathetic with the development of our public educational institutions than any other group. Labor was the early champion of our great system of free education. It has stood by the schools

down through the years. This new scheme of the payment of relief funds for unemployed teachers is a new challenge to labor cooperation in every community in the country. Labor should, in my judgment, participate in this new program to the full. It can thereby contribute of its experience to the development of a national system of adult education in America.

Tomorrow, men and women of labor, there will be unveiled a monument to that great pioneer of the American labor movement, Samuel Gompers. It will be a solemn and historic occasion for us all. It will recall for us all the promise of labor in American life to which he gave such eloquent expression. It will also bring to remembrance his own high appreciation of the importance to labor of workers' education. It was not an abstraction to him; he lived it. For twenty years he was a student of various study classes in Cooper Union in New York City and had to an extraordinary extent blended in his personality the qualities of dreamer and doer, of philosopher and labor's statesman.

When the Workers Education Bureau was first started twelve years ago, I had the pleasure of talking with Mr. Gompers of the Bureau's possible service to American labor. With deep emotion in his voice he told me of his own days of long study and preparation for leadership of the movement which he so conspicuously symbolized. He encouraged me to carry on.

At the second national convention of our Bureau, Mr. Gompers came to New York and addressed the delegates with words which it may be appropriate for me to recall to you this day.

"There is a great future before you and your organization," he said, "provided you go in the right line, to teach the right things, and to make the people understand this tremendous movement of the working people of the United States, powerful, influential, and yet far below the standard of achievement to which the toilers are entitled.

To teach men and women of labor to belong to their trades or labor unions, to stand by them, to try to improve their physical, spiritual, and mental standards, and to direct sentiment and aspirations, is the tremendous task before your organization. To accomplish that work to the fullest degree should be the policy and the purpose of your organization; so long as that is your purpose you will have the support of the American Federation of Labor. So long as life remains with me I hope to give service to my fellows, and that service includes aiding you as far as within my power lies, in the accomplishment of that great task."

That was eleven years ago. Samuel Gompers is no more, but his noble ex-

ample and unconquerable spirit lives on. We have had the support of the Federation without interruption for the past twelve years. And I affirm to you here solemnly this morning that our Bureau has been faithful during these years to that high purpose he described.

At the very close of his life, as if with prophetic insight that comes when men are face to face with the Great Adventure that men call Death, he wrote those deathless words about the future relation of education to labor:

"Whatever progress the American labor movement makes in the future will rest on an educational basis."

In the thought of this great pioneer of labor let us join together in building the enduring educational foundations for the American labor movement of the future.

President Green: I thank Secretary Miller for his address this morning. I know that you appreciate his presence. He always says something that is of very deep interest to the delegates and crowds into his addresses much information and many, many helpful recommendations and suggestions. His address will be included in the permanent proceedings of the convention.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON ORGANIZATION

Delegate Burt, Secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

Right to Organize

On the section of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 78, the committee reported as follows:

Your Committee concurs in that part of the Executive Council's Report on page 78 under the caption: "The Right to Organize" and as this right is part of

The Bankruptcy Act,
The Railway Labor Act,
The Norris-LaGuardia Act

and is specifically incorporated in Section 7-A of

The National Recovery Act,

it is now a matter for the workers to take advantage of that right, which your Committee hopes they will do without further delay.

Your Committee urges the American Federation of Labor and all its affiliated bodies to co-operate in this work in the fullest extent.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Organization

On the section of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, pages 78-79, the committee reported as follows:

The question of organizing as dealt with in the Executive Council's report received the careful attention and consideration of your Committee. We are glad to learn that a vigorous and spontaneous organizing campaign has already started and that the results show within the last few months 621 charters for local trade and Federal Labor Unions have been issued by the American Federation of Labor.

We learn that National and International Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor have also issued numerous charters, but we are unable at this time to give you definite information as to the number of charters issued.

In order to make this organizing campaign a success, we recommend that all city central bodies, State Federations of Labor and National and International Unions co-operate in this movement and give it their hearty support and encouragement.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Resolution No. 3 was amended from the floor, the amended resolution reads as follows:

Hotel and Restaurant Employees' Organizing Campaign

Resolution No. 3—By Delegates Edward Flore, Robert B. Hesketh and Emanuel Koveleski, Hotel and Restaurant Employees' and Beverage Dispensers' International Alliance.

WHEREAS, The Hotel and Restaurant Employees' and Beverage Dispensers' International Alliance carried on a successful organizing campaign during the summer of 1933, which had the full and unqualified support of the

American Federation of Labor and its affiliates; and

WHEREAS, All organizers of the Federation have shown a deep interest in the organizing of hotel, restaurant and beverage workers; and

WHEREAS, The opportunity for such organizing is more pronounced today because of the prospective repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment; be it

RESOLVED, That we extend our thanks to the American Federation of Labor, its affiliates and organizers for their wholesome cooperation; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, its affiliates and organizers be urged to continue their helpful cooperation and that the officers of the Federation render such assistance as may be consistent, to the end that all hotel, restaurant and beverage workers may be organized.

Your Committee concurs in this Resolution.

Delegate Donnelly, Ohio State Federation of Labor: I would like to ask the persons who introduced the resolution if they would have any objection to change that wording in the third "Whereas" which reads: "The opportunity for such organizing is more pronounced today because of the repeal of the 18th Amendment." At this time the 18th Amendment has not been repealed. I think it should read: "The prospective repeal of the 18th Amendment."

President Green: I have asked the committee if it is willing to accept the amendment, and I will ask the authors of the resolution if they are willing to have it amended. Delegate Koveleski, are you willing to have the change made?

Delegate Koveleski, Hotel and Restaurant Employees: Leave it as it is, we don't want it changed. We drew up the resolution and we are satisfied with it.

President Green: Do you want to offer your suggestion as an amendment, Delegate Donnelly?

Delegate Donnelly: I don't want to delay the proceedings, but I move as an amendment that the word "prospective" be inserted.

The amendment was seconded and carried.

The report of the committee, as amended, was adopted.

Delegate Koveleski desired to be reported as voting in the negative on the amendment offered by Delegate Donnelly.

Theatrical Wardrobe Attendants' Unions

Resolution No. 22—By Delegate Augusta Ocker, of Theatrical Wardrobe Attendants' Union No. 16770.

WHEREAS, The Theatrical Wardrobe Attendants' Union is making every effort to gain recognition in all branches of the Theatrical Industry, where wardrobe is used in productions, such as units, presentations, or any "line-up in the flesh" in motion picture, vaudeville, and burlesque theatres, and eastern motion picture studios; and

WHEREAS, There are many non-union workers employed in the fields mentioned, at a wage rate below the minimum living wage of Theatrical Wardrobe Attendants' Union; be it

RESOLVED, That the 53d Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor endorse the efforts of the Theatrical Wardrobe Attendants' Union to extend their trade union organizing, and appeals to all theatrical organizations to give their full support to these workers to the end that the Theatrical Wardrobe Attendants' Union will be recognized in the entire field of their Theatrical Industry.

Your Committee concurs in this Resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Organization of Quarry Workers

Resolution No. 69—By Delegate Fred W. Suito, Quarry Workers International Union of North America.

WHEREAS, The quarry workers of the United States and Canada at the present time are only partly organized; and

WHEREAS, The finances of the Quarry Workers International Union of North America at present do not warrant or permit placing the necessary additional organizers in the field to cover all quarrying districts in the various localities where quarrying operations are being carried on to organize this great number of unorganized workers employed therein; be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor send out a circular letter to all State Federations of Labor,

City Central Labor Unions and to all organizers of the American Federation of Labor, requesting them to make a special effort to organize the quarry workers in their districts.

Your committee concurs in this resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Negro Labor Organizers

Resolution No. 85—By Delegate A. Phillip Randolph, Sleeping Car Porters Union No. 18068, New York, N. Y.

WHEREAS, Negroes constitute one-tenth and a little more of the population of the United States which is about the size of the entire population of the Dominion of Canada which indicates the great importance of Negro workers in American industry, especially when it is considered that a larger ratio of Negroes work, when permitted, than any other group in the country;

WHEREAS, Since the World War Negro workers have become a large and significant factor in the basic industries such as steel, coal, railroads, packing, automotive and rubber; and

WHEREAS, Because of the existence of racial barriers against Negro workers in certain trade unions which has resulted in inculcating, engendering and fostering distrust and suspicion of white trade unionists that inevitably creates division and weakness in the labor movement; be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in its 53rd annual convention go on record to enlist and employ Negro Labor Organizers as paid and volunteer organizers to help carry forward the aggressive and constructive organization campaign now being conducted by the American Federation of Labor under the National Recovery program, and thereby bring about a better and finer feeling of cooperation between the black and white workers of America and strengthen and consolidate the position for effective collective bargaining of organized labor in the United States of America.

Your committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council to be put into effect if the funds of the Federation permit.

Delegate Randolph, Sleeping Car Porters' Union: I have raised this question because of the great importance at the present time of carrying forward the movement of organization of the workers. I have been told in the convention by some of the delegates from the South,

especially in the tidewater district, that the employers in the shipyards have been pitting the white and black workers against each other in order that they might weaken the forces of organized labor in that section. They have indicated to me that it has been difficult for them to meet with the Negro workers and organize them, and consequently they want some Negro organizers to assist them.

I have also been told about the attempt in Alabama on the part of some of the trade union groups to organize the Negro workers. All these efforts are commendable and praiseworthy, but they need to be helped by some Negro organizer who can make an effective approach to the Negro workers. We are living at a time when the National Recovery Act is being presented to the country, and it seems to me the only way for the NRA to be effective is for all the workers in the country, regardless of creed, nationality or color to be organized so that there may be an economic balance maintained. If that is not done it seems to me NRA will fail, because, fundamentally, the success of NRA depends upon the increased purchasing power of the people in this country, and the workers constitute a large majority of the purchasing people of the country. Therefore, the raising of wages depends upon collective bargaining and collective bargaining depends upon organizing power.

The Negroes constitute a large section of the population of America, one tenth or more, and we are living in a time when the great business interests of the country are fundamentally opposed to the labor clauses of the NRA. There are probably 99 per cent of the employers of the country who are fundamentally opposed to the labor clauses of the NRA. They are going to employ every device to weaken and to sabotage this Act. One of the devices they will employ is race prejudice. Already they are saying there should be a differentiation between the black and white workers in industry. That is calculated to increase competition between the white and the black workers, and that will

engender hostility and antagonism, and consequently you can readily see that it is important that organized labor remove from the hands of the employing class the weapon of race prejudice. That can only be done by going out and organizing the black workers in large numbers. I realize that among the Negro workers there is a new spirit; they are eager to come into the ranks of organized labor, but there still exists some barriers in the unions against the Negro workers. It is to be hoped that these barriers will be broken down, for we are living in a time when all labor ought to be in the organization.

The Sleeping Car Porters are doing their part to organize the Negro workers. We want to come into your group and give as much cooperation as possible. The cooperation the Sleeping Car Porters will give will be absolutely without cost, but there should be some paid Negro organizer to go out and bring the Negro workers into the fold.

Vice President Duffy, Chairman of the committee: Your committee is not opposing the resolution; we report favorably upon it, but we refer it to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to put into effect if the cost will permit. We are in favor of organizing the colored workers—all workers, skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Equal Rights for Negro Workers

Resolution No. 97—By Delegate R. Suny, of the Cleaners, Dyers, Spotters and Pressers Union No. 18233, New York, N. Y.

WHEREAS, The negro workers in the United States are the last ones to be hired and the first ones to be fired; are the most underpaid and the most exploited; and

WHEREAS, Race discrimination and jimcrowism are means to divide the workers, holding them back from united struggles against the attack of the employers; and

WHEREAS, It was long since recognized by organized labor in the United States of America that the freedom of the white wage earner cannot be won without the freedom of his black brother; be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, at its 53rd Annual Convention, in Washington, D. C., demands the elimination of all clauses which have any suggestion of discrimination against negro workers, from all A. F. of L. International, National and Federal Union Constitutions; and be it further

RESOLVED, That this 53rd American Federation of Labor Convention demands equal rights for the negro worker in the union, in the shop and on the job.

The question of discrimination against negro workers has been before the conventions of the American Federation of Labor for many years. At the Cincinnati Convention last year the committee on organization made a lengthy report on a resolution similar to the one we have now before us. We showed that many declarations were made from time to time by the American Federation of Labor in favor of negro workers and called attention to the fact that the American Federation of Labor admits all classes of workers—skilled and unskilled—to its ranks irrespective of creed, color, sex, race or nationality.

We called attention to the action of the Atlantic City Convention of the American Federation of Labor held in June, 1919, wherein it was decided that where International Unions refuse to admit colored workers to membership, the American Federation of Labor, be authorized to organize them under charters from the American Federation of Labor. At our convention last year this declaration was reaffirmed as all workers are eligible to membership in the American Federation of Labor irrespective of creed, color, nationality, sex or politics. Your Committee re-endorses the action taken last year on this matter.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Campaign to Organize Laundry Workers

Resolution No. 102—By Delegates Anna J. Brown and Roy Burt of the Laundry Workers' International Union.

WHEREAS, The inside laundry workers are very much in need of organization, and

WHEREAS, The Laundry Workers' International Union is without the necessary funds required to pay the salary of an Organizer for full time service among the laundry workers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the delegates to the Fifty-Third Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor in regular session assembled, that, the Organizers of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to devote some of their efforts to organizing the inside laundry workers of their respective districts; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That each State Federation of Labor, and each City Central Body be urged to detail an Organizer or the Organizing committee to launch an organizing campaign among the laundry workers; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That a communication be sent by the American Federation of Labor to each State Federation of Labor and each City Central Body urging them to take the action necessary to comply with the foregoing request and intent as embodied within this Resolution.

Your Committee recommends concurrence in this Resolution.

Delegate Burt, Secretary of the Committee: I want to take advantage of this opportunity to say a few words in behalf of the Laundry Workers' International Union. I desire at this time to thank the organizers of the American Federation of Labor, the organizers and officials of the central bodies as well as the state federations of labor who have devoted so much of their time and effort since the National Recovery Act among the laundry workers, seeking their organization.

We are a peculiar craft, and I might say we work in a peculiar industry. Our industry has been termed a necessity. However, we have a group of employers, the majority group of employers, who seem to think we are still dwelling in the years of barbarism, that we still have slavery in this country and that the people who are working for them are born on this earth with the sole duty of slaving their lives away within the four walls of a laundry plant. It does not seem to

occur to the laundry proprietors whether these people are earning enough to live on or not.

I am sure the resolution will be supported by a majority of the central bodies in the United States, when I say the laundry owners are the most arrogant, tyrannical group of employers in the United States. Every effort that has been made to organize among their workers has been fought every inch of the way. They seek to discredit them, to penalize them in every movement they make.

At this time also I desire to extend my appreciation and thanks to the representatives of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters who have, during the past year, given us a great deal of assistance and cooperation in our efforts to do something for the inside laundry workers.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Delegate Burt, Secretary of the Committee: This concludes the report of the Committee on Organization, which is signed:

FRANK DUFFY, Chairman,
ROY BURT, Secretary,
E. J. MANION,
JOHN P. BURKE,
DAVID DUBINSKY,
WM. E. MALONEY,
PATRICK H. REAGAN,
GEORGE M. HARRISON,
OSCAR F. NELSON,
D. F. CLEARY,
ADOLPH HIRSBERG,
ANDREW J. KENNEDY,
JOHN GARVEY,
W. D. WEISE,
EDWARD G. HAMILTON,
H. T. MORNINGSTAR,
JOHN J. SCULLY,
Committee on Organization.

Vice President Duffy: I move the adoption of the report, as amended, as a whole.

The motion was seconded and adopted unanimously.

President Green: The committee will be continued for the present.

Delegate Suny, Cleaners and Dyers: I ask unanimous consent to introduce a resolution dealing with the miners' strike.

Objection was offered, and the resolution was not introduced.

ANNOUNCEMENTS

Secretary Morrison: Notwithstanding the many disquieting statements in the press, the monument to Samuel Gompers is completed, the platform is completed, with 2,500 chairs to seat delegates, visitors and representatives of the trade unionists of Washington, D. C. I want to advise you that, because of the disappearance of 800 of some 2,000 green tickets, the committee decided that all delegates would be seated on their badges; all visitors from out of the city would be seated on their guest badges, and tickets presented with President Gompers' vignette on them will be used by the trade unionists of the city of Washington.

The green tickets received by nearly all the delegates will not be recognized. The badges will admit you to reserved seats. We would like to have the delegates, guests and others go there at about 10:00 o'clock, when the music starts, and be seated. The dedication ceremonies will start at 10:30 with an address by the President. That will be broadcast throughout the country. When you go you will receive a very beautiful program.

Arrangements have been made for the press on each side of the monument. The ceremonies will be followed by unveiling of the monument, then an address by President Green. The invocation will be by Bishop Freeman and the benediction by Bishop McNamara. The monument is on Massachusetts Avenue between 10th and 11th streets. If there is any delegate who has not received a badge, if he will go to the room on the first floor and register they will give him a ticket that will admit him.

Secretary Morrison then read the following telegram:

New York, New York, Oct. 5, 1933.
President William Green,
Convention American Federation of
Labor,
Willard Hotel, Washington, D. C.

On behalf of the fifty thousand dress-makers who this afternoon filed Madi-

son Square Garden and the overflow meeting outside the hall and on my own behalf and of my associates in the International Ladies Garment Workers Union I desire to convey to you and to the officers and delegates of the convention of the American Federation of Labor our profound appreciation of the stirring message of cheer and encouragement which we were privileged to hear coming over the air from Washington to our gigantic celebration gathering. The boundless enthusiasm which greeted your voice from across hundreds of miles served to affirm once again the great bond of fraternity existing between our organization and the American Federation of Labor for whom you spoke and of which we are happy to be an integral part. It demonstrated further the sincere gratitude with which the dressmakers of New York as well as all other members of our International Union regard the American Federation of Labor and yourself for the constant and undivided support which you have always rendered them in time of stress and of the deep interest you are taking in our organization at all times.

DAVID DUBINSKY, President,
International Ladies Garment
Workers Union.

President Green: Arrangements have been made for those who cannot find seats at the memorial services to find

accommodations in the street and in the surrounding space, so that even though there may be many thousands there they will be accommodated. Amplifiers will be installed so that the addresses delivered will be carried to all those present, even though they may be removed from the monument itself. It will be a historic occasion and I am sure a most impressive ceremony. The President of the United States has assured us that he will be present to deliver an address at 10:30 o'clock tomorrow morning.

Now it appears to me we are finished our work for the day. The other committees are working and have no reports to make. I understand also a great many of the baseball fans will want to attend the game and I will entertain a motion to suspend the rules and adjourn.

Delegate Koveleski: I move that the rules be suspended and that we adjourn until Monday morning.

The motion was adopted, and the convention adjourned to 9:30 o'clock, Monday, October 9th.

Sixth Day—Monday Morning Session

Washington, D. C., October 9, 1933.

The convention was called to order by President Green at 9:30 o'clock.

President Green: I present the Reverend W. L. Darby, Executive Secretary of the Washington Federation of Churches, for the invocation this morning.

INVOCATION

(Rev. W. L. Darby, Executive Secretary, Washington Federation of Churches)

Oh, Thou Who hath given us life and the privilege of fellowship in common service, we come to Thee on this beautiful morning, eager to know the things that will be well pleasing to Thee and helpful to our fellow men. We thank Thee for that spirit of idealism that resides in so many hearts, that eagerness for justice in human hearts which actuates our endeavors and motivates our purpose. And so we seek the Divine benediction upon the fine endeavors day after day of this group of men and women who are striving for the welfare of their fellows and eager, through their united efforts, to make our nation more fully what it ought to be in its emphasis upon human rights above the rights of property or of any other rights save that.

And so we pray that the leaders of this movement and those who are striving for its increasing success may have the Divine blessing upon their endeavors and that the influence and fellowship of the action of this meeting may be widely useful throughout the land and over the world in promoting a spirit of loyalty and devotion to the highest ideals, and that we shall work with other men and other women in other organizations to make America what we would like to have it and to secure for us all the rights and privileges we should like to enjoy.

Help us to take advantage of our opportunity and be true to our duty and to strive in all things we do to live in accordance with the highest principles of conduct and to work unceasingly for the good of those with whom we come in contact in our land and throughout the world, in the name of the Lord Jesus, Master of us all. Amen.

COMMUNICATIONS

Secretary Morrison read the following communications:

Mr. William Green, President, American Federation of Labor, Washington, D. C.

As a fraternal delegate of the National Industrial Council of the Y. W. C. A., I bring you greetings and best wishes for the future success of the American Federation of Labor.

The Industrial departments of the Y. W. C. A. are most anxious to cooperate and work with the American Federation of Labor and we feel that we can do this in the field of workers' education.

Fraternally,
(Signed) VIOLET BOARDU,
Full-Fashion Hosiery Union.

Buffalo, N. Y., Oct. 6, 1933.

American Federation of Labor
In Convention, Wash., D. C.

Greetings and felicitations from Fur Workers Union Local 55, Buffalo, N. Y.

JOSEPH M. SCHMITT,
President.

Montreal, Ont., Oct. 6, 1933.

Frank Morrison,
Secretary A. F. of L.,
Willard Hotel, Wash., D. C.

Montreal Trades and Labor Council and affiliated unions wish to extend A. F. of L. Convention best wishes of success and congratulations on the occasion of the dedication of Gompers Monument to which we deposit our sincere respects.

JOE PELLETER,
Secretary.

New York, N. Y., Oct. 4, 1933.

William Green, President,
American Federation of Labor,
American Federation of Labor Convention,
Hotel Willard, Washington, D. C.

Today labor faces grave situations and tremendous possibilities the result of which will determine the happiness and well being of labor for many generations to come. It looks to the American Federation of Labor to champion its cause. The American Federation of Labor has staunchly defended the rights of labor and has successfully won for the toiling masses of America not only economic betterment but also cultural and social elevation. You, President Green, have given your remarkable services to the cause especially at this time

when it zealously guards labor's interests in the fight to derive greater benefit from the new NRA. We express high hopes for its still greater future achievements in behalf of labor.

R. GUSKIN,
Manager, Hebrew Actors Union, Inc.

San Francisco, Cal., Sept. 27, 1933.
Mr. Frank Morrison, Secretary,
American Federation of Labor,
A. F. of L. Building,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir and Brother:

International Molders Union No. 164 joins in inviting the American Federation of Labor to convene its next Convention in San Francisco.

San Franciscans generally are very desirous that the coming Convention select their city for the holding of the 1934 Convention.

Should San Francisco be the city selected the delegates can be assured of a warm and hearty welcome and that their stay here will be made pleasant.

If the Convention is convened here it will prove very beneficial to the local labor movement.

Again earnestly requesting that favorable consideration be given to San Francisco when the matter of selecting the next Convention city comes up for consideration, we are

Fraternally yours,
INTERNATIONAL MOLDERS
UNION NO 164,
FRANK BROWN, Secretary.

Atlantic City, N. J., Oct. 6, 1933.

Frank Morrison, Secretary,
American Federation of Labor,
Washington, D. C.

Union labor of Atlantic City and the state of New Jersey would be more than pleased to entertain the next convention of the American Federation of Labor in Atlantic City. Hoping this city will be honored with the convention in 1934.

Best regards.

CHARLES S. DALE, President,
Atlantic City Typographical
Union No. 377.

Telegrams in behalf of Atlantic City as the next convention city were also received from Ezra C. Bell, President of the Atlantic City Convention Bureau, and Harry Bacharach, Mayor of Atlantic City.

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT, COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

Delegate Schmal, Secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

The Committee on Credentials desires to announce the following additions to its report:

Switchmen's Union of North America—T. C. Cashen, 3 votes.

Troy, N. Y., Federation of Labor—James Lemke, 1 vote.

Utica, N. Y., Trades and Labor Assembly—Michael Walsh, 1 vote.

Belmont County, O., Central Trades and Labor Assembly—George J. Barrett, 1 vote.

Santa Barbara, Calif., Central Labor Council—George Dalton, 1 vote.

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

Connecticut State Federation of Labor—John J. Egan, 1 vote.

Automobile Workers', United, Federal Labor Union No. 18454, Philadelphia, Pa.—William G. Walsh, 1 vote.

We were also requested to propose the substitution of Charles Sinnigan for Leon De Veze as a member of the delegation representing the International Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Union of North America.

The committee recommends the seating of these delegates.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

ANNOUNCEMENTS

President Green: The Chair wishes to announce that Senator Wagner, author of the Industrial Recovery Act, will address the convention at 3:00 o'clock this afternoon. The Chair desires to appoint on the committee to escort Senator Wagner to our convention hall Vice President John Coe field, Brother John L. Sullivan, of the Brewery Workers, and Brother Joseph Ryan, of the Longshoremen's International Union.

Tomorrow, Tuesday, United States Senator Fred Van Nuys, of Indiana, will address the convention. The Chair will appoint a committee to meet Senator Van Nuys just as soon as I find out the hour that will be suitable to have him address the convention.

On tomorrow evening, Tuesday, General Hugh Johnson, Administrator of the National Recovery Act, will address the delegates in attendance at this convention. A more definite and specific announcement regarding the hour at which this address will be delivered will be made later on.

The Chair regrets to announce the death of Morris Hillquit, of New York. Brother Hillquit, as you know, was active in behalf of labor. He was active in the Socialist Party, but even though he was active in the Socialist Party, he was a supporter of the American Federation of Labor and of our economic policies. For more than twenty years he served as general counsel for the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. I am sure we all feel a deep sense of loss over the passing of such an outstanding able champion of labor's cause.

Delegate Connors, Switchmen: I rise to make a motion that the Chair appoint a committee to draw up suitable resolutions on the death of Brother Hillquit.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

President Green: The Chair will appoint on that committee Brother David Dubinsky, President of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, Brother D. W. Tracy, President of the Electrical Workers' International Union, and Chauncey Weaver, of the Musicians' International Union.

Delegate Iglesias, Puerto Rico Federation of Labor: Mr. President, I request the unanimous consent of the convention to introduce a resolution dedicated to the memory of Samuel Gompers. The resolution is not to be debated, but the Puerto Rican Federation of Labor would request that it be incorporated as a part of the proceedings of this convention.

Unanimous consent was given as requested, and the following resolution was introduced:

HOMAGE TO THE MEMORY OF OUR GREAT LEADER, SAMUEL GOMPERS

The Executive Council of the Free Federation of Labor of Puerto Rico, affiliated to the American Federation of Labor, at a meeting held on the 2nd of October, 1933, approved the following:

Resolution No. 112

To pay homage to the memory of the great thinker and humanist, Samuel Gompers, the founder and leader of the American Federation of Labor, who during his life was a sincere and a constant supporter of all the measures granting liberty and justice to the people of Puerto Rico and especially to the Puerto Rican working masses.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor on October 7th, 1933, will render a high and well merited tribute to one of the most brilliant thinkers and humanists, Samuel Gompers, a cigar maker by trade, founder and principal leader of said Federation, on the occasion of the unveiling of a monument erected to his memory in Washington, D. C.;

WHEREAS, The great labor leader, now deceased, Samuel Gompers, was one of the best speakers and writers, duly recognized as such by the International organized labor, who devoted all his life to the social, economic and humanitarian uplifting of all people and was furthermore one of the best friends, cooperators and supporters of reforms involving the grant of rights and liberty to the Puerto Rican community, especially to the masses of men and women who toil in factories, shops and business concerns;

WHEREAS, Organized labor in Puerto Rico in accordance with its history and traditions should join in the great tribute which the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled in Washington, D. C., will render to the memory of its best friend.

THEREFORE: Be it resolved by the Executive Council of the Free Federation of Labor of Puerto Rico, affiliated to the American Federation of Labor;

1. To inform the President of the American Federation of Labor, Mr. William Green, that organized labor represented by the Free Federation of Labor of Puerto Rico, enthusiastically and sincerely joins the tribute to be ren-

dered to the great thinker, leader and founder of organized labor in North America, Samuel Gompers, on the occasion of the unveiling of the monument erected to his memory.

And furthermore, to state that organized labor in Puerto Rico will forever be grateful to the great humanitarian leader for the very significant services rendered by him to this community.

2. That copy of this resolution be sent to the President of the American Federation of Labor, Mr. William Green, to the Resident Commissioner of Puerto Rico in Washington, Mr. Santiago Iglesias Pantin, and to the press, both in Puerto Rico and in the United States.

**THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL OF
THE FREE FEDERATION OF
LABOR OF PUERTO RICO.**

Per WILLIAM D. LOPEZ,

Acting President.

RAFAEL ALONSO TORRES,

General Secretary.

The resolution was unanimously adopted.

Delegate Bugnizet, Electrical Workers: I move that the ceremonies incident to the unveiling of the monument to Samuel Gompers on Saturday be made part of the official proceedings of this convention.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

Delegate Swartz, Letter Carriers: I move that the address delivered by President William Green at the National Cathedral yesterday afternoon be incorporated in the proceedings of this convention.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

President Green: The Chair recognizes Delegate Chauncey M. Weaver, Secretary of the Committee on Union Label.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON UNION LABEL

Delegate Chauncey M. Weaver, Secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

Retail Clerks Union Shop Card

Resolution No. 16—By Delegate C. C. Coulter of the Retail Clerks International Protective Association.

WHEREAS, The interest of the entire labor movement is centered at this time upon the National Recovery Act, its operation and administration; and

WHEREAS, The display of the NRA insignia by an employer is a declaration of his covenant with the Government to observe all provisions of the code regulating the operation of the industry in which he is engaged; and

WHEREAS, All codes for the retail trade provide that employees shall have the right to organize and bargain collectively through representatives of their own choosing, and shall be free from interference, restraint or coercion in the exercise of that right; and

WHEREAS, There are millions of retail store employees who are still unorganized and who have no voice in the regulation of their working conditions; and

WHEREAS, The Union Store Card of the Retail Clerks International Protective Association offers concrete evidence to the public that union clerks only are employed in a place of business where displayed, and that said card has been issued upon the signing of a collective bargaining agreement; and

WHEREAS, The presence of both the NRA insignia and the Union Store Card is proof that the employer is complying with all of the provisions of the retail code; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor recommends that its membership patronize those retail establishments showing the Blue Eagle and also the Union Store Card displayed as a guarantee of fair wages and working conditions; and be it further.

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor at its annual convention in Washington, D. C., directs all organizers to assist in the organization of retail store employees, and urges that the demand for the Union Store Card be fostered and encouraged by the members of all affiliated organizations.

Your committee approves the resolution, but recommends the following addition thereto:

That preference be given to all places where union emblems are displayed, or union buttons worn, to indicate membership; and that we use our purchas-

ing power at all times by giving preference to union label goods.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

FINAL REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON UNION LABEL

Mr. President and Delegates to the Fifty-third Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

Your Committee on Union Label begs leave to submit the following:

The sounding of the midnight bell on Tuesday of the current week tolled the right of introduction of resolutions for the consideration of this convention. Out of the one hundred and one resolutions filed, only one referred either directly or indirectly to the subject of the union label or in any manner challenged the attention of this committee.

As the union label department is an integral division of activity under organized labor administration we are disposed to interpret this minimized requisition of attention, not as a gesture of criticism, not as a manifestation of indifference, but as an evidence of satisfaction on your part that the officials charged therewith are doing their utmost to further the interests of the cause which means so much to us all.

The times through which we are passing are both evolutionary and revolutionary. Old systems are crumbling. Old appeals are falling on deaf ears. New slogans are being sounded. The New Deal is touching the imagination of the multitude. But while—

New occasions teach new duties, and Time makes ancient good uncouth, the new trail blazers should not forget that the old order had its merits and no apostle of the new crusade has thus far ventured to offer or recommend a substitute for the union label, which for generations has spoken its own eloquent language and is still doing business at the old stand.

The year now closing has been a trying one but the union label banners have been kept flying. A complete resumé of all departmental activity is a matter of official record. Every call

for outside help in union label campaigning has been answered so far as it was possible to do so.

The union label department has entered into the spirit of the National Recovery Act and will do its part to interpret the meaning thereof to the toiling masses. It will not hesitate, however, to give timely warning, as occasion may require, that congressional enactment will never be anything less than a dead letter, a dry husk, an empty shell, unless human initiative, human energy and human cooperation are brought into earnest and generous play.

The letter sometimes killeth, but the spirit giveth life.

We must improve every advantage offered us through the aroused and militant spirit which is now beginning to prevail among the workers. Untiringly we must carry our message to every new union—not forgetting now and then to emphasize our former messages to the old.

Now that despair is giving place to hope, let us rededicate ourselves to the promotion of human welfare. Above all things let us practice what we preach.

If the delegates to this convention will rally to not only the task but the privilege which is opening before them, and seek to kindle the same kind of fire on the hearthstone of their home Local organizations, the coming year will lead us through an ever broadening and brightening pathway, and by another October we may have occasion to gladly rejoice over the measure of victory won.

Respectfully submitted,

JOHN J. MANNING,
CHAUNCEY A. WEAVER,
GUST SODERBERG,
ROY C. CLINE,
CHARLES HANSON,
JOSEPH OBERGFELL,
PETER BEISEL,
HARRY KAUFMAN,
WM. CAMPBELL,
ANTHONY MERLINO,
ROBERT BRUCK,
MICHAEL J. KELLY,
A. MENDELOWITZ,
W. E. BRYAN,
I. WASILEVSKY,
JOHN ALLISON,
W. J. MOYNIHAN,
Committee on Union Labels.

Delegate Weaver moved the adoption of the committee's report as a whole. The motion was seconded.

Delegate Cline, Typographical Union: The Committee on Union Label expressed the opinion at its meeting that there should be some discussion on the report of the committee. It seems to me that some of us are probably prone to lose sight of the importance of union label work, in view of the various new activities of laboring people and labor unions under the New Deal. The label work is still and I believe always will, so long as organized labor uses a label to identify its product, be one of the most important parts of our program, and as a member of the committee I wish to draw attention to one particular portion of the committee's report. I refer to the missionary work of the union label among the new unions. We are forming new unions every day, new charters are being issued. These people are coming in, and if we do not take this message to them immediately on their coming into the American Federation of Labor we will lose a mighty good opportunity. They are eager and they are more optimistic, possibly, than some of the older members, and they will take the message a whole lot more readily. I would like to draw particular attention to that portion of the report which urges and requests that the message be taken to the new members that are coming in, and to reiterate more strongly than ever our stand in regard to the use of the union label and carry the message to the new unions and to the new members. I have found they will act on it much more readily than some who have been in the game for quite a number of years.

Delegate Simons, Typographical Union: Mr. Chairman and fellow delegates—I would like not only the importance of the union label stressed to the new members who join our organized labor movement through the organization of new unions, but I would like to have our older members of the older organizations encourage the younger members within

our organized movement at this time to become hard workers, so far as the union label is concerned, and, I might say, for a very good reason.

In my own trade, for instance, the printers' trade in New York City, there are many union employers who had great difficulty during the last three or four years in paying the union wage scale. The younger members of our union organized label clubs in various sections of New York City, and those clubs interviewed merchants and they built up quite a strong membership and morale, and a whole lot of enthusiasm, and where, in many of the printing offices, there was insufficient work to maintain and keep the normal forces, as the result of the activity of these label clubs, work was diverted from non-union shops into those shops that were in financial difficulty. The result has been that they have not only ceased reducing their forces, but in many instances they have increased their forces. We realize there is a great opportunity in the organization of these local label clubs, and we urge that it be considered and extended.

The motion to adopt the report of the Committee on Union Label as a whole was carried by unanimous vote.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE OF STATE ORGANIZATIONS

Delegate Martel, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

To the delegates of the American Federation of Labor, ladies and gentlemen:

Your Committee had before it portions of the Executive Council's report, pages 110 and 141 referring to the progress made on minimum wage laws for women and minors and reference to the progress made in obtaining social legislation in the Island of Puerto Rico by the free Federation of Labor.

Minimum Wage Laws—Sixteen of our states have now embraced the doctrine

of protection of women and minors in employment by stipulating a minimum wage for them. We urge that the State Federations of Labor undertake an active campaign to secure the passage of adequate wage laws for women and minors in all the other states.

Puerto Rico—We note with a great deal of satisfaction the progress made by the workers of Puerto Rico, according to the report of the Executive Council, both in organization and social and labor legislation. The development of the people of Puerto Rico as reflected in the recent legislation passed speaks well for the people of that island.

The new Governor, Hon. Robert H. Gore, who was installed on July first, has enlisted the sympathy and good will of the citizens of the Island and especially those in the organized labor movement. His inaugural address contained many promises of assistance for the mass of people in the form of new legislation. It is to be hoped that he will speedily place his proposals before the insular legislature and give sympathetic consideration to the problems of labor and carry out the promises made in his inaugural address.

Again your committee desires to urge upon the international unions affiliated to the American Federation of Labor the necessity of encouraging their local units to give support to the Central Bodies and State Federations of Labor. If these branches of the labor movement are to be expected to continue to carry the responsibility for local and state legislation, the election of proper national representatives and general organization work it is imperative that they have in affiliation all local unions in their localities. Therefore, we urge upon the executives of the American Federation of Labor that they continue to press home to the affiliated international unions the necessity of proper support through affiliation of all local

Central Bodies and State Federations of Labor.

Very respectfully submitted,

G. M. BUGNIAZET, Chairman,
FRANK X. MARTEL, Secretary,
WM. MCCARTHY,
JOHN BOYLAN,
JERRY HORAN,
J. M. GILLESPIE,
PATRICK GORMAN,
HERBERT RIVERS,
WM. E. WALTER,
R. A. DICKSON,
E. G. HALL,
J. GOLDSTONE,
T. N. TAYLOR,
J. B. PREWITT,
BENJAMIN KAPLAN,
THOMAS H. BROWN,
Committee on State Organizations.

Delegate Bugnizet moved the adoption of the report of the committee as a whole.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

President Green called for the reports of committees in their order, but none were prepared to report at this time.

Delegate Sullivan, Brewery Workers: I move that the sermon delivered yesterday at St. Patrick's Church by the Very Reverend Dr. John A. Ryan be made a part of the proceedings of this convention.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

Miss Annabelle Glenn, on behalf of the local committee, announced that a reception would be given at the Southern Dairies at 3:00 o'clock on Monday afternoon for the ladies, and on Tuesday afternoon a style show at the Woodward & Lothrop Store. She also announced that Mrs. Roosevelt had invited the women delegates and visitors to meet her at the White House on Wednesday afternoon, October 11, at 4:00 o'clock.

No further business coming before the convention, Delegate Bugnizet moved that the rules be suspended and adjournment be taken until 2:30 o'clock p. m.

The motion was seconded and carried and the convention adjourned at 10:45 o'clock a. m. to 2:30 o'clock.

Sixth Day—Monday Afternoon Session

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

ANNOUNCEMENTS

President Green: General Johnson, the Administrator of the Industrial Recovery Law, has consented to deliver a very important address to the officers and delegates in attendance at the convention. I am advised that he considers it the most important address that he has prepared for delivery since he was appointed Administrator of the Industrial Recovery Act. He has advised me that it will be convenient for him to address the convention at a night session tomorrow night. It means, therefore, in order to accommodate the wishes of General Johnson, that we should hold a night session tomorrow. We cannot hold it here, this hall is engaged for tomorrow night, but arrangements have been made to use the main auditorium in the Department of Commerce Building, which is just about a square from here. The address of General Johnson will be broadcast not only throughout the United States on a nation-wide hook-up, but also internationally, arrangements having been made to broadcast his address in foreign countries.

I make this brief statement so that we may make arrangements now, if it meets your wishes, to hold a night session tomorrow evening to receive the address of General Johnson. Perhaps it would be well if a motion to that effect would be offered.

Delegate Gainor, Letter Carriers: I move that this convention, by special order, designate tomorrow evening, Tuesday, October 10, for a night session to be held at the Department of Commerce, at which time the convention will hear the address of General Johnson.

The motion was seconded.

Delegate Tobin, Teamsters: I want to ask for an explanation about the ses-

sion. Is it intended that we have a regular session, or make it a special event to hear General Johnson only?

President Green: We will consider it a regular session.

Delegate Tobin: And then any other kind of business can be transacted at the same session?

President Green: It was intended that we should meet at 7:30 o'clock and begin the regular order of business until the time arrives to receive the address of General Johnson.

The motion offered by Delegate Gainor was carried by unanimous vote.

Reports of committees were called for.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS

Delegate Henning, Secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

Hotel and Restaurant Employees' Dispute With Cleveland Hotels

Resolution No. 6—By Delegates Edward Flore, Robert B. Hesketh, and Emanuel Koveleski of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees' and Beverage Dispensers' International Alliance.

WHEREAS, Through the efforts of the Department of Labor an agreement was signed by the Hotelmen's Association of Cleveland in which they agreed to reemploy their locked-out employees and to maintain wages then in effect; and

WHEREAS, Said agreement was accepted in good faith by the Hotel and Restaurant Employees' and Beverage Dispensers' International Alliance as a means of restoring peace and tranquility between said hotels and their former employees, and

WHEREAS, Said agreement was made under date of July 23, 1931—Wherein it was agreed by the Cleveland Hotel Association to reemploy their former employees whenever opportunity affords, and when filling vacancies as may occur in the future, it was not intended to discriminate against former employees because of any affiliation whatever, and

WHEREAS, Said Hotel Association of Cleveland has not lived up to said agreement in letter or spirit; be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor lend its good offices to assist the Hotel and Restaurant Employees' and Beverage Dispensers' International Alliance to bring about a compliance with the agreement made with the Department of Labor by the following hotels in Cleveland, Ohio: Statler Hotel, Cleveland Hotel, Allerton Hotel, Olmstead Hotel, and Carter (Winton) Hotel.

This resolution is in accord with action taken at previous convention of the American Federation of Labor and your committee recommends concurrence in the resolution and that the officers of the American Federation of Labor be directed to render all possible assistance to the Hotel and Restaurant Employees' and Beverage Dispensers' International Alliance in order to bring about compliance on the part of the Hotel Men's Association of Cleveland of the agreement made with this organization.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Associated Press

Resolution No. 7—By Delegate Frank B. Powers, Commercial Telegraphers' Union of North America.

WHEREAS, The Commercial Telegraphers' Union of North America is conducting an intensive organizing campaign among telegraphic employees of the Associated Press; and

WHEREAS, Substantial numbers of these employees have authorized the Commercial Telegraphers' Union of North America to represent them; and

WHEREAS, The United Press, International News Service and Universal Service, the three other great news-gathering organizations of this country, have for over 25 years maintained satisfactory union shop relations with the Commercial Telegraphers' Union of North America and have grown and prospered thereunder; and

WHEREAS, Despite these facts and in the face of efforts of the Chief Executive and the National Recovery Administration to promote harmonious relations between labor and management, the Associated Press persists in its attitude of aloofness from the provisions of the National Industrial Recovery Act, and actual hostility to-

wards organized labor with respect to its own employes; be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor vigorously condemns the anti-labor policy of the Associated Press, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor through its state and central bodies bring this resolution to the attention of publisher-members of the Associated Press, all of whom are now under the Blue Eagle, and many of whom have shown by editorials or wage agreements that they are friendly to organized labor.

There are four principal news-gathering agencies in this country, three of which, The United Press, International News Service, and the Universal Service, have maintained union shop conditions with the Commercial Telegraphers' Union of North America, and one great news-gathering agency, the "Associated Press," has refused to enter into an agreement with the Commercial Telegraphers' Union.

Mr. Frank B. Noyes, Publisher of the *Washington Star*, President of the "Associated Press," has taken a position that the Associated Press does not come under the provisions of the National Industrial Recovery Act, thereby showing his unwillingness to cooperate with the President of the United States to the fullest extent in his efforts to bring about a reduction in the number of working hours as a means to increase employment without reducing purchasing power on the part of the employees of the Associated Press.

Many of the employees of the Associated Press are members of the Commercial Telegraphers' Union of North America and more than 51 per cent of the 1,500 employees of the Associated Press have signified their desire to be represented by the Commercial Telegraphers' Union of North America and as this is a right that is guaranteed to every employee under the provisions of the NIRA your committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to take such steps as may be necessary to bring about the application of the NRA to the employees of the Associated Press and

recognition of their right to organize and designate their representatives without coercion.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

The committee reported jointly upon Resolutions 76 and 80. The resolutions are as follows:

Building Trades vs. Hansen Packing Co., Butte, Mont.

Resolution No. 76—By Delegate M. J. McDonough, President, Building Trades Department.

WHEREAS, For the past three years a controversy has existed between the Butte, Montana, Building Trades Council and the Hansen Packing Company;

WHEREAS, The Hansen Packing Company has compelled building trades mechanics in their employ to join Local 333, Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of America;

WHEREAS, The activities of the Hansen Packing Company has aroused turmoil and confusion among the organized workmen of Butte;

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor had Organizer Paul Smith make an investigation of this dispute, report of which is available for this convention;

WHEREAS, The Central Labor Union has been notified by the Executive Officials of the American Federation of Labor that the Central Labor Union of Butte lacks authority to place the Hansen Packing Company on the unfair list merely because of a jurisdictional dispute arising out of the performance of work for the packing company by union men;

WHEREAS, We contend that no jurisdictional dispute exists, as the laws of the American Federation of Labor and the Building Trades Department cede work such as painting, plumbing, electrical work and carpentry to the members of these respective organizations;

WHEREAS, If action to dispose of this dispute is not taken by this convention, the breach between the members of organized labor in Butte will be widened; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor assign a representative to Butte to try to adjust the differences existing between the Butte

Building Trades Council and the Hansen Packing Company. For failure on the part of the Hansen Packing Company to employ members of the building trades organizations in affiliation with the Butte Building Trades Council on their maintenance and construction work, that the American Federation of Labor declare the Hansen Packing Company unfair.

Building Trades—Meat Cutters' Dispute, Butte, Montana

Resolution No. 80—By Delegate Chas. Malloy, Silver Bow Trades and Labor Council, Butte, Montana.

WHEREAS, A jurisdictional dispute has existed for three years past in Butte, Montana, between local No. 333 Amalgamated Butcher Workmen and Meat Cutters of America and the several local organizations affiliated with the International Unions of the Building Trades Department; and

WHEREAS, This dispute through its long duration has caused considerable friction in a locality that is 100% organized, the said friction causing disregard for laws of the A. F. of L., also for the unfair declaration; and

WHEREAS, If this condition is allowed to continue longer it will be the cause of breaking down a harmonious condition that has stood for many years; and

WHEREAS, The local central council has used every means possible to bring about an adjustment of these disputes with no apparent success; and

WHEREAS, The International Officers of the Unions have been hesitant in lending the assistance requested to adjust this trouble, notwithstanding numerous appeals to do so; be it

RESOLVED, That the President of the A. F. of L. be instructed by this 53d Annual Convention to call a conference of the International Presidents of the organizations involved as soon as is possible, to the end that a settlement can be reached.

Resolution No. 76 and Resolution No. 80

These two resolutions refer to a situation that has developed at Butte, Montana, between the Local No. 333 of the Amalgamated Butcher Workmen and Meat Cutters of America; Building Trades Council of Butte, Mont., and the Hansen Packing Company of Butte, Mont.

Your committee on Industrial Relations held a very extended session on these two resolutions and as they refer to the same situation recommends that they be considered and acted upon jointly.

This controversy involves the extension of the rates of pay adopted by the Building Trades Council of Butte, Mont., for construction and maintenance work, largely seasonable to the plant of the Hansen Packing Co., covering steady employment. This company otherwise employs union labor exclusively. Rates of pay in the City of Butte vary as between what is known as the Hill Rates and the down town rates for various organizations and varying according to the price of copper for employes on the Hill.

Due to the refusal of the Hansen Packing Co. to pay the rates adopted by the Building Trades Council of Butte for construction and maintenance work in their plant based on their claim that they furnish steady employment and at rates higher than paid on the Hill, whereas the general employment available to Building Trades employes of Butte is of seasonable character. The maintenance work in the Hansen Packing Co. plant has been done either by members of the Local 333 of the Amalgamated Butcher Workmen and Meat Cutters of America or by new employes hired and non members of the organizations affiliated with the Building Trades Council of Butte.

Your committee recommends that the subject matter of the two Resolutions be referred to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and that the Executive Council exert its best efforts to bring about an adjustment of the differences between the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of America and the Building Trades Department of America and if successful to then endeavor to bring about the application of agreement reached between these two organizations with the Hansen Packing Co.

Secretary Henning: This completes the report of the Committee on Industrial Relations, which is signed:

JOHN COEFIELD, *Chairman*
R. A. HENNING, *Secretary*
CHARLES D. DUFFY
WM. P. WALSH
CHARLES J. CASE
JOHN C. McDONALD
J. OLIVE HOUSE
M. J. GILLOOLY,
ANNA J. BROWN
L. G. GOUDIE
JOHN C. CAREY
H. J. CHAPMAN
PAUL J. SMITH
WM. ASHBAUGH
GEO. J. RICHARDSON
JOSEPH KUNZ
JAMES CLOSE.

Committee on Industrial Relations.

Delegate Henning moved the adoption of the report of the committee as a whole.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

President Green: Now, my friends, the hour has arrived which was set apart for us to receive the address of Senator Wagner. He is here. He came in response to an invitation extended to him to address this convention. We all extend to him a hearty welcome and we appreciate his visit. I cannot refrain from saying on this occasion that in my judgment there is no man in public life who is held in higher esteem by the officers and members of the American Federation of Labor than is Senator Wagner. All his life he has shown a fine spirit of understanding and has manifested deep sympathy with the high and honorable aims of labor. We were thrilled on last Saturday when the distinguished President of the United States referred to his association and his work with Senator Wagner, when he and the Senator and our good friend, Al Smith, were members of the New York General Assembly. At that time these progressive, forward-looking members of that historic General Assembly were classified as radicals. I think perhaps Senator Wagner has maintained his reputation in that regard ever since, but the things that appeared radical then have become accepted as constructive measures and constructive policies now.

The Senator has served in public life in varied capacities—as a distinguished lawyer, as a member of a State General Assembly, as Judge of the Supreme Court, as a United States Senator, and now appointed by the President to serve as Chairman of the National Labor Board. In all of these positions and in all his variant services he has served in a brilliant way and in a manner that has challenged the admiration of all. As you know, he was the author of the National Recovery Law, receiving the introduction of that measure in season and out of season on the floor of the Senate. He discussed the problem of unemployment, pleading for appropriations for relief purposes, advocating a constructive public program, always fighting for those who were idle and for labor—a great humanitarian, the author of the most forward-looking piece of legislation ever written upon the statute books of our Nation. I present to you Senator Robert F. Wagner.

HONORABLE ROBERT F. WAGNER,
(United States Senator from New York)

President Green and Friends—To begin with, I want to thank you from the bottom of my heart for your very generous reception.

On the occasion of the greatest convention in the history of the American Federation of Labor, I rise to extol the American worker upon a record of patient heroism almost unique in the annals of the world.

During the four years following January 1, 1923, the volume of unemployment in this country rose from approximately four million to thirteen and one-half, and the index of factory payrolls dropped from 94 to 35. These startling disparities do not represent a shrinkage in paper profits, a change in the color of ink upon books, or other losses which agitate the nerves but which may be recouped upon the upswing of the business cycle. They evidence an almost incredible amount of physical suffering and acute mental anguish that spread as a plague over several million families, injuring them for a lifetime.

In the face of this disaster, the worker, who has borne the greatest burdens, has maintained his self-control and group discipline, preserved his family ideals, and helped his stricken comrades. Despite an economic decline more sweeping than that which befell Germany, France, England, Italy or Japan, this same worker has retained

unswerving faith in democratic institutions and has risen to participate equally with all other in the task of peaceful economic reconstruction.

No such record would be possible without fine leadership. President Green and the other officers of the American Federation of Labor have been temperate in council despite intense grief at the plight of their people, and they are now contributing tremendously to the work of the recovery administration.

I shall never forget, my friends, the gloomy days of last March. Banks were closed, three men in every eight were out of work, panic was threatening to insinuate itself into the minds of the most resolute, and no catastrophe was too fanciful for expectation. Seven months have elapsed, and what changes do we find? Business activity has increased 34 percent, and three million people have been reemployed. Weekly wage payments had risen 40 million dollars by early September, increasing the real purchasing power of workers by 17 percent and being reflected by a 16 percent gain in department store sales. Our whole industrial machinery is throbbing like a great ship leaving the perilous narrows and entering the open sea of prosperity.

The completion of the major codes under the Recovery Act has contributed immensely to this progress. Average minimum wage rates have risen from about 7 dollars to nearly 15, and hours have dropped from 55 or 60 to 40 and less per week. It is estimated that over 5 million people will be reemployed simply by the operation of all the codes.

Of even happier significance is the new feeling of confidence in our ability to win and maintain prosperity. Courage in the face of depression was laudable. But to accept it as the inevitable fate of mankind was tragic.

Despite the pleasing gains which have been made, they have been confined to preliminary encounters with the forces of depression. The real battle lies ahead, for there are over 10 million men and women who are still walking the streets in an agonized search for the means of livelihood. If they are not helped quickly, our successes will be washed away in a deluge.

It has become almost a commonplace to say that the satisfactory adjustment of wages is the central economic problem of today. They must be paid in sufficient volume to absorb the full plant capacities of industry. We have merely scratched the surface of this problem. Payrolls are still 48 percent below the 1925 level. They have lagged so far behind industrial activity that production, which rose 65 percent from April to August, lost one-third of this

gain in the single month following. As a matter of fact, during the past 60 days, we have had to adjust production downward to meet purchasing power. The proper course is to raise wages up to meet production. This is the way to improve standards of living and take full advantage of our unrivaled natural and technical resources.

There remains also the unsolved problem of coordinating wages and prices. Thus far, as I have said, there has been a gain of 17 percent in the purchasing power of wages. But retail prices have mounted rapidly, and wholesale prices have made stupendous jumps, being 56 percent higher in August than in March. The increases in the cost of living must be met by increases in the wages with which goods are bought.

In addition, the increased volume of total wages is due almost entirely to gains in employment and to rises in the minimum scales. Aside from this, there have not been appreciable changes in rates of pay, and consequently the improvements in standards of living have not been general and all-inclusive. Due to the rise in prices, there have actually been some decline in real wages.

In view of these facts, it is essential to give constant attention to wage revision. Some of the minimum scales should be higher, and perhaps it may be necessary to go further along the line of regulating all wages. Certainly it will be necessary to change all schedules periodically so that they may conform to general economic trends.

Reduction of hours of labor should continue. An average work week of less than 40 hours will be necessary to carry out the policy of absorbing the idle by spreading work.

Over half of the industrial workers in this country are normally engaged in the capital goods trades. It is here that the depression has been most marked and the revival least encouraging. The public works program seems now to be under full steam and should be very effective. It may be necessary during the coming year to expand the facilities for public works enterprises. Already the President is encouraging the heavy industries by his offers of assistance in the purchase of railroad equipment.

Credit needs must be supplied. Reckless inflation destroys values and reduces the purchasing power of the worker's dollar. Rational liquifying of credit through the medium of banks and governmental agencies may be necessary. In my opinion, however, finance is the handmaiden of industry, not its master. Without neglecting to

strengthen our credit system, we must concentrate upon the basic task of establishing healthy conditions in trade and industry.

Immediate, direct aid to the jobless must not be neglected. Three-and-one-half million families are on the relief rolls today, almost twice as many as a year ago despite the improvement in general economic conditions. The amount of public money required to help these people increases as prices rise and savings of relatives and friends become depleted. Last week the President created the Federal Relief Surplus Corporation to purchase food surpluses and distribute them among stricken families. While this agency will raise some money by processing taxes under the Agricultural Adjustment Act, most of its funds will be supplied by the 330 million dollars remaining of the money appropriated for emergency relief work by the last Congress. Relief today is a billion dollar a year job. It will require additional government funds, city, state and national. It will demand a continuation of the heroic self sacrifices which workers of very moderate means have been making during the past four years.

I have outlined the steps which I consider necessary to effectuate the primary economic objectives of the recovery program. But every one of these steps might be successful without establishing conditions appreciably better than those which existed during the prosperity which ended four years ago. What were these conditions? Do we want them to return?

In 1929, the value of goods produced in factories in the United States was 10 billion dollars more than in 1923. Of this increase, 6 per cent went into wages, 8 per cent into salaries, 33 per cent into raw materials, and 48 per cent into profits and other costs. Is it any wonder that during the high day of our vaulted prosperity less than one-tenth of the population received one-third of the national income, while three-fourths of the people lived below the standard of comfort set by the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics?

Wage improvements under the New Deal should not be simply enough to keep factories going. Wages must be fixed with reference to a social program which intends to insure everyone a comfortable living and to give Labor its just share of national wealth.

The same thing is true of hours of labor. The time is near when increased leisure and opportunities for self-development will come to all as a product of prosperity, rather than to a few as a cure for depression. Only thus can the riddle of technological unemployment be solved. During the years 1919-1929, production in manufacturing rose al-

most 50 per cent, and at the same time the number of people engaged in this work actually decreased. The issue is squarely put: Shall our mechanical ingenuity bring unemployment and suffering to a large number of blameless victims, or shall it be made to serve the interests of all the people?

So long as unemployment remains a reality of life, I shall favor compulsory unemployment insurance in every state, assisted by such Federal aid as may be necessary. Wage reserves charged largely to employers will provide a stringent incentive to the stabilization of industry. They will remove from the earnest worker the sense of insecurity which limits his freedom to seek advancement.

They will curb those employers who seize large profits in good times and attempt to shift all the burdens of depressions to their laborers. Most important, such reserves emphasize the human element in industry. They focus attention upon the prime responsibility of business toward those who labor.

The well-deserved benefits which the recovery program contemplates for labor, just as the benefits contemplated for business men, are to be gained primarily by the intelligent action of industrialists and workers themselves. The function of the Recovery Act has been chiefly to remove old obstructions and guarantee a free field and fair tactics. The right of business men to cooperate is expanded by the modification of the anti-trust laws. The right of workers to unite for the purpose of selecting common representatives is written boldly into the law.

I do not see how there can be any disagreement about the meaning of Section 7(a). It can not be qualified by language inside of a code or outside of a code. The majority of workers in a plant may be represented by someone in the plant or outside of the plant. They may choose a union or someone else. Their rights are coextensive with the liberties of business men in choosing directors, executives and spokesmen to deal with labor. This equality is the essence of the Recovery Act. Without it, the program must fail.

If the recovery program depends upon the intelligent participation of labor, it depends upon the growth of sane, constructive unions. I congratulate the American Federation of Labor upon having added one-and-a-third million men to its roll this year. I am glad that the ranks of organized labor have reached five millions. I believe that cooperation among workers has potentialities for general national benefits, and I feel the same way about the

attempts of business men to rationalize their activities.

The New Deal has given labor a new charter. Labor must recognize the responsibilities which come with this freedom. The first charge upon labor is that it abandon the philosophy of strife in its relations with employers. Industrial warfare can produce implacable hatreds and sow the seeds of depression. It can not work out the delicate economic adjustments which are necessary to prevent the complete crumbling of our high-powered economic society. It is tragic that workers who have endured so patiently during years of unalloyed misfortune should resort so largely to extreme methods after revival has begun, and when further revival depends upon the success of the program for cooperation.

The strike as a first resort is not prohibited by law; it is banned by common sense. If any individual rights remain, none is clearer than that of workmen simply to refrain from working, and at times this may be the only protest against intolerable wrongs. But the crucial point is that the strike is never more than a protest. It has no constructive force. It creates hundreds of new problems but can not solve a single one. It should be used only as the very last resort.

Employers and workers should derive increasing benefits from mutual trust and cooperation. Where reconciliation seems impossible, disputes should be taken to the various agencies which the government has set up for the settlement of industrial disputes. At the top of these is the National Labor Board. The Board, after a short history, stands before the country with a long record of settlements which have been satisfactory to every interest. It is willing to assist in arbitration or conciliation. It is rapidly creating local agencies of primary jurisdiction to hear disputes. Its members, drawn from the ranks of industry and labor, have won the respect of the entire country by their fairness and devotion to national interests.

Any group which indulges in strikes or lockouts without first invoking the intervention of the National Labor Board violates every dictate of good policy and exhibits a complete oversight of the magnificent possibilities of our whole recovery philosophy and program.

The second obligation of labor is that it maintain discipline within its own ranks. The few who seek to degrade standards by willingness to work under indecent conditions must be forced into line. Those who tend to destroy the opportunities for fruitful industrial relations by quick and fanciful resorts to

strikes and other forms of warfare must be given strong counsel. The determination of the majority to follow a wise course must not be hampered by short sighted or evil advice.

The final obligation of labor is that it win the support of the public. It must justify its new position by advancing careful plans for economic reconstruction, by willingness to make normal concessions to other groups, and by an ability to cooperate fully without surrendering in the slightest its just pride in the vigorous and thoughtful advancement of its own legitimate interests.

Labor will meet these obligations triumphantly. Its patriotism and wisdom in the past have been the greatest assets of our democratic institutions. The entire nation is confident that this will always be the case, and that labor will retain its leading role in the great program for human betterment.

President Green: The Senator advises me that he would like to stay a little while with us. He wanted you to know that he is rushing back to serve upon the National Labor Board, so he is going back to begin his work for us this afternoon.

SPECIAL ORDER OF BUSINESS

Vice President Rickert: Mr. Chairman, I would like to offer a motion that the hour of 11:00 o'clock tomorrow morning, Tuesday, be set aside as a special order to hear the report of the Committee on Adjustments.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

PRESENTATION TO PRESIDENT GREEN BY THE FIRE FIGHTERS

President Green: I have been requested by the representatives of the Fire Fighters' International Union to permit them to say something to the convention at this time. If there are no objections, and I am sure there are none, we will gladly conform to the request of President Baer and his associates. Hearing none, it is so ordered.

Delegate Baer, Fire Fighters: Mr. Chairman and fellow delegates. It is my purpose to take but a few moments of your time in making a brief announcement. This week has been set

aside by proclamation of the President of the United States as Fire Prevention Week.

Local Union No. 94, which is the largest local union of organized labor men composed of fire fighters affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, have decreed that in recognition of the wonderful work that has been done for the members of the Fire Fighters' Union, not only in New York City, but all over the country as well, this, Fire Prevention Week, would be an appropriate time to present your President and our President, William Green, with a small token of appreciation of the valuable assistance he has given us.

It is my pleasure to present to you now the President of the Fire Fighters' Local Union No. 94 in New York and also a Vice President of the New York State Federation of Labor, Brother Vincent J. Kane, who will make the presentation.

Delegate Kane: Mr. President and members of the American Federation of Labor: It is my happy privilege at this time to come here, on behalf of the membership of Local Union No. 94, International Association of Fire Fighters, and say to you in my own humble way, that we regard you, Mr. President, as the leading man in our association—remember, now, I say in our association, in the Firemen's Association, in the United States. Last January 14 we held our annual entertainment and reception in Madison Square Garden. We anticipated that you would be there with us. Unfortunately, business kept you from us. A year before that you were there and we had the happy privilege at that time of making you an honorary member of our association.

Because you could not be there on that occasion this year there has been a deferred presentation, and I am here today, at the beginning of Fire Prevention Week, delegated by my organization to say to you that we, the firemen of the State of New York, present this small manifestation of the high regard we hold for you. I take this opportunity of felicitating you and the

members of this convention and wish you every success in your deliberations.

Delegate Kane presented to President Green a handsome tie clasp.

Delegate Kane: At this moment I am going to extend an invitation to our President to come to Madison Square Garden next January 20.

President Green: And I accept the invitation. President Baer and Brother Kane, this is indeed a happy surprise to me this afternoon, and it is very fine in these days of ordinary, prosaic work to be surprised occasionally. I want to thank you most sincerely for this very beautiful present. I wish you might all see it. It is very handsome and I think it is very appropriate.

I am proud of the Fire Fighters' International Union. I wish all of you gentlemen might attend one of the meetings of the New York local organization at Madison Square Garden. I attended a meeting there one year ago last January and I was thrilled. That great building was filled, every foot of space was taken. It was a magnificent gathering of the firemen of New York and their friends. I was unable to be there last January and I regretted it very much.

I wish all of you might be permitted some time to attend one of those wonderful meetings. You would be proud of the firemen, you would be proud of their affiliation with the American Federation of Labor, and you would be glad to be associated with such splendid people in our great organized labor movement.

I want to assure you, Brother Kane and Brother Baer, that the American Federation of Labor and myself will give to you and your splendid organization a full measure of support. We shall do all we can to advance and promote your interests. I thank you sincerely for your visit this afternoon and for this beautiful present.

Delegate Dubinsky, Ladies' Garment Workers: President Green, the committee you appointed this morning to draft

a resolution on the death of Morris Hillquit is ready to report.

President Green: The Chair recognizes Delegate Dubinsky, for the purpose of reporting for the committee upon which he was appointed this morning.

Delegate Dubinsky read the following:

Morris Hillquit

Resolution No. 113—Introduced by Delegates David Dubinsky, Chauncey A. Weaver, D. W. Tracy, Committee.

WHEREAS, In the death of Morris Hillquit the organized Labor Movement of America has lost one of its staunchest adherents and life-long supporters, and

WHEREAS, Morris Hillquit, throughout his public career of a half a century, contributed generously and constructively of his great gifts to the cause of the workers as industrial adviser, speaker, writer and peerless defender before judicial tribunals, and

WHEREAS, We recognize that Morris Hillquit incessantly championed the battle of the wage earners for higher standards of living, for the abolition of sweatshop work conditions and for economic and social justice, be it

RESOLVED, That the Fifty-third Convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in Washington, D. C., express deep sorrow over the demise of Morris Hillquit and unanimously tender its deeply felt condolence to his wife and family in this hour of their bereavement.

The resolution was adopted by the unanimous rising vote of the convention.

Delegate Hulsbeck, Kentucky State Federation of Labor, obtained unanimous consent to introduce the following resolution:

Harlan County Coal Miners

Resolution No. 114—By Delegate W. E. Hulsbeck of the Kentucky State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, During the past three years some thirteen miners in the Harlan Coal fields have been sent to prison under charges of murder, some for life, one, Wm. Hightower, 76 years of age and President of a local of United Mine Workers of America; and

WHEREAS, The conditions under which these men were tried and con-

victed are a disgrace and a stain on the courts of the Commonwealth of Kentucky, in that these men's cases were transferred from Harlan County to Mt. Sterling, Ky., some two hundred miles away, and being practically penniless, they were deprived thereby of presenting their witnesses at such trials; and

WHEREAS, Numbers of Miners have been actually brutally murdered in said coal fields by paid mine guards under one guise or another, and nothing has ever been done about the matter and evidently never will be, and

WHEREAS, The Judge, Commonwealth Attorney, and the Sheriff of Harlan County; and Judge Prewitt of Mt. Sterling, Ky., in fact all others responsible for this miscarriage of justice have been repudiated and denied re-election by the citizens of their respective districts; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in Convention assembled this 9th day of October, 1933, go on record as condemning this procedure and protesting strongly against the further incarceration of these men, the innocent victims of industrial warfare and of a court long known to be under the absolute domination of the Mine Owners and Operators, and only maintained through their paid hirelings and gunmen, misnamed deputy sheriffs and constables; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That this Convention appeal to Hon. Ruby Laffoon, Governor of Kentucky, to rectify this miscarriage of justice by pardoning all of these aforesaid men so that they can return to their homes and loved ones.

Referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

American Legion

Secretary Morrison read the following telegram:

Indianapolis, Indiana, Oct. 9, 1933.

William Green, President
American Federation of Labor
Washington, D. C.

National Commander of the American Legion Edward Hayes is planning to reach Washington, D. C., Friday morning at ten o'clock and will be highly pleased to address your convention at such hour thereafter as you may designate. Please wire confirmation and suggest approximate hour to me at American Legion National Headquarters, Indianapolis, by Wednesday evening, at which time Commander Hayes will arrive here. The American Federation of Labor has our warm regards and best wishes for a most

successful and profitable meeting throughout the remainder of this week.

FRANK E. SAMUEL,
National Adjutant,
The American Legion.

President Green: The newly elected Commander of the American Legion has responded to our request to visit with us and address the convention. You will understand from the reading of this telegram that he will arrive in Washington on Friday morning at 10:00 o'clock. The Chair will fix 11:30 o'clock as the hour for the delivery of his address and will appoint Delegate M. J. Collieran, Plasterers, Delegate E. Claude Babcock, Government Employees, and Delegate George L. Berry, Printing Pressmen, as a committee to call upon the Commander and escort him to the hall at 11:30 o'clock Friday morning.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON EXECUTIVE COUNCIL'S REPORT

Delegate Sumner, Secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

Trade Union Benefits

Under this caption, on pages 94 to 99, the Executive Council submits a summary of the benefits paid to the members of organized labor by the various unions affiliated to the American Federation of Labor. The total amounts to \$51,448,348.73. Last year a similar study showed a total of \$39,961,873.14. An increase this year over last of \$11,486,475.59. When it is realized that during the time this large sum was being distributed the members making the contributions were having their wages reduced and the percentage of those at work was steadily decreasing the true nobility of this sacrifice can better be appreciated. This would seem to be the answer of organized labor to the eternal question: "Are we our brother's keeper?" And even this remarkable showing does not tell the whole story. Many of the affiliated unions have not undertaken to assemble the figures pertaining to this phase of their activities.

The general public is coming more and more to realize that this obligation so willingly and so nobly assumed

by the members of organized labor is not theirs alone but belongs to society as a whole. Industry and not the workers only must be made to bear this burden. Such detailed and comprehensive reports as this now being reviewed should be invaluable as practical evidence of service to those who advocate unemployment insurance and other social relief measures that must be adopted and financed by State or Federal legislation.

The Executive Council is to be commended for continuing to assemble the facts on this phase of the unions' activities. As the affiliated unions learn the value of this data it is assumed that many of them will improve their facilities for gathering the information so that the report can be made more nearly accurate and complete.

The report is so detailed and informative that further comment is unnecessary. Your attention is invited to the report itself. The hope is expressed that some way may be found to bring this information to the attention of the general public.

Your committee heartily approves of the report and recommends its adoption.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Hatters—Cap Makers

Under this caption, pages 113-114 of Executive Council's report the Executive Council expresses its great pleasure in embodying in its report a joint statement issued by the officers of the two national unions which is the memorandum of agreement of amalgamation of these two bodies.

This matter came before the convention last year in Cincinnati where considerable progress was made toward its solution. After receiving the consideration of this committee at that time it was referred to the President of the American Federation of Labor with the recommendation that he should continue his efforts to bring about a better understanding between the two International Unions involved.

We note with satisfaction that the good offices of the President have been used once more to bring about a happy termination to an aggravated misunderstanding between two affiliated unions.

We congratulate the President and the two Unions that are now to be one and trust the amalgamation will prove to be a lasting and beneficial one to all parties concerned.

The committee approves of the report of the Executive Council and recommends that it be adopted.

Delegate Soderberg, Tailors: Is there any difference between the amalgamation of these two organizations and the custom tailors' union?

President Green: I am not sure, Brother Soderberg, that the question of the jurisdiction of the Journeymen Tailors entered into the negotiations which brought about the amalgamation of the Cloth Hat and Cap Makers Union and the United Hatters.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Jurisdictional Troubles

Under this caption, Page 114, the Executive Council reports that it has continued its efforts since the Cincinnati convention to adjust jurisdictional disputes in several cases therein enumerated, but owing to conditions growing out of the unprecedented industrial depression and the terrible state of unemployment there was little that could be done. It recommends that the Executive Council be authorized to continue its good offices as time and opportunity may appear favorable in an effort to adjust all matters of existing differences between affiliated organizations.

Reference also is made to conflicting claims of jurisdiction between the Retail Clerks and the Upholsterers and between the Friendly Society of Engravers and the International Metal Engravers' Union. The Executive Council is giving its earnest attention to these disputes and expresses the belief

that eventually a satisfactory understanding will be reached. It recommends that these matters be left in its hands to continue its efforts toward adjustments.

Your committee concurs in these recommendations and recommend their adoption.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Trade Union Auxiliaries.

Under this caption, page 115, the Executive Council reports that it has gone into the matter of the organization of a national group of women's trade union auxiliaries by reason of Resolution No. 76 being referred to it by the Cincinnati convention. Inasmuch as differences of opinion between the different groups of these local auxiliaries have developed it recommends that the matter be held in abeyance for further investigation and consideration.

At the Cincinnati convention a somewhat prolonged and divergent discussion arose when Resolution No. 76 came before the convention and the resolution was referred to the Executive Council for investigation of the subject matter and report. Since the Executive Council has been unable to satisfy its mind on the matter and recommends further reference for investigation your committee concurs in the report and recommends its adoption.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Proposed Amalgamation.

Under this caption, page 115, the Executive Council reports that the amalgamation of the Cigar Makers and the Tobacco Workers has not yet been effected. It expresses the belief, however, that in time the developing interests of the two organizations will inevitably bring them together as contemplated in the case of the Hatters and Cap Makers. It recommends that the Executive Council continue its efforts along these lines.

Your committee concurs in this report and recommends its adoption.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Secretary Sumner: This concludes the partial report of the committee.

President Green: And now may the Chair inquire if any of the committees of the convention are ready to report. The Chairman will call the roll of committees.

Vice-President Woll reported that the Committee on Resolutions would be ready to report Wednesday morning.

Vice-President Wharton announced that the Committee on Education would be ready to report Tuesday morning at ten o'clock.

Delegate Gainor stated that the Committee on Shorter Work Day had already announced that a report of that committee would be submitted at eleven o'clock Tuesday.

Vice-President Wharton moved that the report of the Committee on Education be made a special order for ten o'clock Tuesday, and if their report should not be completed at eleven o'clock they would retire in favor of the Committee on Shorter Work Day.

The motion was seconded and carried.

Other committees announced the time and place of meetings at which their work would be continued.

By action of the convention the following address and sermon, delivered on Sunday, October 8, are made part of the proceedings of the convention:

ADDRESS DELIVERED BY PRESIDENT WILLIAM GREEN AT THE NATIONAL CATHEDRAL ON SUNDAY, OCTOBER 8, 1933

In the story of Ruth, as recorded in the Holy Word, we find a passage which illustrates an ideal condition existing between employer and employe. The fourth verse of the second chapter reads, "And behold, Boaz came from Bethlehem and said unto the reapers, 'The Lord be with you.' And they answered him, 'The Lord bless thee.'" Today, if we could have that same feeling of brotherhood, that same spirit

of loving kindness in industry, that the reapers had with their employer, we would have much more happiness in this world and much less unrest, distrust and woe.

Boaz, a God-fearing man, a land owner, came to his fields with a blessing for his workers, and they, looking at their employer with trust and confidence, returned his salutation with their blessing, "The Lord be with thee." And Boaz prospered and from his line came David and later the Son of God, the Christ.

Today our life is far removed from the early agricultural life of the time recorded in this book of the Bible. Agriculture, however, is still a great and important industry. The land owner, the farmer continues to be a most important factor in modern civilization. Our industry is not confined to the agricultural pursuits and herding and the few commercial occupations that were the sources of livelihood in the days of the romance of Ruth and Boaz. Today, great cities stand; today, great mills and factories are pulsating with life; today, our commercial and manufacturing enterprises are great producers of wealth.

But, notwithstanding the lapse of centuries of time, the relationship of employer and employe remains very largely the same. As Boaz hired his reapers for the harvest, as he took his men unto him that his wealth might be gathered in from the fields, so do our modern industrialists employ workers in factories, plants, mines and quarries so that the wealth of the present-day world may be produced. Even the blessing performed by Boaz and his employes extends to those workers and employes who have an understanding and an appreciation of the part each plays in the production, progress and success of each undertaking. As the employer makes it possible for his employes to live and share equitably in the wealth he produces, as he instills in the workers the feeling of trust and confidence, and as the precepts and standards of religion and harmony of human relationship are made effective, as collective bargaining is practiced and arbitration boards and wage agreements are set up by mutual consent and industry protects its workers, then, truly, does the blessing read, "The Lord be with you," and the laborers lift up their hearts with the response, "The Lord bless thee."

Unfortunately, an ideal relationship between employer and employe has not been generally reached. Today we are faced with the great problems of instability in industry. We are face to face with social, economic and ethical problems which have arisen from the new order of things, and which require a greatness and unselfishness of purpose

to solve. The rule of righteousness in human endeavor must be observed. The responsibilities of employers and employes toward each other must be appreciated and the relationship of capital and labor must be carried on with justice and fairness. Class hatred must not be encouraged and believed in. The American Federation of Labor maintains that there should be a balanced and harmonious relationship between the forces that make up industry. There must be mutual respect and a proper regard for the rights of both capital and labor. Each is dependent upon the other. Neither can permanently prosper at the expense of the other. Modern day life and modern industrial processes have made them interdependent factors. The manufacturer cannot say, "I shall run my industrial forces without the aid of human knowledge and guidance. I shall deprive the people of employment." The moment that happens he has destroyed his market, and with it the life of the workers and the life of the industry. What need to produce and produce with no one to consume? Nor can the worker say, "I shall go away and live apart. I shall isolate myself from my fellow-workers." Our civilization is not one of hermitage. We live with others. We are grouped together in our communities. We worship together, we are educated in groups, in every phase of our living we are brought into contact with our fellows. Even in the more isolated places we are bound together in our churches and schools; and through the medium of the radio and the press and the highways and transportation lines great distances have been spanned and communication time has been reduced to a minimum. Our livelihoods are earned collectively. We depend upon each other in the marts of trade; we are dependent upon our fellow workers and our related industries and occupations. Why, then, may not labor and capital be tolerant, conscious of the mutual responsibility which binds them so closely together?

The strength of labor does not lie in the form of lump sums of money. Its strength is in the will of men and women to work, in their power to bargain collectively, in the exercise of the right to select spokesmen to represent them and to speak for them in the conference room and in the legislative forums of the states and the Nation. Their strength lies in their will to stand united for a realization of the benefits and comforts that are justly due them for the knowledge, time and skill spent in turning labor into a useful goodly force, and in their purchasing power which capital must have in order to exist.

The strength of the employer lies in his power of money, huge sums, the wealth derived as profits from the work

and service of his employes, and the wealth which is turned back into industry by the purchasing power of those who needs must buy his wares. In the Scriptures we read Paul's message to the Colossians, "Masters, render unto your servants that which is just and equal, knowing that ye also have a Master in Heaven."

The American Federation of Labor contends that in addition to fair wages working men and women should be accorded fair representation with management in industry, an equitable division of work available and the enjoyment of conditions of work that are conducive to national well being, good citizenship and brotherhood. There must be a clear understanding and mutual respect of individual and collective rights.

The employer of labor gives his blessing in the form of a fair income so that an American standard of living commensurate with the wealth which the worker helps to produce can be established and maintained, a work week short enough to enable him to enjoy the advantages and privileges which are around him, hours of leisure to spend in his home with his family and a sense of security. It is not just that a man or woman is deprived of an opportunity to earn a decent living because of the maladjustment of industry. It is not meet that little children must suffer cold, harsh winters. There is no equality of justice in large corporations piling up great profits and the stockholders gaining thereby while the men and women who labored in the industry are let out in groups to face life without the wherewithal to secure the bare necessities of life. If industry takes men and women unto itself it assumes also the responsibilities of providing work opportunities for them, not during the rush season alone, not during a period of prosperity only, but during the time that industry is dependent upon them. When, because of unemployment, purchasing power is gone, when the savings of the wage earners are spent, then industry feels the loss of the millions of dollars that are spent annually by the wage earners. The market for manufactured goods and products has been destroyed. Those who would buy and consume goods are unable to do so. Poverty, distress and crime inevitably follow. All of these evil consequences flow from unemployment.

When the stain of poverty and want has been implanted upon the hearts and minds of the wage earners the fear of returning unemployment is ever present. They will not spend freely, they will hoard the money they receive or use it to pay up old debts. The new market will not return in the twinkling of an eye. The seeds of unrest and un-

happiness, sown during the past winter in many places are now bearing fruit. It is not fair that men and women and their families must again face the rigors of a distressing winter, illy clothed and fed, filled with the dread of no work. "Masters, render unto your servants that which is just and equal, knowing that ye also have a Master in Heaven." Study well into the workings of your industries. Regulate the output of your factories, meet with your workers, know the value of their friendship, help in the establishment of wage agreements and arbitration boards, put business upon a sound footing. Banish from this Nation the evil of poverty. Restore the purchasing power of the many millions of men and women to them so that they may face the future with confidence and hope. Instill in those who have made possible your success the power to continue living a good life. Among them let your blessing be shown in the form of adequate and steady wages.

In return, you will find an unsatisfied market for your goods. The interchange of commerce will resume as though filled with new life. New courage will pulse through the great heart of humanity as men and women look into the years ahead with a sense of security and the assurance of justice.

We are facing another severe winter of unemployment. Millions of men and women are idle and are seeking work. Many losses have been borne during the past year, the morale of the men and women who have been out of work is weakened. When hope dies in the heart of men and women there is danger lurking near. This condition must be alleviated. Through the acceleration of the Nation's public works program and the placement of willing and able workmen through the application of the National Recovery Act the suffering of this winter can be kept down. Immediate steps must be taken to relieve distress and human suffering caused by unemployment. Wages must be maintained. The purchasing power of the people must be kept up. There must be no slackening of concerted effort to bring this Nation out of the depression into which we have been plunged. Labor, capital and Government must stand united for the mutual benefit of all, each realizing that only by cooperation and understanding can prosperity again return. The people of our country are looking to the leaders of these three groups and to the Government to lift the clouds that are hanging over them.

During this winter relief will have to be administered through all available agencies, no doubt. The Church will take her place in this work. Not only in material relief, but she will give to her children the comfort and

sympathy that is hers to bestow upon afflicted spirits. She must imbue those who come to her with courage and hope, ever realizing that there must be brought about basic changes in the economic system that now stands in order that a repetition of this present calamity does not take place. The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, in the annual Labor Sunday messages which it sends out, decries the unequal distribution of wealth and the grave imperfections in our present economic order which allows the great number of our citizens to go hungry, unsheltered and uncared for. There must be a new conception of the position of the working class and a clear realization that they are the very foundation of our economic structure. One message which impressed me greatly was that issued in 1931, which reads in part, "Justice, not charity, is the basic demand of the situation. That the worker is in theory entitled to a living wage is readily granted. But a living wage is generally conceived of as a sum that will purchase the necessities of life during the time the producer is at work. We must extend that concept to cover all of a worker's life, including the two periods at the beginning and the end—childhood and old age—when one cannot earn."

We, under the banner of the American Federation of Labor, are striving as best we know how to encourage public works, maintain the high level of wages that we have struggled for over so many years, encourage the adoption of the five-day work week and in every way possible give our people the feeling that the great Master of all is kind and the earth is fair, so that our people may wholeheartedly give back the benediction, "The Lord be with you."

LABOR ORGANIZATION TODAY

RT. REV. MSGR. JOHN A. RYAN, D.D.

Sermon delivered at the Mass for the A. F. of L., St. Patrick's Church, Washington, D. C., 10:00 A. M., Oct. 8, 1933.

REASON FOR THIS OBSERVANCE

When the Right Reverend Pastor of St. Patrick's Church invited the delegates to the 1933 Convention of the American Federation of Labor to be present at Mass this morning and to listen to a special sermon, he was continuing a custom which has been observed in other churches for many years on similar occasions. The Convention Mass for the delegates has become a fixed institution. Some curious person might ask why Catholic pastors give this peculiar honor to the representatives of labor. Why does not some Catholic church invite to a special Mass

the delegates of other occupational organizations during their annual conventions; for example, the National Association of Manufacturers, the United States Chamber of Commerce or the American Farm Bureau Federation? Of course, every Catholic church welcomes the members of every legitimate organization to its services, but it gives special recognition to labor conventions for two reasons: first because a large proportion of the delegates desire this consideration and, second, because the labor unions are contending for social justice. Their primary aims are indeed economic, just as are those of the other organizations that I have just mentioned, but the economic aims of labor include a specifically moral element, namely, a more just distribution of the goods and opportunities available under our industrial system.

CHURCH APPROVES LABOR ORGANIZATION

No doubt, most, if not all of you are familiar with the declarations of Pope Leo XIII and Pius XI on the subject of labor organization. Many of you have heard or read more than once the following declaration by Pope Leo XIII: "We may lay it down as a general and perpetual law, that workmen's associations should be so organized and governed as to furnish the best and most suitable means for attaining what is aimed at; that is to say, for helping each individual member to better his condition to the utmost in body, mind and property." In these United States, experience has abundantly proved that the only kind of associations complying with the rule laid down by Pope Leo are the regular national unions, organized and maintained by the workers themselves, independently of any assistance, benevolent or non-benevolent, provided by their employers. The present Holy Father quoted Pope Leo's statement and gave it explicit approval. In another part of his great Encyclical, he condemned rulers who were hostile to labor unions and Catholics who viewed labor organization with suspicion.

SPECIAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE 1933 CONVENTION

Your meeting this year has greater significance and importance than any previous convention of the American Federation of Labor. Its superior significance is derived from the recognition of the right to organize contained in Section 7 of the National Industrial Recovery Act. In a sense, the rights specified in that section were already possessed by wage earners, but subject to agreement on the part of employers. The unique and surpassing value of these provisions is that they compel

employers to permit the effective exercise of these rights. This is a great gain not only for the workers but for justice. Experience has shown only too conclusively that unless employers are required to deal with the genuine representatives of the unions and to refrain from discriminating against union members, the bargaining power of labor is not adequately safeguarded. Without this protection labor is unable to secure just conditions of employment. It is no exaggeration to say that Section 7 of the National Industrial Recovery Act represents the greatest legislative victory ever achieved by labor in the United States. Your convention this year is unusually important because of the great increase which has taken place since last year in your membership and because of the very large part which you are called upon to take in the enforcement of the conditions set up by the National Recovery Administration. In all probability the contribution which your organization both nationally and through the local unions can make toward the prevention of all forms of "chiseling" whether against the employee or against the consumer will be greater even than that afforded by the Government itself.

OTHER ETHICAL GAINS FOR LABOR

The provisions for minimum wages and the shorter work-week in the various industrial codes represent gains for labor and for social justice which were undreamed of by the delegates to your convention in 1932 or, indeed, by anyone else. While the minimum rates established are in few, if any, cases adequate to the demands of justice, they are probably as high as are practicable in present conditions.

You are aware, I am sure, of the great dilemma which confronts those who are trying to bring about industrial recovery. Many employers and business men are unable to expend very much larger sums for wages than they were expending a year ago. They will be able to do that if they can sell more goods, but they can't sell more goods until the buying power of the masses is increased. There is your dilemma. Which is going to come first, and which is the more important? So for the present at least it would seem that the moderation which is exemplified in some of these minimum wage rates, these relatively low rates, although much higher than many of those which were formerly paid, represent wisdom and even justice.

One of the important tasks before your organization is to obtain an increase in these rates as soon as it is industrially feasible and in harmony with existing regulations. Another impor-

tant task is to maintain as a rule the previously existing differentials between the minimum rates and those received by the better paid workers in each industry. Some of you have been afraid of minimum wage legislation for fear the minimum would become the maximum. Now that the principle of the minimum has been legally established, your great concern should be to safeguard and expand it, and to prevent it from becoming a flat rate for the workers who have heretofore received higher remuneration. With regard to the shorter work-week, you have likewise a very important task before you and a very grave responsibility; that is, to bring about a reduction of the hours already fixed in most of the codes, so that they will, except in rare instances, not exceed thirty per week. This is essential to that reduction of unemployment which is necessary and to that degree of industrial recovery which is easily possible. The ethical as well as the economic evils of vast unemployment are sufficient evidence that this endeavor is in the direction of moral improvement and social justice.

NECESSITY FOR PRUDENCE

The considerable opposition offered by employers to the labor provisions in the National Industrial Recovery Act, to the thirty-hour week and to the prospect that capital will have to be content with less in order that labor may obtain more, are lamentable, but you should realize that it is entirely natural. Employers and capitalists are asked to give up a large measure of the power and domination to which they have long been accustomed and to renounce what they have long regarded as a vested right to at least six per cent interest.

On this point I should like to stress the fact that it seems to me a mathematical certainty that if labor is to get a greater share of the product of industry—and that is involved in this whole effort, to increase the purchasing power of labor—if labor is to get a greater share capital will have to take less. I don't see any way out of it. We are talking of justice here all the time, and if justice were not involved in charity I would not have any business in this pulpit talking to you. Is that a just expectation or requirement to put upon capital? Well, Pope Pius XI has something to say of justice as regards capital. He says both capital and labor have a right to a share of the product. How much he does not say, except for labor he says an ample sufficiency, which he draws out and defines in rather specific terms.

How much right has capital? The right to whatever is in harmony with

the common good and social justice. Assume that the common good at this time requires that capital should get only two or three per cent instead of six. Then that is a just rate. At least that seems to be indicated by the considerable decline in rates of return and that seems to be necessary until we get out of this emergency.

You recall what I said a few moments ago about the difficulty of paying the higher wages to make a larger output, which depend themselves upon larger sales, and at the same time the larger sales are not forthcoming unless a larger amount is given labor. It is not a simple matter at all, and the forbearance and reasonableness with which all classes deal with this will determine whether this NRA movement is going to succeed or fail.

These advantages and claims they are now called upon to moderate considerably as an essential condition of industrial recovery. Their point of view ought to receive sympathetic consideration, not angry denunciation, even though it is a point of view which cannot be permitted to retain its sway. Forbearance is necessary also with regard to strikes and to jurisdictional disputes. No doubt the failure of employers to live up to the obligations of the industrial codes is irritating, but it ought not to provoke angry or violent retaliation. Not only general welfare but labor itself will gain more in the long run if these situations and emergencies are met and disposed of through the processes of conciliation and arbitration. The main reason for jurisdictional disputes is well understood by all competent students of our industrial conditions. The over-supply of labor compels each class to strive to obtain all the work that it can for its members. When the thirty-hour week becomes universal, that source of jurisdictional disputes ought to disappear. Until that day arrives, it would be better for labor as well as for the community to have each dispute immediately decided by some such artificial device as the flip of a coin, rather than to permit it to be protracted.

Your responsibility toward the NRA recovery movement is in proportion to your economic strength and your qualities of character. In this emergency your power is greater than it has ever been before and your conduct during the prolonged industrial depression shows that you are capable of great patience and forbearance. If the NRA movement fails, the consequences and alternatives will be such as no patriotic American, no lover of his kind, is willing to contemplate or to encounter. This is another reason why your responsibility at this time is of the greatest magnitude.

CONCLUSION

I have already pointed out that the special interest of the Church in the cause of labor arises from the fact that this cause is bound up with the achievement of a greater measure of social justice. More than once when I have been engaged in pleading for the rights of labor, I have been asked why I should not occasionally concern myself with the rights of capital. My answer has always been that the rights of the former are not nearly so well secured as the rights of the latter.

When the day comes that capital occupies the weaker position and the rights of capital are more generally disregarded than the rights of labor, then I shall cheerfully busy myself with the cause of capital. While I do not expect to live that long, I should welcome the opportunity to make at least a partial shift of allegiance because the situation would then be that which Pope Pius XI declared should be the goal of our efforts, namely that "a just share only of the fruits of production be permitted to accumulate in the hands of the wealthy and that an ample sufficiency be supplied to the working man." Until that happy day arrives, all lovers of justice will feel called upon to emphasize the rights of labor.

At 4:30 o'clock the convention was adjourned to 9:30 o'clock a. m., Tuesday, October 10th.

Seventh Day—Tuesday Morning Session

Washington, D. C., October 10, 1933.

The convention was called to order at 9:30 o'clock by President Green.

President Green introduced Rev. Vernon Norwood Ridgely to deliver the invocation.

INVOCATION

(Rev. Vernon Norwood Ridgely, Calvary Methodist Episcopal Church)

For the beauty of the earth and for the beauty of the hour, for the joy of life and the opportunity of service, we give Thee hearty thanks, O God. We acknowledge our dependence upon Thee this morning in Whom we live and move and have our being. From Thee we receive the blessings of life. Keep us from forgetting Thee, and may we always have grateful remembrance of Thy goodness. We know Thou art the way, the truth and the life, and we are here seeking the way to the larger, the better and the more beautiful life. And we pray Thee to guide with Thy spirit in our thinking. Point out the way that leads to the larger life, and give us the spirit necessary to walk in Thy way. Help us day by day to overcome the temptations facing us. We know that we are challenged in our loyalties. Give us the higher loyalty which leads us to give ourselves to the interests of God and to the interests of humanity. Give us the strength we need to fight the battles of life and to remain always immovable in the work of the Lord. May we cultivate in our hearts those characteristics that made Christ so winsome to the world. May we keep the spirit of brotherhood in our hearts. Forgive us our feverish ways, pardon us of all our iniquities, and, dear Lord, we are thinking of our homes and our families this morning. Protect them from harm and the evil of the world in our absence. If any be sick, oh, Thou Who art the great Physician, let Thy healing hand rest upon their bodies. Bless this great Nation of ours and those who have the responsibility of leadership. Guide them by the spirit and give them the grace and courage necessary to do Thy will. Hear us for Christ's sake. Amen.

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT, COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

Delegate Schmall, secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

The Committee on Credentials submits for the approval of the Convention the following report:

We propose the following temporary substitution: the seating of Harry R. Miller to act for W. M. Collins as a member of the Railway Mail Association delegation.

We also recommend that A. H. Peterson of San Pedro, California, be seated as a delegate representing the Central Labor Council of San Pedro and Wilmington.

Committee moves adoption of its report.

The report of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

Secretary Morrison read a telegram from Honorable Angelo J. Rossi, Mayor of San Francisco, California, in which he urged that San Francisco be selected as the next convention city of the American Federation of Labor.

President Green: Senator Van Nuys, of Indiana, accepted an invitation to address the convention tomorrow. I am not certain at this time as to the hour when he will find it convenient to come, but I deem it advisable to appoint a committee this morning to welcome him and to escort him to the convention tomorrow when he may find it convenient to be here. I will name on that committee Brother John M. Gillespie, of the Brotherhood of Teamsters; Brother L. T. Lindelof, of the Painters, and Brother Thomas N. Taylor, President of the Indiana State Federation of Labor. I hope that the committee will arrange to escort Senator Van Nuys to the hall when he finds it convenient to speak. Perhaps later on I will be able to announce the exact hour.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION

Delegate Hanson, secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

Your Committee on Education begs to submit the following report:

It is well known to the American people that no agency of public service has suffered greater loss and demoralization in the economic depression than have the public schools. Thousands of schools have been closed, with the result that large numbers of young children and adolescents have been deprived of their natural protective right, to become the potential prey of destructive influences. Tens of thousands of teachers have been dismissed to swell the ranks of the unemployed. Even at the present time, when every effort is being made by loyal citizens to cooperate with the federal government administration under the National Recovery Act, boards of education and municipal authorities, even in certain of our largest cities, are continuing to close the schools.

No greater menace to industrial recovery could develop than the manifestation of such indifference to public education which as a social agency is the very foundation of our civilization. In the perpetuation of our democratic institutions there can be no question of the fundamental and continuous need of the schools, operating with increasing efficiency, and led by teachers of intelligence and social understanding. To concern ourselves in the present emergency with industry alone is to disregard those basic forces of intelligence and general education which have made possible our material welfare. Of more than a million teachers, all of whom are required in the general movement for recovery, it has been estimated that 25 per cent are unemployed. The country cannot recover with this situation untouched.

We believe that the time has come for the nation to call a halt on the destructive activity of undermining the essential security of our basic social industry—public education—due to the effort which selfish interests have been making to perpetuate their economic control and to continue piling up profits, indifferent to the fate of the social

services. Before it is too late we call upon all friends of education to give ample consideration to the emergency which faces the public schools of the country and we appeal to the Federal Government, all state governments, and local authorities to bend every effort to protect and promote the welfare of the schools. Organized labor has already manifested its concern about the schools, and will, as always, respond valiantly to such a need, for nothing less is to be expected from that body of workers which was the first social group to give its whole-hearted support to public schools in their infancy one hundred years ago.

Pages 142-147 of the Executive Council's report, under the caption "Public Schools," was referred to your committee.

Attention is here called to the devastating curtailments and retrenchments which have been inaugurated in the public school system in the name of economy, such as closing of schools wholly or in part; schools kept open by unpaid or partially paid teachers; fees charged thereby fixing the amount of education a child may receive not upon his ability to learn but upon the ability of his parents to pay; teachers dismissed and fewer teachers of less experience and lower qualifications hired to replace them; size of classes increased, entailing mass production and rendering practically impossible true character building thru inspirational leadership; school building programs curtailed thereby preventing adequate sanitary and comfortable housing of pupils; valuable departments and courses of study as kindergartens, health inspection, dental clinics, night schools, vocational training, manual and household arts, physical education, music, art eliminated, returning to a curriculum adapted to an earlier, simpler day, but totally unfitted for the complexities of our modern world; reducing the secondary school from 4 to 3 years, and the elementary from 8 to 7, thereby shortening the school life from 12 to 10 years.

The Executive Council calls attention to the destructive tendency incidental to this entire retrenchment movement and makes the appalling statement that there is no community in any section but that its schools have suffered materially during the last two years. Your Committee deplores this situation and believes that only misfortune can come from the continuance of this policy.

The committee amended Resolution No. 39 by striking out the word "living" in section 5 and substituting the word "equitable," and adding the following language: "all employees of the school system shall be assured an equitable wage, security of position and decent working conditions." The amended resolution reads:

Preservation of Our Public School System

Resolution No. 39—By Delegates Selma M. Borchardt and Florence Curtis Hanson, of the American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, The destructive tendency incidental to the retrenchment movement against public education has resulted in the closing of schools, the dismissal of teachers, the housing of children in dilapidated and overcrowded school buildings, the shortening of the school year, the curtailment and elimination of important subjects, and of the much needed social services; and

WHEREAS, The slogan of "Balance the Budget" has been used as the excuse for the reckless slashing of vitally necessary expenditures, many of which are the only social guarantees we have for the maintenance of standards in education and in health and safety; and

WHEREAS, We believe that the destruction of the very social fibre of this nation must come from the continuance of this policy; be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor reaffirm its position of unswerving support of public education, the necessary elements of which entail:

- (1) Truly professional standards in and for the classroom.
- (2) Small classes taught by trained teachers.
- (3) An enriched curriculum.
- (4) Opportunities for growth and cultural advantages for adult workers.

(5) An equitable wage for all teachers. All employees of the school system shall be assured an equitable wage, security of position, and decent working conditions.

(6) Security of tenure for all educational workers.

(7) Decent working conditions for teachers.

(8) Right to establish teachers' unions, affiliated with organized labor.

(9) Opportunity for culture and professional study for teachers.

(10) Maintenance of educational standards.

(11) Provision for old age pensions for teachers.

(12) Opportunity for teachers to participate in formulating educational policy; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That it renew its pledge of utmost endeavor for the protection of education from kindergarten through university, and that it call upon all affiliated state and local central bodies to fight to the utmost to maintain intact our free public school system in this country.

We recommend the adoption of the amended resolution and of the committee's report.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

RIGHT TO ESTABLISH TEACHERS' UNIONS, AND TO AFFILIATE WITH ORGANIZED LABOR

Your committee in this connection desires to emphasize the organization of teachers into sound trade unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. Teachers like other workers must be assured the right to establish unions and to affiliate with Organized Labor.

The American Federation of Teachers was organized in 1916, and immediately affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. Within the period of seventeen years, many attacks have been made on the organization in various parts of the country. School officials, both local and state, have attempted to prevent the formation of local unions, and have tried to destroy locals already formed. In some cases the courts have assisted the school authorities in this destructive work.

With the support of organized labor, many of these attempts at hindering the work of teachers' unions in improving the conditions existing in the schools have been defeated. But the spirit of opposition to teachers' unions is still strong in certain parts of the country. Under the National Recovery Act public recognition of the professional and economic right to continue their existence and to perform their services in behalf of the public schools of the nation and the teachers who work in them should be established.

The organization of public school teachers is fundamental to the future of trade unionism, and trade unionists, in their organizations and individually, should make the greatest endeavor to bring teachers into the movement in order to develop a sympathetic attitude and an intelligent understanding in the minds of the children and the general public of the constructive philosophy of the labor movement as a struggle for human betterment. The A. F. of L. now as always is opposed to the use of the schools for propaganda of any and all kinds. It asks only protection from misrepresentation and a sound exposition of its constructive principles and work.

If teachers were organized in trade unions affiliated with the A. F. of L. they could and would give such protection from false propaganda and create a new attitude and understanding of the labor movement.

I recommend adoption of this portion of the Committee's report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Kindergartens

The Executive Council's report on page 143 deals specifically with kindergartens. For years the organized labor movement sought to have established in our public school system this essential service and finally saw kindergartens established by law in all but four states. In this work we met with opposition from the very same elements which now are seeking their removal

and have, alas, in so many instances been successful in their efforts. The kindergarten is one of the three services most frequently curtailed or eliminated in the so-called "economy program," in this instance in truth a "tragic waste." Your Committee finds itself in complete accord with the statement of the Executive Council regarding the essential value of these kindergartens and recommends that every possible effort be made to preserve this service necessary to "starting our future generations on the road toward a high type of citizenship."

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Teachers' Salaries

On page 143 of the Executive Council's report under the caption "Teachers' Salaries" account is given of the favorite economy of school authorities. Teachers' salaries, always inadequate, have been drastically reduced. The average salary of teachers, principals and superintendents in public schools in 1926 was \$1,275, considerably less than the average of all gainfully employed workers. This average included superintendents receiving \$20,000 and teachers receiving \$400. Cuts in these meagre salaries have been made from 10% to 75%, even 100% where teachers have been long unpaid. Minimum salary laws for teachers have in some cases been repealed and the cuts in pay together with the shortening of the school year to 4, 5, and 6 months have reduced the wage of teachers to as little as \$200 a year and have brought the average of this class of workers to about \$600. Such reductions in teachers' pay not only means dire poverty for this class of workers, but retards economic recovery, and points to the passing of the free public school. It is socially unjust and educationally unprofitable to maintain a class of teachers in this country who are paid an average wage many hundreds of dollars a year lower than is paid to other workers.

Labor has been compelled to acknowledge the necessity of wage cuts in some of the competitive industries, but

education is a social industry not in the competitive field in which this necessity does not enter.

We maintain that teachers' salaries should be established on the following basis:

- (1) Basic subsistence,
- (2) Provision for emergencies
- (3) Reasonable comfort and decency in living standard
- (4) Professional culture and study

We maintain that there should be no discrimination in the amount of salary paid to men and women teachers, and that payment of salary should be made and promotion granted on the basis of the service rendered without regard to the sex, the race, the religion, or the social status, including marriage, of the teachers concerned.

We hold also that for equal and required qualifications and preparation for professional work, the salary should be the same in whatever grade a person may be teaching.

We propose that the lowest salary paid in any locality to a professionally qualified teacher shall not be less than will provide him or her with proper living conditions, economic security, and opportunity for professional improvement. We propose also that proper basic salaries shall be protected by minimum wage laws.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Security of Tenure

Because of its inequity, the annual contract system generally in vogue in the public school system has for years been decried by the American Federation of Labor. This system has now been replaced by one even worse.

We call attention to the widespread disregard of contracts where the interests of public school teachers are concerned. Not alone in the present crisis, but even as a frequently exercised prerogative, boards of education and school committees, especially in rural sections, make no pretense of entering

into a legal agreement with teachers, or even refuse to notify them positively of their employment until a few days before the opening of the school, or if a contract is given it carries a clause that it can be terminated at any time at the will of the Board of Education. The teacher finds himself teaching each day not knowing whether he will teach tomorrow or not.

Where tenure laws for teachers have been written in the statute books, efforts are being made for their repeal.

The American Federation of Labor has always stood for the adoption by the states of adequate tenure laws for public school teachers. It believes that the principle of permanent tenure of position after a probationary period of two or three years should be embodied in the law of every state. Unfortunately, in certain states that have adopted such a law, school authorities often attempt to defeat the purpose of the law by dismissing teachers who are about to complete their years of probationary service, sometimes offering to re-employ them at the minimum wage.

In every tenure law there should exist a provision for terminating the service of incompetent or unworthy persons who have gained positions as teachers, but we insist that no teacher shall be deprived of his position without "due process of law," and that an open trial, with the right to have counsel and witnesses, shall be guaranteed.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Decent Working Conditions

The factors involved in proper working conditions for teachers, and the standards approved, are:

- (1) The normal number of hours of work prevailing in the best schools, with a maximum of five (5) working hours for five days.
- (2) The maximum number of pupils in a class which, in the general judgment of experts can be taught efficiently at one time. The number will vary in

accordance with the work, the subject taught, and local conditions.

(3) The physical conditions of school buildings should be such as will protect the health and safety of teachers and pupils against:

- (a) Overcrowding,
- (b) Bad sanitation
- (c) Inadequate ventilation
- (d) Inadequate toilet arrangements
- (e) Fire hazards.

(4) Efficient health inspection is necessary to protect the personnel of the school as a whole in the interest of the community itself.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Provision for Old Age

The provision which the civilized states of the world are establishing for the protection of old age are among the best proofs of our advancing civilization. Not only are old-age pensions proof of our developing altruism, they are also evidence of our growing understanding of ways to improve the public service through the retirement of over-age employees. Many of the large cities of the country have adopted retirement systems for their employees on various plans of participation in creating an adequate pension fund, built upon an actuarially sound basis. Some of the states have also adopted retirement systems. But the rank and file of teachers throughout the country serve at low wages without prospect of a pension allowance, for they are not permitted to hold positions long enough to establish claim to a pension, even if one existed.

In a country where even the profit-making corporations provide retiring allowances for long-service employees, the local and state governments should not long delay the acceptance of their social obligation to provide adequately for the retirement of faithful employees.

Your Committee recommends continued efforts for the establishment by law of sound retirement systems.

Federal Aid

On pages 144-146 of the Executive Council's report, School Financing and Federal Aid are discussed. Also Resolution No. 92, page 196, Second Day's Proceedings, deals with Federal Aid to the States for Education, the subject matter of both of which are embodied in the recommendation of your committee:

Federal Aid to the States for Education

Resolution No. 92—By Delegates Florence Curtis Hanson and Selma M. Borchardt, American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, In every section of the country public schools have suffered materially through the lack of funds made available for educational work, in some localities amounting to the actual collapse of the American Free Public School system; and

WHEREAS, Local communities and the several states are for the most part utterly unable to maintain their public schools; and

WHEREAS, While it is undoubtedly the responsibility of the state to seek to preserve its public schools for the state, it is just as certainly the responsibility of the nation to assure opportunities for education to all the children of the nation; and

WHEREAS, The citizens of the several states are, in the form of income taxes and other taxes, giving to the federal government many millions of dollars; be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor seek to secure legislation making available to the several states funds sufficient to enable these states to maintain a free public school system worthy of the best traditions of our land, and schools which would afford equal educational opportunity for all of the children of America.

Your Committee approves a liberal policy of Federal aid to the schools of the nation supplementary to the community appropriation and not in any sense as a replacement fund for local tax support.

Your Committee further urges that the basic principles of the N. R. A. be carried out in this basic social industry and that a Code to guarantee the fulfillment of these principles be established in the way prescribed by the N. I. R. Act to insure the maintenance

of a public school system at the highest possible state of efficiency.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Vocational Education

On page 146 of the Executive Council's Report, the Executive Council deals with the subject of Vocational Education. Your Committee records its complete indorsement of the report on vocational education and urges that the American Federation of Labor continue its support of this highly valuable branch of educational service, in the establishment and maintenance of which it has been the major instrumentality, and that the American Federation of Labor and officers of State Federations take every measure to secure the fullest cooperation with the Federal government to insure that the work in vocational education be maintained at a high level of social effectiveness with no decrease in Federal support, financial and other.

The committee considered Resolution No. 45 in connection with the subject of Vocational Training, and amended it by substituting "a wage scale insuring decency and comfort" for "pre-depression wage schedule." The amended resolution is as follows:

Teacher Training

Resolution No. 45—By Delegates Selma M. Borchardt and Florence Curtis Hanson of the American Federation of Teachers and Arnold S. Zander of the Wisconsin State Administrative Employees' Association No. 18213.

WHEREAS, The education of our working people, employed and unemployed, on a part-time continuing program, is an essential feature of our industrial recovery, not as a temporary makeshift nor on a "made-work" plan for idle persons to teach, but as a permanent part of our placement and after-service to all of our working people who need courses to improve their technical skill and broaden their economic plan of living; and

WHEREAS, Such educational program is dependent for its success on properly qualified teachers with an industrial, technical and practical back-

ground improved and made available by professional teacher training courses for such teachers; and

WHEREAS, Such teacher training program may and should continue to be an integral part of our whole program for adult education, in order that our working people, idle and employed, have the best trade, technical, industrial, and general teachers that can be procured; and

WHEREAS, Such a program of teacher training was for years recognized by the Federal Board for Vocational Education and made by such Board an essential part of its whole plan for federal aid to states in promoting adequate and worthwhile educational courses for our working people, rural and urban, juvenile and adult, idle and employed; and

WHEREAS, The Federal Emergency Relief Administration has authorized and is promoting a "made-work" program whereby needy unemployed persons may be employed on "work relief wages" only to teach the unemployed working people of the country, the "teachers" to be selected and certified for this important work by state and local "relief agencies"; and

WHEREAS, Those responsible for the promotion of this program undoubtedly have the best interests of our people at heart but fail to appreciate the reaction of such a program on the whole problem of adult education as well as on the teaching profession; and

WHEREAS, The NRA has definitely set up various codes of fair competition in industry in order that the country may slowly but surely return to an era of prosperity, and inasmuch as this "made-work" program for teachers is inconsistent with and contrary to the principles set forth under the NRA codes; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, deplores the government's program of employing teachers or others in public service on a basis of pauper wages on a "made-work" theory and under the guise of "relief" programs; and be it further

RESOLVED, That an adequate teacher training program be maintained for those who would teach our working people, employed and unemployed, and that wherever extra teachers are employed they be employed at a wage schedule insuring decency and comfort for teachers of the locality where they are employed, and that their competence as teachers be passed upon by boards of education or boards of vocational education as the case may be; and be it further

RESOLVED, That in order to continue this important work with profes-

sionally trained teachers, the Federal government make available to the states directly the funds necessary therefor.

The committee recommended concurrence in the resolution, as amended.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Protection of Public School System

Every day brings reports indicating that conditions as regards the public schools are daily growing worse. Schools opened late this year when they opened at all, on the 1st of October rather than as usual on September 1st. Teachers did not know in many cases whether they would be re-employed or not until a few days before school opened. Many of them who had taught with satisfaction for several years find themselves dismissed. Local teachers are displaced by teachers from afar, not teachers without jobs, but teachers taken from other positions. The basis of this discrimination appears to be freedom of expression on school management. Those teachers most courageous in pointing out the dangers inherent in this "economy" program and the basic causes of the difficulties are the ones to be penalized for their courage and unselfish devotion to the children of the nation.

The situation calls for immediate action. Resolution 94, page 197, second day's proceedings, proposes such action for the Protection of the Public School System.

The committee amended the second "Resolve" of the resolution, as follows:

"RESOLVED, That the President of the American Federation of Labor, with the available members of the Executive Council, present this appeal to the President of the United States during this convention if possible."

The amended resolution reads:

Protection of Public School System

Resolution No. 94—By Delegates Florence Curtis Hanson and Selma M. Borchardt, American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, The nation is threatened with grave disaster incident to the tragic breakdown of the free public school systems of our states; be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled petition the President of the United States to use his good offices during this emergency to help save our schools; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the President of the American Federation of Labor, with the available members of the Executive Council, present this appeal to the President of the United States during this convention, if possible.

Your committee recommends concurrence in the amended resolution and adoption of the report.

The report of committee was unanimously adopted.

The committee amended Resolution No. 95 in the "Resolve" as follows:

"RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to present to the Director of the Citizens Conservation Camps the request to plan an educational program for these camps and to administer it in cooperation with the properly constituted authorities."

The amended resolution reads:

Educational Program for Civilian Camps

Resolution No. 95—By Delegates Florence Curtis Hanson and Selma M. Borchardt, American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, There is at present no educational program planned for the thousands of young men who are in our civilian camps; and

WHEREAS, The vital need for a truly social program in these camps is glaringly apparent; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to present to the director of the Citizens Conservation Camps the request to plan an educational program for these camps and to administer it in cooperation with the properly constituted authorities.

Your committee recommends the adoption of the amended resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

At the request of the proponents of Resolution No. 101, the words "taking over" in the first "Resolve" have been changed to the word "subsidizing." The amended resolution reads as follows:

International Labor News Service

Resolution No. 101—By Delegates Frank X. Martel, International Typographical Union; John C. Saylor, Wilmington, Delaware, Central Labor Union; R. E. Woodmansee, Springfield, Illinois, Central Labor Union; Florence Curtis Hanson, American Federation of Teachers; John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department; E. J. Volz, International Photo Engravers' Union of North America; Joseph Obergfell, International Union of United Brewery Workers; Roy C. Cline, International Typographical Union; John B. Haggerty, International Brotherhood of Bookbinders; Thos. E. Burke, United Association of Plumbers and Steamfitters; A. H. Billet, United Wall Paper Crafts of North America; John B. Colpoys, Washington, D. C., Central Labor Union; Harvey W. Fox, Wyoming State Federation of Labor; C. B. Noxon, Colorado State Federation of Labor; F. H. Fljozdal, Maintenance of Way Employes, and Charles P. Howard, International Typographical Union.

WHEREAS, A continuous program of presenting factual information to labor and its friends is an absolute necessity, and this program is all the more necessary because of the thousands who are daily joining organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, One of the important, constructive methods of disseminating labor facts is through the bona fide labor press of the nation, in full service to the American labor movement; and

WHEREAS, The publishers of legitimate labor newspapers display a much appreciated interest in the cause of labor; be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, requests the Executive Council to favorably consider subsidizing, for a period of one year, the labor news service used by legitimate labor newspapers which is now being issued each week by the International Labor News Service, at Washington, D. C., the said labor

feature service to be issued in addition to the present excellent Weekly News Letter issued by the American Federation of Labor; because the cost per year for issuing the present Labor News Service would be an excellent investment for the progress of labor in the various communities throughout the nation where bona fide labor newspapers are published in the deepest sense of loyalty to the recognized trade union movement; the said service to be forwarded to the publication offices of these labor newspapers as a contribution of the American Federation of Labor to the future success of these helpful mediums; and be it further

RESOLVED, That International Unions, State Federations, City Central bodies, Building Trades Councils and local unions be urged to extend their unstinted support to the labor newspapers of the nation who contribute so much time, energy and devotion to the cause of the trade union movement, as well as making tremendous financial sacrifices to serve the cause.

Your committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council for full investigation and such action as the Council deems wise and expedient.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

SAMUEL GOMPERS MEMORIAL

Executive Council's Report, p. 150.

It is with great pride and satisfaction that your committee reports on the completion and dedication of the Samuel Gompers Memorial. The dedication ceremonies were beautiful and impressive. The President of the United States again demonstrated his own greatness in his recognition of another great man. The monument stands as a permanent testimonial to that peerless leader in the cause of social justice and human betterment, our own Samuel Gompers.

In view of the action of this Convention that the program and exercises of the dedication ceremonies be made a part of the printed proceedings of the Convention, your committee recommends that they be made a part of this report in this place.

**DEDICATION OF GOMPERS
MEMORIAL**

Washington, D. C., October 7, 1933

President Green: My friends, I present the Right Reverend James E. Freeman, Bishop of Washington, for the invocation.

INVOCATION

(Right Rev. James E. Freeman,
Bishop of Washington)

Almighty God, our heavenly Father, we praise Thy name that Thou hast made and preserved us a nation. Amid all the changes and chances of this mortal life Thou hast guided and directed us. We thank Thee for wise leadership and courageous statesmanship. We remember before Thee this day him who, through long and difficult years, gave wisdom and direction to the large concerns of labor, for his fidelity and loyalty to national ideals. We praise Thy name.

Do Thou in this day raise up men who, with like fidelity, will give themselves to those interests that are indispensable to our well-being and continuing happiness. To all our people give increased devotion to American ideals, that our nation may continue in peace and security. To Thy servant, the President of the United States, give Thy grace and heavenly benediction and imbue him with strength, wisdom and courage, and do Thou to all Thy people, especially those who have suffered and felt the strain of disappointed hopes and stern privation, bring speedy support and relief.

With renewed ardor we once again rededicate ourselves to Thee. Lead us into the paths of righteousness for Thy Name's sake. In the time of prosperity fill our hearts with thankfulness, and in the day of trouble suffer not our trust in Thee to fall. Hear us in this, our prayer. We ask it in the Name of Him who, for our sakes, became poor that we, through his poverty, might be made rich—Thy Son, our Saviour Jesus Christ. Amen.

President Green: My fellow citizens, I present the President of the United States.

**HON. FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT
(The President of the United States)**

It is fitting that in the Capital of the Nation a statue should stand through the ages, to remind future generations of the services to that Nation of a patriot who served his country well. It is fitting that the Government, through its representatives, should take part in the dedication of this monument. It is fitting that I should appear here in my official capacity; but it is also fitting that I should be here in my personal capacity, as one who has always been proud of the personal friendship which he held for many years with Samuel Gompers, and I am glad to see here my old friend and associate and the friend and associate of Samuel Gompers—Frank Morrison.

I knew Mr. Gompers first when as a very young man I came to New York City and received his fine support in the establishment of pure milk stations for the feeding of undernourished babies. From then on we had many mutual tasks. It is, I think, a commentary on the progress toward social justice which we have accomplished in a short space of time, when I tell you that in the year 1911—only twenty-two years ago—Samuel Gompers, Robert F. Wagner, Alfred E. Smith and I were labeled as radicals when we fought for and finally succeeded in passing a bill through the New York State Legislature limiting the work of women in industry to fifty-four hours a week. These early struggles for social betterment—struggles which in large part were initiated by him—have met with growing success with every passing year. I like to think that Samuel Gompers is today, and at this moment, aware of the fact that through the quick and practical action of the National Recovery Act, child labor in the United States has at last come to an end.

During the years of the Wilson Administration, the friendship between us grew and strengthened. I need not speak of his great service to organized labor in their relations with private employers; but I can speak rightfully of

the splendid cooperation which at all times he gave to the sympathetic adjustment of problems relating to workers for the Government itself. He understood well the fact that those who serve the Government serve the people as a whole. It was in the fulfillment of this principle that he approached the whole subject of the relationship of labor to the Government at the outbreak of the World War. As a member of the advisory committee of the Council of National Defense, he was a part of the great organization which met the crisis of war. But more than that, it was his patriotic leadership for the unanimous mobilization of the workers in every part of the Union which supplemented the mobilization of the men who went to the front.

The keen analysis of President Wilson made this reference to Mr. Gompers in November, 1917:

"If I may be permitted to do so I want to express my admiration of his patriotic courage, his large vision and his statesmanlike sense of what has to be done. I like to lay my mind alongside of a mind that knows how to pull in harness. The horses that kick over the traces will have to be put in a corral."

In those few words President Wilson summed up the splendid national services of Samuel Gompers, and at the same time preached a sermon that applied to capital and labor alike.

That sermon is just as good today as it was in 1917. We are engaged in another war, and I believe from the bottom of my heart that organized labor is doing its share to win this war. The whole of the country has a common enemy; industry, agriculture, capital, labor are all engaged in fighting it. Just as in 1917 we are seeking to pull in harness; just as in 1917, horses that kick over the traces will have to be put in a corral.

Mr. Gompers understood and went along with that thought during the years of the War, and we have many evidences of his acceptance of the fact

that the horses pulling in harness were the horses of the employees and of the employers as well. In those years a few, happily a very few, horses had to be lassoed—both kinds of horses; and today the conditions are very similar.

In the field of organized labor there are problems just as there were in the spring of 1917—questions of jurisdiction which have to be settled quickly and effectively in order to prevent the slowing-up of the general program. There are the perfectly natural problems of selfish individuals who seek personal gain by running counter to the calm judgment of sound leadership. There are hot-heads who think that results can be obtained by noise or violence; there are insidious voices seeking to instill methods or principles which are wholly foreign to the American form of democratic government.

On the part of employers there are some who shudder at anything new. There are some who think in terms of dollars and cents instead of in terms of human lives; there are some who themselves would prefer government by a privileged class instead of by majority rule.

But it is clear that the sum of the recalcitrants on both sides cuts a very small figure in the total of employers and employees alike, who are going along wholeheartedly in the war against depression.

You of the Federation of Labor and its affiliations are in the broad sense giving the same kind of fine cooperation to your Government which Samuel Gompers and his associates gave to that same Government in the old days.

Even as in the old days when I was in the Navy Department, Mr. Gompers and the Federation were at all times on a footing of friendship and cooperation with me,—even so today President Green and his associates are working with my Administration toward the attainment of our National purposes. The overwhelming majority of the workers understand, as do the overwhelming majority of the employers of the

country, that this is no time to seek special privilege, undue advantage, or personal gain, because of the fact of a crisis. Like the duly constituted officials of your Government, we must put and we are putting unselfish patriotism first. That would have been the order of Samuel Gompers if he were with us today.

The monument was unveiled by James Calvin MacKay, 9 years of age, great grandson of Samuel Gompers, immediately before the President of the United States made his address.

WILLIAM GREEN

(President of the American Federation of Labor)

This beautiful monument which is being dedicated here today is expressive of the reverential regard and high esteem in which Samuel Gompers was held by the membership of the American Federation of Labor. Its completion marks the culmination of years of effort on the part of working men and women to honor his great name and perpetuate his sacred memory. We who are privileged to be here and participate in these dedicatory ceremonies will, without doubt, be moved by feelings of deep emotion and justifiable pride as we behold the bronze image of Labor's departed Chieftain, dignified in bearing and majestic in appearance.

The years have passed since Samuel Gompers died at San Antonio, Texas, and yet it seems but a short while since his voice was heard in the Councils and Conventions of the American Federation of Labor. His passing was as he wished. There was no interim between the termination of active work and the final close of his eventful career. Like a commander-in-chief, leading a gallant army against a worthy foe, he fell on the battlefield unyielding in his determination to conquer and to win.

His dramatic trip to Mexico, from the El Paso Convention of the American Federation of Labor, was made in the interests of international good-will

and economic solidarity. His friends entreated him to forego the trip. They knew his physical strength was ebbing and that his intense application to the work of the Convention had exacted a heavy toll in nervous and physical energy. But, undaunted in spirit and deeply conscious of his obligation and duty to the working people of the world he journeyed forth into a foreign land. His mission was successful. He accomplished his purpose but, in doing so, he made the supreme sacrifice.

Realizing that the end was near he begged his friends to help him reach the border of the United States so that he could breathe his last in the land of his adoption, his beloved United States. It proved to be a race with time. He barely reached the border line which separated Mexico from the United States before the final summons came.

He died in San Antonio, Texas, on December 13, 1924, nine years ago. Thus ended the career of a great man, one who loved and served his fellow-men.

The life record of Samuel Gompers can never be completely written. It was filled with tragedy, touched with poverty and glorified by the idealism of a noble purpose. He was destined to be great and mighty because he possessed those qualities which make men great. In the United States he found unfolding opportunities for the exercise of his intellectual powers, all of which were used without reservation in behalf of the workers of the Nation. Through the development of Trade-Unionism, which to him became a religion, he perceived a rare opportunity to advance and promote the economic, industrial and social interests of the masses of the people.

Born in London, England, on January 27, 1850. On June 10, 1863, with his immigrant parents, he embarked on the steamship, London, for America. He landed at Castle Garden, New York City, on July 29, 1863. In this humble and unnoticed way he began his career in a land where democracy and freedom were the inspirational principles which

influenced his every action and his entire life.

The philosophy of Trade-Unionism, as expounded by Mr. Gompers, was in sharp contradiction to the economic philosophy which had been espoused by the Knights of Labor. He believed that Trade-Unionism should be an integral part of our social, national and economic life. He saw the futility of individualism and his vision enabled him to sense the complete failure of individual merit as a basis for future progress and advancement for working men and women. He knew that the developing civilization would make it increasingly impossible for individual workers to stand alone and through such isolation improve or advance their economic status. His faith in the humane and economic philosophy which he advocated inspired him to look away from the small group which he had gathered about him and visualize an army of organized workers banded together for the purpose of protecting and promoting their common interests. He saw teeming thousands marching into mass production industries, serving in a specialized way, filling the mills, mines and factories with human elements which he knew must be safeguarded and preserved if the Nation's free institutions were to be perpetuated.

The men and women of Labor have remained true and steadfast in their devotion to the principles which Mr. Gompers proclaimed and have guarded well the common heritage which was bequeathed to them in his utterances, his writings and his dramatic statements. Today Labor places a new value upon his wise counsel, his sound judgment and his foresight.

The principles of collective bargaining, of cooperation, increased purchasing power through high wages, the limitation of the hours of employment suitable to the manufacturing and economic needs of industry, though regarded as revolutionary when first proclaimed during the early period of Mr. Gompers' career, are now accepted as a fixed part of our governmental policies. Like the great artist he sketched the outline of

the plan which should be followed by Industry, the Government and Labor. Where the plan he outlined has been applied, establishing human relations in industry befitting modern industry, Industry, Labor and the Public have become the beneficiaries. It is no exaggeration to say that these principles and the plan providing for cooperative human relations in industry, formulated and recommended by Mr. Gompers, are embodied in principle in the National Recovery Act.

Mr. Gompers was by nature and temperament a fighter. This characteristic was developed because he lived in a fighting period. He reached sublime heights in superior leadership when clashing with the forces of opposition. He subjected the fighting spirit, however, to the transcendent needs of constructive leadership and calm deliberations. He could fight on the industrial battlefield or he could give wise counsel in the conference room. Such was the nature of the man. He blended these qualities of aggressiveness and conciliation into a harmonious leadership.

On this solemn and historic occasion when, in a spirit of deep devotion and with feelings of tenderness, the hosts of Labor gather to dedicate this monument, our hearts and minds turn to the great cause which Samuel Gompers championed and the great American Labor movement which he helped to establish. The American Federation of Labor will ever stand as a tribute to his great genius and the immeasurable service rendered by those pioneer leaders who were associated with him in the establishment of Trade-Unionism in the United States and Canada. The life of Samuel Gompers was inseparably associated with the establishment, growth and expansion of the American Federation of Labor. This fact is impressively symbolized in this artistic, enduring monument which we are permitted to behold. The central figure of the monument is that of Samuel Gompers sitting in repose. Behind it stands a group of allegorical figures typifying the principles of Unionism, Fraternity and

Brotherhood. They exemplify the principles and organization structure designed, shaped and formulated by the mighty mind of Labor's dynamic leader.

The artistic mind of the sculptor who originated and conceived this monument blended into its construction the strength and characteristics of Samuel Gompers and the expression, idealism, solidarity and social implications of the Trade-Union movement as represented by the American Federation of Labor. This monument was erected by the Labor movement with which Mr. Gompers was associated all his life. It is designed to stand in perpetuity as a tribute to the greatness, genius, vision, character and memory of Samuel Gompers. In all the years which may follow, the oncoming generations, the youth of the Land, will behold the figure of Samuel Gompers and through an analysis of the imposing figures whose hands are clasped and whose bearing reflects the dignity, unity and strength of Labor a lesson may be learned of the philosophy, purpose and achievements of the men and women of Labor.

President Green: I present to this splendid audience the great artist whose mind conceived and whose hands directed this wonderful monument—Mr. Robert Aitken.

President Green: These beautiful wreaths were presented for this occasion by the American Federation of Labor, the Pan American Federation of Labor, the Puerto Rico Federation of Labor, the Mexican Federation of Labor, and the International Labor Office at Geneva, Switzerland.

The following telegrams were read by President Green:

(Translation)

Mexico City, October 5, 1933.
American Federation of Labor,
Washington, D. C.

Beg to dedicate wreath to Gompers memory and monument in name of our Mexican Federation of Labor and my own representation.

LOUIS N. MORONES.

Geneva, Switzerland, Oct. 5, 1933.
The American Federation of Labor,
Washington, D. C.

International Labor Office sends greetings to American Federation of Labor and pays sincere tribute to great leader, Samuel Gompers, whose memory is cherished here as founder and friend of International Labor Organization.

HAROLD BUTLER, Director.

MUSICAL PROGRAM

The musical program incident to the unveiling ceremonies included the following selections:

Stars and Stripes Forever.

Trees.

Pilgrim's Chorus from "Tannhauser."

Celeste Aida from the Opera "Aida"—Mr. Gompers' favorite melody.

Selection—America.

President Green: Right Reverend John M. McNamara will offer the benediction.

BENEDICTION

(Right Reverend John M. McNamara, D.D., Auxiliary Bishop of the Archdiocese of Baltimore.)

May this monument inspire remembrance of the virtues exemplified in the life of him whom we honor in this hour, and may the blessing of Almighty God, the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost, come down upon us and remain with us forever—Amen.

Your Committee further recommends that the speeches of President Roosevelt and President Green, together with their pictures and the entire printed program of the dedication exercises be printed in pamphlet form and widely distributed to organizations, libraries, social agencies, schools, and the general public.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

CHILD LABOR AMENDMENT

Under the caption "Child Labor Amendment" the Executive Council reports on the progress of this amend-

ment. The Council reports that 15 states have ratified this amendment, ten during the year.

Your committee congratulates the Council on the splendid work accomplished and urges a continuation of the same program in order that within the next two years at least 36 states will have given their approval to the "Child Labor Amendment," and that the glorious accomplishment of the NRA providing that no child under 16 shall work in industry may become the law of this land.

The committee considered Resolution No. 37 in connection with this matter.

Child Labor Amendment

Resolution No. 37—By Delegates Selma M. Borchardt and Florence Curtis Hanson, of the American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, The highly gratifying child labor legislation of the National Recovery Administration is but emergency legislation and will cease to function after two years' time; and

WHEREAS, Even under the present emergency child labor legislation, violations of this legislation are constantly being reported as being practiced by unscrupulous employers; and

WHEREAS, Child labor at any time is detrimental to the progress, advancement, and security of our civilization; and

WHEREAS, Child labor is particularly unwise and indefensible at the present time when millions of men are without employment; and

WHEREAS, The legislatures of several States, recognizing these facts, have ratified the child labor amendment to the Constitution; be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor call upon its Locals and individual members to carry on unceasing activity for the ratification of the child labor amendment by their respective State Legislatures.

Your committee concurs in the resolution and further recommends that the officers of the American Federation of Labor carry on a continuous campaign for ratification and that for ninety days preceding the convening of state legislatures they shall send frequent letters to state federations and central bodies urging them to special activity.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the committee's report.

Delegate Trotter, Typographical Union: Mr. President, I wish to emphasize the object which the movers of Resolution No. 37 have in mind and to point out to the delegates an obstruction so sinister as to demand attention, but so insidious that it might escape the notice of the best informed members and in many states even secure the defeat of the Child Labor Amendment to the Constitution through the influence of a controlled press, which has purposes of its own to serve and is adept through long experience in concealing those purposes.

Resolution No. 37 asks "that the American Federation of Labor call upon its locals and individual members to carry on unceasing activity for the ratification of the Child Labor Amendment by their respective State Legislatures."

The Executive Council reports that fifteen States have now ratified this amendment, ten during the past year. The significance of another section of the Executive Council's report should not be overlooked in which it is stated that the American Federation of Labor was "the only organization which appealed to State Legislatures in the different States to approve the Child Labor Amendment." Where then were the numerous welfare societies with which this country abounds? Why is it that upon such a subject the voice of labor has to be that of one crying in the wilderness? Is it part of that policy which makes it seem that some of the propositions and aims of labor have to be received by certain sections of publicity in this county with thunders of silence?

In considering this particular resolution it needs to be pointed out that there is a difference between abolition of child labor by industrial codes adopted under measures which might prove temporary and the abolition for all time of child labor by making such abolition a part of the Constitution. There is a danger of allowing the pres-

ent notable achievements to appear to render unnecessary immediate further efforts to add to the present total of fifteen States.

President Green in his opening address stated that "in practically every industrial code of fair practice there is incorporated a section providing for the abolition of child labor in the mills, mines and factories of the nation. So that in the National Recovery Act thus far we are making the children free, and that has been a set objective of the American Federation of Labor for more than half a century. I hope, I trust, and I believe that when we are through, when the codes of fair practice are finally applied in every industry, we will have succeeded in bringing about the abolition of child labor in every industry in the nation."

The Secretary of Labor in her splendid address to this convention, in this connection stated: "We regarded the abolition of child labor as an immediate job of the working people of this country, and as you know, the abolition of child labor is one of the points which, under the codes adopted by the NRA, is well under way." Then the good lady said: "I don't say that it has been accomplished. Let us take care and not fool ourselves that because a thing is written on paper it is completely accomplished."

The purpose of Resolution 37 is to emphasize this fact, that the fight for the abolition of child labor is not finished even if it is well begun. In the struggle to add to the number of States ratifying the Child Labor Amendment, the representatives of labor naturally expect to meet the opposition of the exploiters of child labor in certain industries, but it is extremely doubtful whether any considerable number of child welfare workers were or are directly conscious that the members of the American Newspaper Publishers Association have to be included among those exploiters or that an organized opposition through the various avenues of newspaper criticism and comment might have to be met in every State

and in every committee where the question has to be discussed.

I have here a well-known magazine entitled "Editor and Publisher," which at the end of July of this year published a news item which should receive some publicity. The heading of the article is:

"AMERICAN NEWSPAPER PUBLISHERS ASSOCIATION AROUSED OVER CHILD LABOR DRIVE

"Bulletin Gives Warning of Possible Passage of Constitutional Amendment—Would Hurt Newspaper Boy System"

"A call to member publishers to oppose ratification of the national child labor amendment to the Constitution was issued by the American Newspaper Publishers' Association in a bulletin issued, following the meeting of the A. N. P. A. directors.

"'Naturally,' the bulletin said, 'this amendment, if adopted, would seriously affect the newspapers' present system of using newspaper boys as a part of their distribution and sales methods.'

"The bulletin pointed out that the amendment was originally submitted to the states in 1924. 'Originally ratified by but six states and rejected by 26,' the bulletin said, 'because of a ruling of the Congress that a state having rejected an amendment may reverse its decision and vote for ratification, and because no limitation of time was placed upon adoption of the amendment, it may still become a part of the Constitution.

"The Department of Labor is now making an effort to obtain ratification of this amendment, and up to date five states which originally rejected the amendment have voted to ratify, while ratification resolutions are pending in others.'

"The efforts of Miss Frances Perkins, Secretary of Labor, to obtain prompt ratification of the amendment were cited, as well as the findings of the New York Child Labor Committee which were, in the main, un-

favorable to the employment of newspaper boys. These examples tend the bulletin commented 'to show the trend toward the elimination of the newspaper boy should the child labor amendment be adopted.'

"Counterbalancing these observations, the bulletin pointed to figures and efforts of the International Circulation Managers' Associations to promote the welfare of newspaper boys. A summary of welfare activity and results was printed. A proposed uniform state child labor act, which was approved by the American Bar Association, excluding newspaper boys from its provisions, was also presented."

You have this industry, please you, seeking to carve for itself a niche which shall be superior to the law of the country as covered in the National Industrial Recovery Act and seeking willingly to have other industries brought under the provisions of that Act, while they themselves are exempted. Can you imagine what kind of a howl would have gone up had the textile trades sought to have a child labor amendment adopted which would include everybody else and exclude the textile trades? Nevertheless, the printing and publishing industry are willing to have every trade in the country under the child labor amendment, but they seek special and privileged exemption.

The bulletin concludes:

"If the child labor amendment is made a part of the Constitution, there can be no doubt that newspaper boys, instead of benefiting from such legislation, will be affected adversely, and the welfare work among these boys will automatically cease with resulting loss to each of the boys now enjoying the advantages to be gained from this desirable training.

"It is suggested, therefore, that publishers watch developments closely and determine whether or not they wish it to oppose the ratification of an amendment which will serve to abolish the effective and worthwhile welfare work being conducted by

newspapers among their boys. As the amendment has no limitation for enactment, it may be ratified either this year or during any succeeding year which necessitates constant vigilance in watching developments and opposing ratification."

So much for the American Newspaper Publishers Association and their official attitude to this measure. Those of their members who will accept the direction indicated may be expected to utilize editorial and news columns to the fullest advantage in favor of the continued exploitation of child labor. No one is deceived by the crocodile tears shed over the welfare of the newspaper boys. You know the story of the crocodile that is supposed to shed tears just before it gobbles up its victims. Our International Union Secretary aptly stated during a code hearing that the officials of the Publishers organization, whenever they felt it was necessary, could spread a smoke screen which would be the envy of the Navy.

Coming from such an enlightened source, as a reason for the continuance of child labor, the suggestion that it is good for the child gives the ordinary person a pain throughout his entire anatomy.

I am reminded of a story of a dog-loving man who, in the process of training a young dog, requested his son to get down on his hands and knees and hop around, barking at the dog. Pretty soon the dog seized the lad by the nose and the man excitedly yelled: "Bear it, lad; bear it. It'll be the making of the pup!"

When sufficient publicity has been given to this medieval attitude on the part of the newspaper fraternity, we sincerely hope it will prove to be no longer possible to grind the faces of the nation's children for profit or the benefit of anybody's pup.

There may be, and we believe there are a number of sufficiently enlightened and up-to-date publishers who will not be in accord with the instructions of the officials of their organization. We shall welcome all disavowals

in the daily press and look eagerly for such intimations.

Those charged with the duty of extending the number of ratifications to the child labor amendment should, however, understand that until a reversal of policy is openly expressed and the daily press of this country quits its official opposition to abolition of profit-making from the labor of children, that the proud "Fourth Estate" is committed to the use of every method in their peculiar means of warfare to stifle every attempt to free the children from industry, even to the extent of seeking for themselves the inglorious position of being the only industry in the country which shall collect tribute from infants. If this be one of the glories of the daily press, then surely we are entitled to say that their glory is their shame.

President Green: The Chair would like to supplement the splendid statement made by Delegate Trotter with an expression of appreciation to the officers and members of state federations of labor, all of whom have fought valiantly for the adoption of the child labor amendment to the Constitution of the United States. The American Federation of Labor is under very great obligation to these splendid men and women who represent these state federations of labor and who appear at the meetings of the different state legislatures urging and appealing to the legislators to adopt the child labor amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

During this last year ten states have adopted this amendment, and in every one of these states where the child labor amendment was adopted the officers of the state federations of labor centered the fight in the different legislatures for the adoption of this amendment. I recall one instance where, I think it was in Oklahoma, the officers of that state federation of labor wired me asking me to appeal to the Governor of that commonwealth to give his moral and financial support to the proposal that the child labor amendment to the Constitution be adopted by that sovereign state.

I responded promptly. The officers and members of the state federation of labor kept constantly at it until finally the state legislature of Oklahoma adopted the child labor amendment to the Constitution.

Even at this moment we are making a drive in the great state of Texas. I can truthfully say that the American Federation of Labor and the different state federations of labor chartered by the American Federation of Labor have been the only organizations that, during these days of disappointment and discouragement, kept up the drive constantly until we have reached this splendid result. We want to make the children of the nation free. While we appreciate the action of the different progressive states in which child labor laws have been passed, we realize that the only way that a uniform child labor law can be adopted applicable to the children in Florida as well as the children in Massachusetts and New York, is through a Federal Act by the Congress of the United States.

For economic and social reasons the child labor amendment to the Constitution should be adopted. Public sentiment is changing. Many who were openly against this great humane reform are now supporting it enthusiastically. The codes of fair practice, in my judgment, will contain sections providing for the abolition of child labor. That is splendid, but we all realize that that is temporary legislation. There may come an end to the application of those sections in the industrial codes of fair practice. We want something permanent. We want the children to be made eternally and permanently free.

So the Federation of Labor, in my judgment, will continue the fight, carrying it on in every state until we secure the adoption of the child labor amendment to the Constitution of the United States. That is our fixed purpose. That is our definite objective. I appeal to these splendid men and women, officers of the state federations of labor, those upon whom we must depend to carry on this fight. I appeal to them to go on during this coming winter when a num-

ber of other state legislatures will meet that have not yet met and thus far adopted the child labor amendment. Do not be discouraged. Take up the fight and press it on. You can win as the state federations of labor have won in other states, and I will promise you that every ounce of energy I possess, if I am permitted to serve, and all of the force and power of the American Federation of Labor will be given to you in your efforts to secure the adoption of the child labor amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

WORKERS' EDUCATION BUREAU

Under this caption, pages 147-148, the Executive Council records the striking success of the Bureau's educational program and especially during the past six months. The growing evidence of a revival of interest among wage-earners in workers' education and the service which the Bureau has been able to render in interpretation of the recovery program must be regarded as of major importance.

Rutgers Labor Institute—The pioneering work of this institute came to a fitting climax in this year with a program devoted to the "World Economic Situation." Viewed both in terms of the increase of membership and number of trades represented it was a significant meeting. The aid granted to the Institute by the World Friendship Fund in aid of Labor Scholarship was a splendid tribute. Your committee commends this Institute on the standards it has maintained and the service it has rendered other institutions in planning similar projects.

State Federation of Labor Institutes—The technique employed by the Bureau in setting up Labor Institutes with a representative group of State Federations of Labor is worthy of commendation. State branches as Colorado, Wisconsin, Indiana, New York and Connecticut have held such Institutes, which have been interpretative and not legislative in character. Discussions led by competent economists have been freely

engaged in. The policy for labor to follow has been determined by the duly accredited delegates to the Convention.

Your Committee is of the opinion that such Institutes should be an organic part of the regular conventions of the various State Federations of Labor and recommends to this Convention that such a proposal be accepted.

Central Labor Institutes—The success of the State Federation Institute was but a little more notable than those set up directly with the Central Labor bodies. The method was smaller; the results substantially the same. Because of the relative ease and flexibility of such institutes your committee recommends their wide extension so long as competent discussion leaders can be secured.

Other Labor Institutes—The initial institute set up at Haverford College to discuss International Relations though small in size was enthusiastically endorsed and should be continued.

The plans for future Institutes as partially presented by the Executive Council is a heartening indication of the vitality of this movement which your committee heartily commends.

Summer Schools—Establishment of two new Summer Schools, the one in California and the other in Ohio is a most encouraging response to this significant phase of the Workers' Education movement. Your Committee renews its commendation of these summer schools and urges trade unionists in the various centers to avail themselves of the notable opportunities which they present.

Radio Program—Your committee notes with interest the continued activity of the Bureau in planning for a series of labor broadcasts in cooperation with the Radio Advisory Council when the necessary funds can be secured. The record of the Bureau's work in the series last year is a guarantee of its future service in this field. Your committee recommends its support of the proposed program.

Your committee in response to requests for specific information as to the

broad subjects for inclusive workers' education programs has, after consideration, concluded that such definite information would be helpful, therefore recommends the following outline of a program of workers' education based on the needs of the workers and adapted to their organization.

1. Mass Education:

- (a) Lectures at regular intervals in Local Unions.
- (b) Open Forums in Central Labor Unions once a month during fall and winter months to be arranged by committee on education.
- (c) Week-end Conferences to be held jointly by labor groups to consider topics of special interest to labor.
- (d) Women's Auxilliary—Lecture programs for wives and daughters of trade unionists to keep members' families informed of the important work of the trade union.
- (e) Labor Journals—Development of a section or department in the labor journals each month dealing with the subject of workers' education.

2. Group Discussions:

- (a) Study Classes—For the benefit of the more active members interested in workers' education, provision should be made for a study class to meet for unit courses of a minimum of ten weeks under competent instructors.
- (b) Trade Union College—For workers in more than one local union who are interested in studying the broader problems of industries a non-resident trade union college should be set up to give wider labor participation. A joint union committee for the control of the trade union college should be provided.
- (c) Resident Workers' Education—For those workers who have qualified by previous experience

in study classes for more systematic and prolonged study provision should be made for resident instruction in existing resident labor colleges.

3. Social Activities:

The development of activities for creative expression and recreation will add both to variety and appeal of the program as follows:

- (a) Drama—Production and performance of plays.
- (b) Handcraft—Development of opportunities for pottery, painting, basketry.
- (c) Music—Provision for musical entertainment, group singing and other types of musical expression.
- (d) Recreation—Provision for hikes, social dances, and games.

Your committee further recommends that in all cases where labor groups seek further information or guidance in carrying out any phase of this program that they confer directly with the Workers' Education Bureau.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the committee's report.

Delegate Scharrenberg, California State Federation of Labor: I wish to call attention to an error in the Executive Council's Report, namely, that the California State Federation of Labor conducted its first summer school. This is the sixth summer school that has been held in California under the auspices of a committee on workers' education, composed in part of representatives of the University of California, and in part of representatives of the Federation of Labor. This year we held our sixth summer school.

President Green: Thank you, Brother Scharrenberg, for making this correction. It must have been due to some oversight, because I have always known of the splendid educational work being carried on by the California State Federation of Labor. Brother Scharrenberg states that the one held this last summer was the sixth summer institute instead of the first.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Delegate Hanson, Federation of Teachers: Before I conclude my report I want to call attention to the splendid support that the labor movement has given to the organized teachers. I was in hopes that certain members of this convention would speak for themselves and tell about the splendid work that they have been doing in their own states and localities, but I find they are too modest to do so.

Delegate Scharrenberg, who has just spoken, has done a most magnificent work in the State of California in saving the tenure law for the teachers of that state. Twenty-four bills were introduced in the State of California in an effort to take away from the teachers of that state their tenure law. It was primarily, fundamentally and almost totally due to Brother Scharrenberg that those bills did not become law.

In the State of Indiana we had a fight on the tenure law also, and President Taylor, of the State of Indiana, has practically saved that law for the teachers in that state.

There is another committee waiting, so I cannot go on and pick out hundreds of people right here who have done this work for the teachers. I know you are going to keep on doing it.

This covers the matters submitted to this Committee on Education, and the report is signed:

A. O. WHARTON, *Chairman.*
FLORENCE CURTIS HANSON,
Secretary.

L. P. LINDELOF,
THOMAS E. BURKE,
WM. R. TROTTER,
M. T. FINNAN,
JOHN B. HAGGERTY,
W. P. FITZGERALD,
LEO. E. GEORGE,
ROBERT WATT,
RAYMOND J. ROCHE,
P. T. FAGAN,
JOHN W. PARKS,
R. G. SODERSTROM,
FRED SCHULTZ,
ELISABETH CHRISTMAN,

Committee on Education.

Delegate Hanson moved the adoption of the report of the Committee on Education as a whole.

The motion was seconded and carried.

President Green: The committee will be continued.

Now the time for the special order of business has arrived, and the Chair recognizes Secretary Maloney, of the Committee on Adjustment, for the committee's report.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON ADJUSTMENT

Delegate Maloney, secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

Brewery Workers—Teamsters— Engineers—Firemen

The section of the report of the Executive Council, under the above caption, page 115 is as follows:

At the meeting of the Executive Council, April 20-May 2, the representatives of the Brewery Workers, Teamsters, and Engineers presented their respective claims of jurisdiction with evidence in support thereof.

Extended hearings were held. Each organization was accorded the fullest opportunity to present its jurisdiction claim. We thereupon decided:

In view of the fact that by action and decision of previous conventions of the American Federation of Labor the International Union of Operating Engineers was granted jurisdiction over Engineers employed in Breweries, it is the opinion of the Executive Council that jurisdiction over Engineers employed in breweries is vested in the International Union of Operating Engineers and so decides.

We further decided:

In the case of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America vs. The International Union of the United Brewery, Flour, Cereal and Soft Drink Workers of America, the Executive Council is of the opinion and decides that teamsters and chauffeurs in the brewery industry properly belong to and come under the jurisdiction of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters and Chauffeurs.

We also decided:

In the dispute between the International Union of Firemen and Oilers and the International Union of the United Brewery, Flour, Cereal and Soft Drink Workers of America, it is the decision of the Executive Council

that the firemen employed in breweries come under the jurisdiction of the International Brotherhood of Firemen and Oilers.

Your committee has given the jurisdictional dispute between the Brewery Workers—Teamsters—Engineers, and Firemen careful consideration. We have held an extended hearing where the National Officers of the International Unions involved were given full opportunity to present their briefs and arguments. Since then every effort has been made to try and reach an understanding between the interested parties without success—all apparently being of the opinion the matter should be decided by this convention.

Therefore your committee desires to report to the convention full concurrence and approval of the Executive Council's Report.

A motion was made and seconded that the report of the committee be adopted.

Delegate Obergfell, Brewery Workers: Mr. Chairman and delegates, we are somewhat surprised at the report of the Committee on Adjustment. The committee sustains the position of the Executive Council, despite the protests rendered by the brewery workers' organization on the constitutionality of the action of the Executive Council. We are further surprised that this committee brings in a cold report without any recommendation to refer the subject matter for conference and conciliation. We have heard so much in this convention on conciliation and conferences in efforts to reach understandings in jurisdictional disputes, but apparently the committee had not heard of the discussions on the floor of this convention for conferences and conciliation to bring about, if possible, peaceable adjustments and understandings on jurisdictional disputes.

In order to acquaint the delegates with the grave problem involved in this jurisdictional decision of the Executive Council, I shall have to ask the indulgence of the delegates so that I may review briefly the action of the Executive Council which transpired from the time the claim was made by these three organizations over juris-

dition of members affiliated with our organization, since the inception of our organization and its affiliation more than forty-six years ago.

We desire to acquaint the delegates with some facts dealing with the attempted raid made on the Brewery Workers International Union for jurisdiction over members of our International Union who have held membership for over 46 years, as well as to acquaint you with the decision of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and our brief submitted in defense of our jurisdiction rights defined by the Conventions of the Federation, and our appeal against the decision rendered recently by the Executive Council.

"Cincinnati, Ohio, April 22, 1933.

"To the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor.

"Dear Sirs and Brothers:

"We herewith submit a brief, outlining the contentions, of the Brewery Workers' International Union, on the jurisdiction claims made by the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers, and the Operating Engineers, as was made orally by the representatives of the Brewery Workers in the sessions before the Executive Council held on April 20th and 21st.

"The charter issued to our International Union by the American Federation of Labor on March 4, 1887, empowered and authorized the United Brewery Workers to initiate into its membership any person or persons in accordance with its own law. We quote herewith the provisions of the charter:

"This charter is granted for the purpose of thorough organization of the trade, and a more perfect federation of all trades and labor unions, and the Union being duly formed, is empowered and authorized to initiate into its membership any person or persons, in accordance with its own laws, and to conduct the business affairs of the said Union in compliance with the best interests of the trade and labor in

general. The autonomy of the Union is hereby ordained and secured.'

"In accordance with the charter rights the Brewery Workers proceeded to organize the brewing industry, embracing all workers engaged in the various departments, such as brewers, bottlers, engineers, firemen, drivers, and laborers. The organization grew rapidly, and the Brewery Workers were complimented highly by President Gompers on the progress made in the organizing of the industry.

"In 1898, 11 years later, the American Federation of Labor chartered the International Union of Steam Engineers.

"In 1899, 12 years later, a charter was granted to the Teamsters and Firemen.

"We contend that the American Federation of Labor, at the time they issued the charters to the Engineers and Teamsters, did not anticipate that any question of jurisdiction would be raised and, therefore, did not ask or secure the consent of our organization, which was known to the American Federation of Labor to have organized all the men engaged in the brewing industry, and which men had been organized by and with the consent of the American Federation of Labor, as outlined in the charter rights issued to our International.

"Shortly after the charters to the Engineers and Teamsters were issued, they laid claim to jurisdiction over men engaged in the brewing industry. The jurisdiction fights between these organizations and our International Union occupied a great part of the time and attention of the conventions of the American Federation of Labor.

"Conferences between the contending organizations and representatives of the American Federation of Labor were held, for the purpose of reaching a working understanding between the several organizations, which led to a working agreement being reached with the Stationary Engineers, which

agreement was confirmed by the convention of the American Federation of Labor held in Denver, Colorado, in 1908, reported in the proceedings on page 211,—note the ninth paragraph of the agreement, which reads as follows:

"Brewery Workers shall have authority to initiate engineers in those breweries, malt houses and bottling houses in those cities where they have jurisdiction over the engineers.'

"This working agreement has been in effect ever since, and being ratified by the convention of the American Federation of Labor must stand as the official action of the American Federation of Labor today.

"The contention raised by the Engineers that the brewing industry had gone out of existence with the advent of national prohibition, is preposterous. The Brewery Workers' International Union continued to function. It paid its per capita tax to the American Federation of Labor, City Central Bodies, and State Federations of Labor, and its charter issued in 1887 is the best evidence that the International Union of United Brewery Workmen still exists, and the records which will be forwarded to you by the certified accountants now checking over our membership books, will further verify that the Brewery Workers constitute the vast majority of its membership, and that only a small percentage of its total membership is composed of yeast, vinegar, flour, cereal and grain elevator workers."

The statement was made before the Executive Council that the membership of the Brewery Workers was practically composed of mill, grain, elevator and yeast workers. When that statement was made we assured the Federation that we would have an expert accountant check over the records of our international union so as to ascertain the composition of our membership as of April 23, 1933. This is a report of the accountant to the American Federation of Labor, dated April 23, 1933:

To set at rest the statement that the Brewery Workers have gone out of existence as brewery workmen during the period of prohibition and that they were then constituted as a membership of flour mill workers is disputed by the fact herein stated by the accountant. In addition let me say that since the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor refused to concede certain conditions to our organization with respect to organizing the vast milling industry in the United States, and because of our experience with that organization back in 1916 to 1922, we have handed back application for charters from the mill workers that are now organizing and are ready to turn over more member mill workers who now hold membership in our international organization, because the experience of the past has been a bitter one. The vast membership of that industry cannot be organized on strictly trade lines, and to organize them only to have them destroyed by a mass of jurisdiction claims over this, that, and the other men, would do no good for organizing by the brewery workers only to have them torn apart piecemeal. For that reason we surrendered jurisdiction over the flour, cereal and grain elevator workers.

"In accordance with the instructions of Mr. Joseph Obergfell, General Secretary-Treasurer of the International Union of United Brewery Workmen, located at No. 2347 Vine street, Cincinnati, Ohio, we have examined the records, for the purpose of verifying the membership as of this date, and submit herewith the following:

	Members
Brewing Department	3,389
Bottling Department	4,639
Delivery Department	4,942
Mechanical Department	1,399
Maltsters	638
Yeast and Vinegar Dept....	1,437
Flour, Cereal and Grain Elevator workers	82
<hr/>	
Total active membership in the United States and Canada	16,526

divided as follows:

Canadian membership	512
Active membership in the United States	16,014

In addition to the above the records also show:

Withdrawal Card Members..	7,261
Out of work members.....	6,824

"For your information, there is also submitted herewith an individual application blank, marked 'Exhibit A,' which must be filed with the International Union by each applicant.

"There is also submitted a sample of the individual card used in their card file, marked 'Exhibit B,' to which the information contained in the application blank, 'Exhibit A,' is transcribed. Therefore membership records of the card file correspond with the individual application blanks, on file.

"There is also submitted a withdrawal card, marked 'Exhibit C,' which are issued to members not actively engaged in the industry.

"There is also submitted an out of work stamp, marked 'Exhibit D,' which are issued gratis to members out of work.

(Signed) STANLEY HITTNER."

Executive Council Decision—On May 2nd, we were informed by President Green that the Executive Council granted jurisdiction over Engineers employed in Breweries to the Operating Engineers and jurisdiction over Beer Drivers to the Teamsters.

Our Appeal Against the Decision—On May 13th we notified President Green that we protested against the decisions of the Executive Council and appealed for reconsideration of the decision as well as entered protest against the unprecedented policy by the Executive Council in notifying the labor movement of the country of the decision rendered before giving our International Union an opportunity to appeal the decision to the highest tribunal of the Federation, the Convention.

Our appeal is based on the following facts:

1. We maintain that the convention of the American Federation of Labor is the supreme authority of the American Federation of Labor, and the convention decisions can only be altered, modified, or amended by another convention.

2. We maintain that the Executive Council may administer the affairs of the American Federation of Labor between conventions, but it has no authority to alter any convention decision.

3. We contend that the Executive Council usurped authority not vested in it in the constitution.

Our Protest—We protest against the unprecedented policy adopted in notifying the labor movement of the country of the decision rendered by the Executive Council in the jurisdiction claim of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America, and the International Union of Operating Engineers.

The action taken in this instance is equivalent to the revocation of the charter of our International Union and has resulted in turmoil and conflict that has led to serious complications in a number of localities—all this before our organization was given a chance to appeal to the highest tribunal of the Federation.

Teamsters—The controversy over the jurisdiction of beer drivers continued, and was culminated by the decision of the convention of the American Federation of Labor, held in Seattle, Washington, in 1913, on report of the Adjustment Committee, on pages 336-37, which reads as follows:

"In the contentions between the Teamsters and the Brewery Workers, referred to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor by preceding conventions, the evidence showed that in handling and distributing the products of breweries the teamsters are generally employed in such dual capacities as to make many

of them also brewery workers; that brewery teamsters are nearly all organized into and holding voluntary membership in the Brewery Workers' organization.

"On the facts established, we see no justification for the transfer of these men from the Brewery Workers' Union, and so decide."

And, delegates, I want to direct your attention to the importance of this decision. If it stands and is approved by this convention it establishes a precedent that may operate upon any affiliated organization, and the security of your organization in its jurisdiction rights is in danger.

We further submit the final and definite action of the American Federation of Labor on this jurisdiction controversy taken at the San Francisco, California, convention, held in 1915. In the report of the Executive Council, on page 131, entitled—

TEAMSTERS-BREWERS-BAKERS- LAUNDRY WORKERS

in the first paragraph, the two last lines, they clearly and unmistakably had the following to say:

"Jurisdiction over the drivers of brewery wagons was recognized as belonging to the United Brewery Workers."

We submit that the action of the convention of the American Federation of Labor, held in Seattle, in 1913, and the definite statement by the Executive Council in its report to the San Francisco convention definitely conceded the jurisdiction over drivers of brewery products to the Brewery Workers' International Union.

This portion of the report was not contested by the Teamsters' International Union, and is prima facie evidence that they accepted it as the final action. From that time on the Teamsters conceded the jurisdiction, which is evidenced by the fact that no further claims for jurisdiction over beer drivers were registered with the American Federation of Labor by the Teamsters,

and further evidenced by the fact that in February, 1915, we entered into an international working agreement with the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers, as follows:

"AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD OF TEAMSTERS, CHAUFFEURS, STABLEMEN AND HELPERS OF AMERICA, AND THE INTERNATIONAL UNION OF UNITED BREWERY WORKMEN OF AMERICA.

"In order to settle past jurisdiction disputes, and for the purpose of a future working agreement between the members of the above two organizations, the following shall be considered a line of demarcation and a basis of adjustment.

"1. The Drivers, Chauffeurs, and Stablemen employed in the delivery of the products of breweries, agencies or beer bottling establishments, shall come under the jurisdiction of the International Union of United Brewery Workmen of America.

"2. All men employed in these capacities, and now members of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters shall have the right to transfer without restriction or restraint from their International or Local Union to the International Union of United Brewery Workmen.

"3. All the Drivers, Chauffeurs and Stablemen employed in bottling establishments, where soda and mineral waters are bottled exclusively, and not in connection with beer, shall come under the jurisdiction of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters.

"4. All men employed in the above capacity, and now members of the International Union of United Brewery Workmen of America, shall have the right to transfer without restriction or restraint from their International or Local Union to the Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs and Stablemen.

"5. The International Brotherhood of Teamsters agrees that in those localities where both organizations have men in the delivery of mineral and soda water, wage agreements, on an equal basis, shall be submitted to the respective employers, and that local conferences be held for that purpose.

"6. Both organizations hereby agree when exclusive soda and mineral water bottling shops are organized in the future, the men employed on the inside shall come under the jurisdiction of the Brewery Workers' International Union, and the men in the delivery under the jurisdiction of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters.

"7. The Brewery Workers' International Union agrees to use its best efforts to have all their local unions urge their employers to give all extra hauling and teaming only to firms employing members of the Brotherhood of Teamsters."

We contend that the American Federation of Labor had definitely decided, as outlined in their report to the San Francisco convention, that the jurisdiction over beer drivers belongs to the Brewery Workmen. That is the last and final decision of the American Federation of Labor convention, and must of necessity stand as the position of the American Federation of Labor now.

The contention of the Teamsters, like that of the Engineers, that the brewing industry had gone out of existence with the advent of national prohibition, is ridiculous. The facts are, the breweries continued to run. It is true that as time went on, under national prohibition, the consumption of near beer dropped, and more rapidly dropped during the economic depression that has gripped our nation since 1929, but at no time has the brewing industry gone out of existence. Our members were doing identically the same work in the near beer breweries as was done before national prohibition.

In summing up we contend that the records of the conventions of the Amer-

ican Federation of Labor, dealing with both jurisdictional contentions, are clear, definite, and unmistakable, recognizing the jurisdiction of the Brewery Workers' International Union over the Engineers engaged in breweries, and the jurisdiction rights of the Brewery Workers' International Union governing beer drivers.

We rest our case on the facts herein stated.

The action taken in notifying the labor movement of the decision rendered by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, in contravention of a mandate of this convention, was equivalent to a revocation of the charter of our international union before giving us an opportunity to place our case before the supreme body of the labor movement, the convention of the American Federation of Labor.

On June 23 we received information from President Green that the Firemen and Oilers have also demanded jurisdiction over firemen employed in Breweries and we were requested to appear before the Executive Council on September 6, at which time the Firemen's demand for jurisdiction would be given consideration by the Council.

We advised President Green that owing to our Executive Board session and International Convention in Chicago beginning September 7, it was impossible to have representatives of our International present at the Council session to defend our rights.

On September 21 we were advised by President Green that the Executive Council granted the request of the Firemen for jurisdiction over firemen employed in Breweries who hold membership in our International Union.

On September 21 we received the following letter:

"At a meeting of the Executive Council held at our headquarters recently a decision was rendered in the jurisdictional dispute between the International Brotherhood of Firemen and Oilers and the International Union of United Brewery, Flour,

Cereal and Soft Drink Workers of America.

"President McNamara appeared before the Council insisting that the American Federation of Labor recognize the jurisdiction granted the International Brotherhood of Firemen and Oilers over firemen employed in breweries. At the same time President McNamara appeared before the Council it had before it your letter advising the Council that it would be impossible for representatives of your organization to appear.

"In view of the decision rendered by the Council in the case of the jurisdictional difficulty between your organization, the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers and the International Union of Operating Engineers, the Council felt that the facts in connection with the complaint of the International Brotherhood of Firemen and Oilers were very largely the same. For that reason it made the same decision in the complaint of the Firemen as it did in the case of the Teamsters and the Engineers. The decision of the Council is as follows:

"In the dispute between the International Brotherhood of Firemen and Oilers and the International Union of the United Brewery, Flour, Cereal and Soft Drink Workers of America, it is the decision of the Executive Council that the firemen employed in breweries come under the jurisdiction of the International Brotherhood of Firemen and Oilers."

The giving away was good, and I am just wondering what is going to happen to some of the international representatives seated on this floor who overlooked an opportunity to come in and ask for jurisdiction over some of the Brewery Workers' membership. I feel sure that some of them will be severely criticized by their members because they did not claim part of the Brewery Workers, such as washing kegs and bottles, which might go to the laundry workers, the cooks overlooked the cooking. Beer is cooked. The cleanliness of breweries is

one of the essentials. That jurisdiction might have been parceled out to the janitors because they were giving things away—it did not cost anything!

I want to direct the attention of the delegates to this portion of the Executive Council's report on page 114. There was room for conferences and conciliation, efforts to bring together on jurisdiction disputes that had occupied the time and attention of this convention in recent years. They recommend to you that the jurisdiction contention between the Pavers and Rammermen and Hod Carriers; Flint Glass Workers and Glass Bottle Blowers; Bridge and Structural Iron Workers and Pulp and Sulphite Workers; Teamsters and Railway Clerks; Theatrical Stage Employes and Electrical Workers; Machinists and Carpenters, be left in the hands of the Executive Council.

Then there were the disputes of conflicting claims and jurisdictions between the Retail Clerks and the Upholsterers; the Friendly Society of Engravers and the International Metal Engravers' Union. These disputes were referred back to those organizations for conciliation and conference, to see if a middle ground could not be found to bring about understanding between them. Not so with the Brewery Workmen. Well, they are a small organization. There they recommend the extreme penalty—no, I beg your pardon, I want to be correct, they did not recommend, as was customary in every such conflict—but they proceeded to render a decision in direct contravention of a mandate of this convention. Not content with having rendered that decision to dismember the Brewery Workers' organization, they proceeded to adopt the enforcement of it before we had an opportunity to come to you and appeal to you for the right and justice that belongs to an organization affiliated with the American Federation of Labor for forty-six years.

When the Executive Council proceeded to notify the central labor bodies and state federations on the decision rendered it was equivalent to the revocation of the charter of our interna-

tional union. Needless to say, what followed in the wake of that damaging letter going out before we had a right to appeal. Conflicts and difficulties arose everywhere.

Why did the Executive Council refer this jurisdiction to the Committee on Adjustment? It was not a recommendation, it was a decision laid down and enforced. And while we have no grievance with any member of that committee, I ask you delegates how you would like to be tried by plaintiffs sitting in judgment on the committee and the chairman of it a judge who had rendered the decision to dismember you? That is what has happened here.

Sitting on a jury I should not need to vote. I would take my chances on influencing the other eleven of the jurors without a vote. Let me cite Article III, Section 11, of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor as a further fact that all precedents, all provisions of the constitution were disregarded in this instance. Section 11 distinctly says

"No grievance shall be considered by any convention that has been decided by a previous convention except on a recommendation of the Executive Council."

I told you before there was no recommendation; there had been a decision rendered and enforcement inaugurated, so that this grievance, if they want to characterize it as a grievance, had no place before the Adjustment Committee, since the very jurisdiction claim of these three must-get-theirs had been made in previous conventions and decisions rendered. The section of the constitution proceeds:

"Nor shall any grievance be considered where the parties thereto have not previously held conferences and attempted to adjust same themselves."

When we were invited to appear on April 20 the representatives of our organization requested a conference to see if there was a middle ground upon which we might reach some understanding. That was denied. No conferences have been held, irrespective

of any statement that may be made on this floor. The Council proceeded to render a decision in place of trying to get the contending organizations together in a conference to see if it were not possible to bring about adjustment.

Now, Mr. Chairman, the Brewery Workmen have had a hard struggle during the past fourteen years, and it seems to me that any organization that had gone through that period and was able to withstand the attacks from without, emerging from that position which threatened the very life of this International Union, should have the admiration of the delegates to this convention and not the condemnation attempted by the Executive Council to dismember us and make us a small, insignificant link in the chain of the labor movement, taking away the economic strength of our organization that has made possible practically a hundred per cent organization in the brewing industry prior to national prohibition. And I dare say that within a very short time the Brewery Workmen will again be a hundred per cent in the American labor movement if things are not placed in our way to prevent it. The militancy of the Brewery Workmen is still living with us, and we stand ready, as in the past, to assist any and all organizations in struggles and conflicts that may confront us.

There are many of the old delegates sitting on the floor of this convention that recall many instances when they came to the Brewery Workers, either locally or through the International Union, for assistance and it was given cheerfully, both morally and financially. That was made possible by the closed shop organization. Our organization controlled the entire industry and that gave us economic strength and the respect of our employers. I have here numerous wage agreements from various sections of the country, and I shall read but one—all of them are practically alike—to show what the Brewery Workmen have done and what they have been doing ever since the consummation of the agreement with the teamsters in 1915. In the agree-

ment of Providence, Rhode Island, which happens to be on top, there is this provision which we made sacrifices to get:

"The undersigned firm, shall have the right during the rush of business, to hire outside teams or trucks to haul supplies to the brewery; provided, that such teams or trucks are manned by members of a recognized Teamsters' Union, if available; and, provided, also that at such times delivery men or helpers are not laid off. Should delivery men or helpers, members of either Local Unions Nos. 114 or 166 be available, they shall conformably be employed on such teams or trucks as drivers or helpers, as required. This paragraph shall be in effect on brewery owned trucks."

In all our agreements is embodied a provision that only union-made material and machinery shall be installed, and many of the agreements specify that only building trades and metal tradesmen carrying cards in their internationals should come into the breweries to work. That was made possible by the economic strength of our organization in the years past, and it will be made possible again, if we are not molested in the reorganization of the industry that is coming on.

There are some 450 breweries operating, all of them operating practically under contracts with our international union. All beer drivers employed are members of our international organization. It comes with mighty bad grace that after we emerge from a conflict of fourteen years we are confronted with internal difficulties in our own ranks instead of having the support and admiration that the organization I have the honor to represent deserves.

Let me say in conclusion that it is the Brewery Workmen now. If the decision of the Executive Council is sustained, in which they undo an act and mandate of this convention, it sets itself up as the supreme authority of the American labor movement and with the dictatorial powers to amend or modify or change the convention decision. It may operate on any other organization

in the future as it operated on us in April of this year.

We contend that the Executive Council is without authority to change a previous convention decision. Note in the report of the Executive Council to this Convention, on Page 115, Brewery Workers-Teamsters-Engineers-Firemen. The Council rendered a decision in direct conflict with a mandate of a previous convention.

If the decision of the Executive Council is sustained by this Convention it establishes a precedent that may operate on its affiliated organizations in the future in a like manner, its approval by this convention is the equivalent to the surrender of the autonomy rights of affiliated organizations and makes the Executive Council Supreme with dictatorial power.

We submit these facts to acquaint the Delegates with the grave question involved so that it may have the serious thought and consideration it merits.

President Green: The Chair desires to announce that the hour of noon adjournment has almost arrived. Delegate Possehl, of the Operating Engineers, is ready to speak and he states that he has considerable to say. I am wondering if we might not adjourn to 2:30 and hear his statement after adjournment.

Delegate Fitzgerald, Operating Engineers, moved that the rules be suspended and the convention be adjourned to 2:30 o'clock. The motion was seconded.

Miss Annabelle Lee Glenn, of the local Entertainment Committee, made a statement with reference to the reception to be tendered the women delegates, wives of delegates and other women visitors, at the White House, Wednesday afternoon at 4:00 o'clock. She stated that she had a supply of buttons to be worn by those who would be entitled to attend the reception and that such buttons could be obtained up to 5:00 o'clock Tuesday afternoon in the Cabinet Room of the Willard Hotel.

President Green: The convention having previously arranged to meet in the Commerce Building at 7:00 o'clock tonight, the Chair desires to announce that General Johnson will address the convention at 7:30, and I will appoint as a committee to escort him to the convention, Brother Joseph Weber, member of the Executive Council; Brother Michael McDonough, President of the Building Trades Department, and Brother Joseph Franklin, of the Boiler Makers.

The motion to suspend the rules and adjourn was carried, and at 12:15 an adjournment was taken to 2:30 p. m.

Seventh Day—Tuesday Afternoon Session

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

Discussion was resumed on the report of the Committee on Adjustment, as follows:

Delegate Possehl, Operating Engineers: In analyzing the opening part of the discussion of Delegate Obergfell, with relation to the matter before the convention, there are three things that stand out in the request to the convention to non-concur in the report of the committee. One is that by virtue of the American Federation of Labor issuing a charter to the Brewery Workers that gave them the right, by virtue of that charter, to organize all

of the men employed in the breweries, and thereby they had jurisdiction over the engineers in the breweries. Reference has also been made to the working agreement that was reached between the brewery workers and the engineers and that was approved by the convention of the American Federation of Labor. The other is that the Executive Council in rendering the decision has exceeded its authority and has usurped the powers of this convention.

The charter of the Brewery Workers was issued on March 4, 1897. Let us review what the law prior to that time was in the constitution of the American Federation of Labor.

Section 1, of Article II, reads as follows:

"The object of this Federation shall be the encouragement and formation of local trades and labor unions, and a closer federation of such societies through the organization of central trades and labor unions in every city, and the further combination of such bodies into state, territorial, or provincial organizations, to secure legislation in the interests of the working classes.

"Section 2. The establishment of national and international trades unions, based upon a strict recognition of the autonomy of each trade and the promotion and advancement of such bodies."

The objects of Article II in the present constitution have not been changed one iota, therefore if the Executive Council had erred in their decision, then the American Federation of Labor erred when the charter was issued to the Brewery Workers' organization.

Of course the members of the Executive Council are well able to defend their decision, and I will leave that to them. I am sure they have not practiced any malfeasance in office, and they have not practiced any act that would usurp the powers of this convention.

Prior to the issuance of our charter the Engineers, like every other organization in the early history of the labor movement, found themselves banded together in federal labor unions, so the question of the Brewery Workers having had any thoughts of a claim to Engineers under their charter rights is abused, in view of the fact that there is no record where they had at any time protested to the tribunals of the American Federation of Labor against the issuance of such charters, and inasmuch as the Engineers who made up the membership of these federal labor unions of the Engineers were then employed in many of the breweries.

Of course the Brewery Workers, in my opinion, are trying to hang a halo

of righteousness over their heads. They would do no wrong. They want an agreement that would suit their conditions and suit themselves, and they never violated it and never would!

The history of this dispute begins with 1898, and it was constantly brought to the attention of the conventions of the American Federation of Labor from that day up until 1908. Decisions were rendered by the American Federation of Labor, by the Executive Council, agreements were entered into between their organization and our organization and others, and they would not go along with us. They openly defied all the agreements, until finally, in the early part of 1907, when they refused to go along with the decisions of the Minneapolis convention, the charter was revoked. Of course in the Norfolk convention the following year the charter was restored, with the distinct understanding that they must abide by the decision of the Minneapolis convention.

From the Norfolk convention on, the old tactics were resumed. They continued without any opportunity for the Engineers' organization to correct them. The fight was so bitter that there wasn't any other thing possible except for the Engineers to try to take the "heat" away from the convention, the hot coals, as you might call it, in order that we might have peace in the industry. It is true a working agreement was consummated. Did they ever live up to that agreement? No, they did not, they did the same thing they had done since 1908 up to the time that agreement was made, up to the time prohibition became effective.

They say now that when the charter was issued to them, that by virtue of the letters that went with it when the charter was issued they had a right to organize all the men in accordance with the law. Nobody knows what the law was. It said "Brewery Workers," but at the same time the Engineers' trade had already been established.

The Engineers' International Union has been affiliated with the American

Federation of Labor since December 7, 1896. No formal declaration of jurisdiction was required to be attached to the formal application for charter at that time, as the title of the organization clearly signified the jurisdiction sought and when the charter was issued it signified the jurisdiction granted.

The work of an engineer, upon which the Engineers established their jurisdiction under the laws of the American Federation of Labor (as has always been and still is set forth in Article II of its Constitution) is the same today as it was prior to the establishment of the trade union movement and has not changed one iota since the inception of the American Federation of Labor. The same theory and practices of the physical application of the labor of an individual to the operation of engines and power developing machinery, which gave birth to the title and trade of an engineer, are still the basic factors by which the demarcation line between our jurisdiction and the jurisdiction of any and all other trades affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, in accordance with its laws, have been and still are to be determined as long as we shall be affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and recognized as a trade union.

The cause for this declaration of the Executive Council which brings the subject before the Convention for your consideration and action is established from the fact that the International Union of Brewery, Flour, Cereal and Soft Drink Workers of America and their affiliated Local Unions are guilty of trespass upon our jurisdictional rights and claims in the beer brewing, distilling, yeast and cereal industries by accepting engineers into their organization who rightfully come within the strict interpretation of our established jurisdictional claims and in violation of the laws of the American Federation of Labor, and also in establishing contractual relationships through written agreements with employers en-

gaged in these industries, for the Engineers, by which, in a great number of instances, members of our International Union are forced to become members of the Brewery Workers or else be subjected to immediate loss of employment. Members of our International Union who are subjected to these piratical activities on the part of the Brewery Workers submit only to these illegal acts without resorting to strikes and disturbance of local labor conditions because of the unfortunate unemployment conditions now prevailing which, as we all know, have compelled all workers to face a keen competitive employment market.

The delegate of the Brewery Workers admits that he surrendered this jurisdiction that had been granted to him on an extension of jurisdiction rights under his charter, because he was not in a position to organize. He could not organize. The only reason he did not hold on to it was because the Executive Council would not allow him to extend his jurisdiction to take in all the trades he mentioned. He had, from the time the jurisdiction was granted up until the prohibition amendment went in force, an opportunity to organize the flour mill and cereal workers. He had ample time to go out and organize them. It appears that he can only be successful when he can take in the Engineers and the other trades.

He mentions the number of members in his organization that are in the mechanical trades. He does not dare say just "engineers." We had a conference with Mr. Busch, of the Anheuser-Busch Brewing Company the other day in Washington, and he said he had agreements with the Brewery Workers which cover all the trades in the breweries. If that is going to be permitted, what is going to happen to our organization?

The Brewery Workers have also in many of the larger industrial centers where these industries are numerous established separate and distinct dual

Local Unions of Engineers, whose members are employed in these and other industries, similar to Local Unions of our International Union and derogatory to our interests as a recognized trade unit in these localities. This has caused confusion among employers and disturbed and curtailed the full and complete functioning of our local units, creating a competitive employment market for employers through which wages and conditions of employment are not possible of proper protection in accordance with the aspirations of our membership in these localities. Why have they chartered such Local Unions for Engineers separate and distinct from the actual Brewery Workers? Not because the Brewery Workers' International Union is so much in favor of it but because the engineers find a better opportunity of dealing separate and distinct from all other workers in these industries for their specific trade. You can not stop the engineer from doing that, so why not permit of his proper affiliation?

Now what would be the natural happening to an engineer who holds membership in the Brewery Workers when he is compelled to change employment from a brewery, a distillery, a yeast or cereal plant to employment in another industry where our Local Unions have enjoyed contractual relationships and understandings? Unless the individual carried two cards, one in the Brewery Workers and one in our Local Union (which is not tolerated or desired), he would find securing employment very difficult and be compelled to withdraw his membership from the Brewery Workers, and again be subjected to an initiation fee to become a member of our International Union. But there is yet a more serious situation to be mentioned, which is more perturbing than that already mentioned and which creates the opportunity for constant trespass upon the Engineers' jurisdiction. That is the impossibility of compelling an engineer who once becoming a member of the Brewery Workers' Union to use his card therein to identify him as a trade unionist with the

full rights as such to seek employment as a union engineer without respect to the trade autonomy of the Engineers' International Union in all industries.

Where such membership of theirs employed as engineers are subjected to the usual interchanges of employment in the industries mentioned, to others in localities where these conditions exist, there is competitiveness, destructive of the trade union principles by virtue of such members with a union card of the Brewery Workers carrying their claims for the right to work in any and all industries as organized workers without recognition of our rights and claims, and without proper and immediate recourse to any of the local tribunals of established branches and affiliates of the American Federation of Labor. Recourse through correspondence and conferences with the Brewery Workers' International Union to correct illegal trespass in all of its phases has availed us nothing and will always continue so.

Now, what has happened to our organization, where these organizations, separate and distinct units of engineers, are affiliated with the Brewery Workers? He says they did not go out of existence when prohibition became effective. We will admit the Brewery Workers did not go out of existence as an organization, but the breweries went out of existence. If they did not go out of existence altogether, they went into other lines of industry.

What else happened? When the breweries went out and he could not get work in the industry that did not stay in existence, irrespective of what article you were manufacturing, those same engineers that had cards in an engineers' local of Brewery Workers went out and competed with our men in the field where we had been actively engaged for years, and where we had contractual relations and said they were engineers that had a right to work the same as our men had.

Beginning with 1921 we tried to bring about a conference to correct some of these wrongs. You know what happened after prohibition. Have you

ever gone to Cincinnati and sat into the meeting of their Executive Board? You had to take a tablecloth to wipe away the tears when they told what had happened to them. We did not burden them with our grief, because of the troubles of their organization and the troubles of the industry for which they worked. The sympathy extended by all organizations, including ourselves, to the Brewery Workers during prohibition in not properly forcing the issues at hand with relation to such trespass unfortunately created a further opportunity to extend their activities towards further trespass in the manner and with the methods mentioned.

So much so that we have an agreement in effect in a brewery that runs until 1934, but they go in and get the engineers to sign up with them. The employers said they would have to recognize the contract with the Brewery Workers, but they would also live up to the contract with our organization. What happened to the men who came out of the breweries when the breweries closed? They had to find other employment. Naturally they drifted into other industries and they are in our organization. If the Brewery Workers say they are going to organize the breweries again and include the engineers, it follows that they will have to take them away from our organization. You cannot make engineers overnight.

The Brewery Workers have and still do claim that they have in their membership some engineers whose work, it will not be denied, is not only identical, but the manner and means of securing employment is similar in every respect to that which prevails and is customary for our membership to adopt to properly qualify for such employment. Everybody can understand where they are going to get engineers to become members of the Brewery Workers' International Union if they are permitted to carry on as they are now attempting to do in their hurry to organize the new and rehabilitated beer brewing industry. They will have to secure

such engineers from among our ranks and by coercion and intimidation force them into membership of their International Union, irrespective of what may be our rightful claims to protect such engineers under agreements with employers and our Local Unions.

Any claim they may make relative to the engineers they may have had in their organization prior to prohibition having remained as members during the number of years prohibition was in force is ridiculous, when the industry itself has been non-existent for years. If there be any foundation of fact to such claim, then surely it must appear evident that these engineers must have been employed somewhere in an industry over which there could be no justification for the right of the Brewery Workers to claim jurisdiction.

Engineers, like any other tradesmen, can not be made overnight. They are subject to spending years at study and practice to become efficient. Those who have for years been employed or followed the trade of an engineer must continue to study and become familiar with modern changes and improvement in machinery and refrigeration. Who has had this opportunity? Engineers, members of our International Union who when prohibition became effective did not just quit the trade. They had ample opportunity to find other employment at their trade because of our Union being designed and operated as a trade union and its jurisdiction being spread to all industries, many of which were similar to that upon which our membership were engaged in breweries prior to prohibition. So it stands to reason that if the Brewery Workers' contention is to claim jurisdiction over the engineers who are now and may hereafter be employed in the beer brewing industry, they will be compelled to steal the membership of our organization in order to follow out their present policy. This is dally going on and will continue unless this Convention puts a stop to it by concurring with the report of the committee.

The decision of the Executive Council with respect to this subject, while already greatly beneficial, it is only because of misleading propaganda spread by the dissatisfied parties who have challenged the authority of and the decisions of the Executive Council, that its effective application has been prevented with fair and considerate employers. With those employers who are forever looking for excuses to delay dealing with organized labor, this propaganda has admirably suited their purposes to avoid dealing with the proper unions. Employers all over this country and hundreds of our Local Unions are waiting a declaration by this Convention so that contractual relationships by written agreements may be established, which will govern wages and conditions of labor in the beer brewing industry. State Federations of Labor and City Central Bodies anxiously await your answer to this grievous situation as, because of its present status and the propaganda that has been spread by the dissatisfied parties to this grievance, they feel loath to give local support and advice in carrying out the decision of the Executive Council. Its continued and expanding possibilities of confusion have resulted in economic disturbances which are dangerous to the proper functioning of these local bodies.

Conciliation, or adjustment of differences, or any final settlement of this controversy through conferences of the Brewery Workers and ourselves is impossible. The American Federation of Labor through this Convention must again emphatically by concurrence with the report of the committee declare for the established principles of the trade union movement, based upon a strict recognition of the autonomy of each trade to deal collectively for its tradesmen coming within the full scope of the jurisdiction guaranteed by the charter rights as accorded by the American Federation of Labor.

There must be no loopholes or possibilities of misinterpretation of your expressions as will in any way give support to any claim to the Brewery

Workers' theory of complete organization of the workmen in breweries under their banner from the roof to the cellar in the industries where they may be successful in organizing workers. Such a theory could only be contrary to and in violation of the declaration of principles of the American Federation of Labor, which have served the trade unionists since the inception of the organized trade union movement. Time and again during the life of the American Federation of Labor the Conventions and the leaders of this great organization have reiterated the established declarations of the principles of a trade union movement based upon a strict recognition of the autonomy of trades, and in this case it must again be reiterated.

Jurisdictional disputes have been and are still the source of many clashes whereby workmen are subject to loss of continuous employment without just cause. It can be readily understood where a difference may arise when changes of material are necessary and the application of labor thereto may give cause for the thought of a change of jurisdiction demarcation lines between trades. But in this case there can not be found such a cause to support the claims of the Brewery Workers for the right to hold jurisdiction over the engineers employed in breweries; specifically so when it is clearly indicated by our charter rights that we, the Engineers, have been recognized as a trade and with full autonomy thereover, irrespective of in what industry the trade itself may be found to be essential to permit of its proper operation. To recognize such an unreasonable claim of the Brewery Workers would only give recognition to the right of many other affiliated unions to do likewise and it would eventually become applicable to all the metal trades unions, thereby destroying the trade union movement and in its application give comfort to many of the sponsors of the "One Big Union," I. W. Wism and others that are constantly disturbing the effective organizing of the workers under the American Federation of Labor.

The Brewery Worker, in his remarks, in trying to hang the halo of righteousness over his head, infers that he has done everything right and that he has lived up to all agreements. I will admit that he tries to tell everybody that he does everything. I will read you a letter he sent out to the brewery workers of the country. He tells you what the American Federation of Labor did. Here is the letter:

Cincinnati, Ohio, July 5, 1933.

To all Brewery Proprietors!

Gentlemen:

We have received a number of requests from brewers for information relative to the demand made by the International Union of Operating Engineers and the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen & Helpers over jurisdiction over the workers in these branches of the brewing industry. In the letters from these two organizations they infer that it was their organizations which were active in the counsels of Labor's National Committee for the Modification of the Volstead Law to secure modification, and thereby the restoration of the brewing industry.

They attempt to justify their demand on the employing brewer to contract with their organization over these two branches of the industry because of a recent decision of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor which granted them jurisdiction over the workers in these two departments of the industry.

We desire to give a brief review of the long and consistent fight made by our organization for modification of the Volstead Law and the restoration of the brewing industry.

Every action of the American Federation of Labor convention for modification of the Volstead Law was the direct result of resolutions introduced by the Brewery Workers' International Union.

In the early days of national prohibition, when it was not popular to oppose the prohibition laws, we had utmost difficulties in having the American Federation of Labor conventions go on record for modification.

In 1923 we organized the Joint Legislative Committee, comprised of the Association Against the Prohibition Amendment, the Moderation League Inc. of New York, the Constitutional Liberty League of Mass., and the American Federation of Labor, which was represented by members of our International Union. As a result of the Joint Legislative Committee functioning actively in Washington we secured the first hearing before the House Judiciary Committee in 1924. Again we secured a hearing before the Senate Judiciary Committee in 1926, in which hearing Senator James Reed of Missouri took a prominent part. The Joint Legislative Committee, comprised of those organizations, continued to function until 1930.

At the Boston Convention of the American Federation of Labor, held in October, 1930, the Brewery Workers' delegates again pressed for a declaration by the American Federation of Labor convention in the resolution introduced by the Brewery Workers' delegates. We again encountered opposition but secured the passage of our resolution seeking modification of the Volstead Law. Following the Boston convention our International Union called a conference of national and international unions in Washington, in December, 1930, and there formed Labor's National Committee for Modification of the Volstead Law. Needless to say, the operation Labor's National Committee required money to function with, and the two organizations, namely the International Union of Operating Engineers and the International Brotherhood of Teamsters contributed not one penny to help carry on the work of Labor's National Committee. In fact, very little money could be raised from the forces of

labor, excepting the Brewery Workers, and the moneys required to function with was raised through contributions of the Brewery Workers and friends to the cause of modification outside the pale of the labor movement.

The majority of the employing brewers of the United States know that the Brewery Workers had waged an aggressive campaign for modification of the Volstead Law from the very inception of national prohibition. We ask no credit for this, since it was a principle that we were fighting for, but we resent the attempt of organizations which want to hi-jack members from our International Union, to take credit for something to which they did not contribute one penny.

The purpose of this letter is to advise the employing brewers that we are seeking no extension of jurisdiction over workers in the industry, since the men employed in these branches for the most part have always been members of our International Union, but we will refuse to surrender jurisdiction over engineers, firemen and teamsters, in any locality where they are members of our International Union, and where they were members prior to the adoption of national prohibition. The attempt to hi-jack our membership will be resisted by our organization with all the forces at our command.

We deplore that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor has usurped power not vested to it in granting jurisdiction to these organizations, which action is directly contrary to the mandate of the convention of the American Federation of Labor held in Seattle in 1913 and reaffirmed in the San Francisco convention in 1915. This same jurisdiction claim was made back in 1907 when our organization resisted the surrender of the men affiliated with our organization and the charter of our International Union was restored by order of the

convention of the American Federation of Labor.

We trust to have the continued cooperation of the employing brewers with whom we have been doing business in some instances for more than forty years.

Very truly yours,

JOSEPH OBERGFELL,
General Secretary-Treasurer.

They are the only ones that did anything to bring about a modification of the Volstead Act! The American Federation of Labor did nothing! Labor did very little, and what labor did do the Brewery Workers had to push them into! We had a strike in a brewery in Washington for two years. Fighting the employer with all the economic strength that our organization and affiliated organizations could find, making use of every weapon given us under the American Federation of Labor and under the civil laws, we carried on that fight. Just when we thought we were going to win our fight, all of a sudden, from Cincinnati, Ohio, on August 30, 1933, the following was sent out:

"This is to certify that the Abner-Drury Brewing Company of Washington, D. C., has for many years signed agreements with the Brewery Workers' Local Union No. 48 and the International Union of Brewery Workmen, and has operated its plant 100 per cent in the manufacturing and delivery department. All men employed in these departments are members of Brewery Workers' Local Union No. 48, Washington, D. C."

Then what happened? The boss decided he would make use of this and advertised in the newspapers. He put out an advertisement reprinting the letter. In other words, the Brewery Worker tells the employer, and the employer tells the public, the brewery is unionized and they are all right. The same thing occurred in Evansville, Indiana. Now we must take those men out of our organization and give them to him because he went in and chiseled on it.

What happened in Toledo? Our men and the building tradesmen went out to support the Brewery Workers. What did the Brewery Workers do? They slipped in over night and made an agreement, and we are out yet. In Indiana they signed an agreement for the Engineers as well as the Brewery Workers after a strike.

We cannot obtain conferences with the Brewery Workers. We cannot find them. They made an agreement to have a conference with us. When the time came they did not attend the conference. They forgot that they had agreed to come. We had to find a court in which to place our grievance and we presented it to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, and they did nothing more than every convention has done since 1898, they declared that the Engineers belonged to our union and not to the Brewery Workers.

Delegate Obergfell says there are 450 breweries in operation and most of them are signed up. Why didn't he sign up with them in California? We have agreements in California, in New Jersey, and all over the country. We have members in some of the big breweries where the Brewery Workers cannot find an engineer and have to come to us to get them.

Go down and meet their executive board and see what a hard lot they are. Brothers, you are guilty before you go in! You might as well say you are guilty and they might forgive you! The representatives on the road cannot do anything except to see the Executive Board, and the Executive Board cannot do anything until they get to the convention.

Every affiliated branch of the American Federation of Labor, in support of the engineer and the fireman in the northwest, are doing everything possible to get employment for their members. All the Brewery Workers have to do is to put their label on a keg of beer and it is union made.

We recommend for your consideration concurrence with the committee's report which, if adopted, I am sure will make possible the complete organizing of the beer brewing, distilling, yeast and cereal mill industries because it will kill the excuse of dilatory and rascally inclined employers who make use of misinterpretations and jurisdictional differences to ward off the organizing of their workers. The possibility of capturing a plant organization and turning it into a company union will be destroyed when these employers become aware that the trades are properly separated in accordance with the jurisdiction accorded by the American Federation of Labor.

The convention can do no more than concur in the report of the Executive Council, because the jurisdiction is ours. Not because the Executive Council says so, but because convention after convention has said so. Years ago when the fight was hot the Engineers said, "Come in and let us try to keep this off the floor of the convention of the American Federation of Labor." It has not worked since 1908 and will never work with the Brewery Workers. We have agreements in New York and Chicago with a five-hour day and higher wages than the Brewery Workers have. They will admit we have fought this fight fairly. One thing we do is to go out and fight for conditions. If we can get conditions in these breweries where we have an organization, surely we can do it all over the country. The Brewery Workers had no engineers, in the first place, and those they have got are in because of low initiation fees.

We ask your concurrence in the committee's report.

Delegate Kugler, Brewery Workers: I appear before you this afternoon, not with any manuscript, but with just my actual experience for a good many years. Everyone will admit that the jurisdiction history of the brewery workers is unique, and I am one of those who had to go through the experience of the early days, and all that has been presented up to the present

time is just a resurrection of the happenings of thirty years ago.

There are those who would have you believe that the report of the committee is going to be the solution in the direction of cementing the forces of the various organizations, or we will face a like situation as we did thirty years ago.

I for one appeared before the Executive Council in behalf of our organization and pleaded pathetically, contending that to bring this question at this critical time into a convention is too much of a serious nature and should be confined to the basis of conference, because we know each other and we are satisfied if we get into a conference we could strike some happy medium. We need not expect a whole pound of flesh, but rather upon a basis of give and take.

You listened to the engineer, the claims he is making, and all at once he wants phraseology, he does not seem to study human nature at all. Our organization is absolutely misunderstood. All you listen to is Chicago and New York and San Francisco.

The bulk of our membership and the coming membership is in the mountainside, the countryside and the valleys. The highly advertised firms are naturally in the big cities, but the bulk of the manufacturing end of it is a compact and real recruiting station for the entire labor movement, providing you give us the chance to do some real organizing.

I never thought I was such a blackguard as I have been painted. I don't want to go into details, but the fact of the matter is right here, when you talk about the Washington situation. In 1915 I made the fight in behalf of the engineers and firemen. There are no such employes as beer drivers under the jurisdiction of the International Union of Teamsters. We have them in our organization and they have been members all the years, and when that fight was made we always worked together. All at once we get a revela-

tion that they cannot meet in conference with us.

I want to serve notice upon you here now that my signature is on that agreement back of 1908. I have gone through life in a decent fashion at all times and I propose to go to my grave in a decent fashion. I never found, when I was requested to go into a conference in behalf of the trade union movement, that I would sneak around or chisel about any single thing, not at all. I was always responsive.

But what is the situation? It is true we did not meet because there were no grievances. I never heard of one, and the other one they were talking about; it took four years when I promised my pal, the late Arthur Huddell, in the places where I signed the contract for the mechanical end of it with a company in Baltimore—after a fight of two years it is not so easy to sign up, because it was a case where I had to. My attention was called to the fact. Did I carry it out? I did, but not at that particular day when the contract expired. Nobody expects me to lead the local business agent by the hand and introduce him to the employer and tell him about the line of demarcation. I arranged to meet President Possehl of the Operating Engineers. I introduced him, hence the matter was settled.

The whole thing has no place here at this convention. If the Executive Council, in its judgment, could only realize the real struggle ahead of us, the confusion which is bound to come, the disorganization instead of organization—If our life work is to disorganize, then I have been wrong all my life, because my life work was to create the organization until lightning struck us out of a clear sky back in the year 1920. I see the thing moving now, and it looks like lightning will come again and strike us in the same spot—all under the disguise of jurisdiction, all under the disguise of trade autonomy.

No one pays any attention to the original encouragement on the part of

the Federation to be of service to an organization. Yes, we had a 95 per cent organization prior to prohibition and we will have, as the brewery workmen, 100 per cent of an organization before we get through with our mission. But if you stop us, that is a different story. Then you are going to create a condition which is not going to be beneficial to the teamsters, it is not going to be beneficial to the engineers and it is not going to be beneficial to the firemen, and the practical brewery worker will take his chances in his own way where he will fit in.

We come to you. We know just exactly the combination. It is no novelty to us. We thought you ought to meet us in conference, and I am satisfied if you meet us in conference, although it may take a year or two, we know the ethics of trade unionism, we know what we have to do in this movement of ours, and I am satisfied we can consummate an understanding the same as we have in the engineers, the same as we have with the teamsters today, neither of which has been canceled. You can see we are honest about it, we have violated nothing at any time. We are ready at all times to carry on in our own way altogether in conformity with every trade, trying to be helpful to every trade.

Every mechanic, no matter whether he is an electrician, a machinist or what, if we have a contract with our employers where we insist that union made articles must be purchased at all times, we respect the rights of those mechanics. But if you are going to defeat that economic strength of ours you will not have any more discussion, that is true, but by the adoption of this committee's report you will alienate this organization. If you believe that is the thing to do, you are the jury. We put our case before you this morning. We cannot do any more.

This question has brought out the constitutional features thereof. We pleaded for a conference. You have denied it, and if you want to act today, you have not enough information in

regard to the composition of our organization, and we have to be organized in the form we are going through if we want to be successful in our undertaking.

Delegate Hughes, Teamsters: Mr. Chairman and delegates—I am not going to keep you long and I am not going to spend the time telling you about the iniquities of the other fellow. This controversy has been going on in a sort of football fashion for the past thirty years, as the older members of this organization understand very well.

Our organization of the teamsters and chauffeurs was chartered in 1899, and we were granted jurisdiction over men who drove teams at that time. Later, when the automobile became a part of our industry the charter was changed and the title granted to the teamsters and chauffeurs and those who helped on these vehicles. There isn't a man who has common sense, in my opinion, who is fair and broad-minded, but will say to you openly that a man who drives a team or an automobile comes directly under the jurisdiction of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters. We say this because we fully understand our jurisdiction, and with the exception of the one organization today affiliated with the Federation we have reached understandings and there are no complaints or kicks on the part of any organization.

A few years ago, in fact, when our organization was young, we had complications with the men who organized the laundry workers' organization. We likewise had complications with the men who organized the bakers' organization. The Federation saw fit to change this position and to instruct the laundry workers that the men who drove laundry wagons and delivered wash of all kinds and descriptions came directly under our jurisdiction, and they now are.

A year or two later the Federation wisely saw fit to tell the bakers' international union that the men engaged in the baking industry driving and de-

livering food stuffs came directly under our jurisdiction, and it was so ordered. We have taken care of both of these situations.

We now come to the brewery workers, and we have felt, as I feel now, that our fight is, to a degree, ended when prohibition took effect. Prohibition took care of the fight at that time, not only of our organization, but of the firemen and engineers as well. Now prohibition is about to be eliminated, and we have beer back—call it beverage if you please, but I call it beer, and if you don't believe it, tackle about six or eight bottles of it and you will be ready to sing. This condition is back here today and our organization rightfully is contending for its jurisdiction. We feel that if the brewery workers are entitled to the men who drive the team or automobile, then the printers or the pressmen are entitled to the men who haul the raw material into the printing shops and likewise distribute the material after it has been printed and is a finished product. The same thing would apply to the carpenter—he should have jurisdiction over the man who hauls the lumber. The same thing would apply to the cement finisher, the hod carrier, etc., and the men who haul the building materials, lumber and cement, brick, and other products, should belong to them.

So you can readily understand we have a complaint. We believe we are justified in making this complaint and we are not striving to say to the brewery workers that we are going to tear their organization to pieces. We don't want to do that. I think our conduct of action during the stressing times through which they passed during prohibition will prove successfully that we are not trying to injure or hurt them.

I know from my own experience that we had case after case where our local men appealed to us and said, "In this ice house we have a dozen men working, some of them hauling ice, some of them pulling ice and some doing other things, and we would like to get these men into our organization." We have simply said to them, both personally

and in written communications that these poor fellows are in bad shape and we are going to let them ride.

Today in Cleveland we have ten or fifteen men hauling Coca-Cola, distributing it around the streets of Cleveland, and they are all members of the brewery workers' union and we have said nothing about it. That proves conclusively that we are not trying to punish them or hurt their industry.

I said before the committee the other day and I say it now that the brewery industry today is a brand new industry. After prohibition became effective you stopped making beer, and I want to find out how many brewery workers delivered beer during that time. There were men who delivered something they called beer, but they were not brewery workers. I won't even accuse them of that.

During this period of course everything dropped. There was no reason for arousing antagonism between ourselves and the brewery workers, and they brought nothing to our attention, and of course they can say that peace prevailed in the period between prohibition and the present time. There was nothing else to fight about and we were peaceful, and we got along.

I say to you the industry has changed. In the State of Indiana, a brewery cannot even establish an agency. Individuals can have agencies, but a brewery itself cannot have an agency. In fact, a brewery in the State of Indiana cannot sell its beer or its product without selling it to an importer, and the importer in turn sells it to a wholesaler, and he in turn sells it to a retailer. What connection is there between the brewer, between the man who makes the beer and the man who works a hundred or two hundred miles away, working for a wholesaler, who has no connection whatsoever with the brewing of beer? I say that the industry has changed.

Prior to this time in the city of Indianapolis, my home city, every brewery that was selling or distributing beer had an agency controlled and owned by

themselves. That thing has gone by, and today this same beer is being handled and distributed away from the brewery entirely by men who are working for the trucking companies in their respective cities.

We are able to take care of the men who drive the trucks, who deliver this product, and I believe we have demonstrated here in the taking into our organization of men who were working for the truck companies that we have made the bakery wagon drivers of this country the highest paid men who drive vehicles, and they are receiving higher wages than they ever have before. The same is true of the laundry workers. We raised them to a position on the top rung of the ladder so far as wages and working conditions are concerned. And likewise we can take care of Mr. Brewery Worker or Mr. Driver.

Where our men are today handling freight or beer in some of our cities they are getting at least one dollar a day more than the wage scale paid to the men handling beer in packages, kegs or any other kind of handling in those institutions. So you can see that the men that come under our jurisdiction, the men we have a right to claim and the men we believe this Federation is going to turn over to us are well protected by our people, and naturally their interests are best protected in our organization.

I don't know exactly what position the Council will be in in answering you, but I know the Council had very good reasons for taking the action it did, and I am satisfied your action here today in approving the action of our Executive Council should at least satisfy the majority.

Delegate McNamara, Firemen and Oilers: Mr. Chairman and delegates, in 1909, when the charter was granted to the organization that I have the privilege to represent, no objection was lodged on the part of the brewery workers or anybody else, and I suppose it was understood at the time that stationary firemen in every industry would become members of the firemen's

organization. In 1919 we were granted further jurisdiction over the oilers, which is now the International Brotherhood of Firemen and Oilers. There is no need of my going into the history of the fights we have had in the American Federation of Labor before my time. They are all a matter of history in the labor movement.

In 1907 and 1908, when the brewery workers were admitted back to the American Federation of Labor, they agreed to turn over all those men to their respective organizations. It has not been done up to date. Both myself and all the officers of my organization have been up against it from our different organizations, and locals all over this country, where the brewery workers have the firemen in their organization. It is impossible for us to build up our local organizations in those cities, because they say to us, "What do we want joining your organization? Why don't you get those men if you have jurisdiction over the firemen that are working in the breweries?" That is what they tell us. Now if we were granted jurisdiction over firemen and oilers we have the right to have them.

There are several cases that Brother Possehl of the engineers brought to your attention here, and these cases also refer to the firemen, where we have had trouble in several sections of this country, especially since last April. One of these was a city in Massachusetts where these firemen were members of my organization since prohibition and were entitled to a death fund of \$500.00. Here about a month ago the brewery workers came along and told those men that they must belong to the brewery workers' organization. They have either to pay their dues in my organization or pay their dues in the brewery workers' organization and lose the \$500.00 death benefit. I don't think that is fair, I don't think that is the practice of the labor movement.

In Providence, Rhode Island, where our organization held agreements some years ago, I went in there not long ago and talked with the officers of the labor

movement in that city. I also talked with some of the officers of the brewery workers' union. They said under no condition would they allow the firemen to go into the firemen's organization, that they would have to be members of the brewery workers. They signed up an agreement in Providence, Rhode Island, covering the firemen in that city for four to ten dollars less on the week than we are getting in other parts of the United States.

There are several cities in the United States where the brewery workers have got the firemen and oilers and we are up against the same proposition I told you about before. We cannot build up the organization because the firemen are in the brewery workers' organization and they will not go along and turn over these firemen to the firemen's and oilers' organization.

We have had conferences with the brewery workers and the brewery workers won't give away any of the plants that they had before prohibition. And so I hope and trust that the Executive Council's report will be sustained, so that the organization I represent can go out and organize the men that rightfully belong to that craft, without the trespass of jurisdiction on the part of the brewery workers or anybody else, and we can give more time to the labor movement and be of some benefit to the labor movement, other than spending all our time and money fighting organizations that are willing all the time to trespass on our jurisdiction.

I thank you.

Delegate Tobin, Teamsters: Mr. Chairman and Delegates: Just before I forget it I want to answer one or two statements made by the brewery worker who addressed us this morning, Brother Obergfell. He read several agreements and he said that they had signed agreements with the brewery owners in which they protected every other workman employed in the industry, or something that meant that in substance.

The delegate of the San Francisco Trades and Labor Council is in the hall. He is well known to every trade unionist who has ever visited San Francisco, and he informs me that the Building Trades Council of San Francisco has placed the Gray Brewery and the Globe Brewery on the unfair list because they employ no mechanics of the building industry who are union men, and the brewery workers refused to help the building trades. So much for the building trades.

Now I would not mention that if it had not been for the deception attempted by Brother Obergfell. Brother Obergfell said that he had an agreement with the teamsters' union which dated back some years ago, 1913, or something like that, he did not give the exact date, in which we agreed that they should have the brewery workers' teamsters and we would have the soft drink men, etc. I want to deny any such agreement, and if my signature is on such agreement it is a very clever photostatic copy or a forgery of my signature. I think there are sufficient old-time trade unionists in this convention to give me credit at least for having sense enough during my time to protect as best I could the jurisdiction and the membership of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, and there are none of you who will not say that even if I wanted to I could not sign such an agreement and give any part of our jurisdiction away to any organization.

The man who is supposed to have found this agreement has passed away and I cannot say what I would say if he were here, but this I will say, that he went into the brewery business himself, this man who was once secretary, leading the same kind of a fight that Obergfell is leading now, and the brewery workers had to threaten to take his membership in the brewery workers away from him because he would not hire union men in the brewery plant that he owned.

This is my twenty-sixth convention of the American Federation of Labor,

without missing any. In 1906, at a convention at which I was not present, held in Minneapolis, the Executive Council received instructions that unless the brewery workers recognized the jurisdiction of other trades within the plants, their charter would be revoked. That was in 1906 in Minneapolis. In the month of May of 1907—I have the exact dates, but I won't tire you by reading those documents, the brewery workers wrote a letter defying the convention and the Executive Council, saying they would not respect the decision of the Federation. Because of doing that the Executive Council carried out the instructions of the convention and their charter was revoked.

This is no new story, this defiance, this begging, this crawling for something that does not belong to those that are crying. It is only a short time ago when they were crying and begging for your assistance to help them strike off the statute books that damnable law, the 18th Amendment. It reminds me of the old saying of Dean Swift, "When the devil was sick the devil a monk could be; when the devil was well, the devil a monk could be."

The brewery workers think now they are well, they are coming back, and they are standing, defying the legitimate tribunals within the labor movement when they render decisions displeasing to them.

In May, 1907, their charter was revoked. I came to the Norfolk convention, my first convention. There is just one man left here of the Council that revoked the charter, one man who voted for the revocation of the charter then because of their determination to defy the laws. That is Frank Morrison, and he is the living testimony to what happened within the Council then and during the convention in Minneapolis. I came to the Norfolk convention. Mr. Gompers, who was somewhat friendly with the brewery workers and very anxious to see the organization remain within the Federation, held several conferences on the side. I was a new man

and there was an attempt made to get the cigar makers to introduce a resolution to re-seat the brewery workers, with the promise that they would obey the instructions of the previous convention. But the cigar makers refused—and Gompers was first vice president of the cigar makers' union. And who did they get to introduce the resolution? Look over the records of the convention at Norfolk in 1907 and you will see. They got somewhat of a wild delegate from the miners at that time, a very enthusiastic Socialist—most of those boys were Socialists then—Jack Walker introduced the resolution to re-seat the brewery workers in the convention of the American Federation of Labor, and they were re-seated, but with the distinct understanding and the promised obligation, on their word of honor, that they would obey the decision of the Minneapolis convention, giving to the teamsters the teamster, giving to the engineers the engineer, and giving to the firemen, which was then headed by Tim Healy, the fireman and oiler.

And, gentlemen, I hate to question the sincerity or the honesty of men, but they never made the slightest attempt ever to fulfill that solemn promise which was made in deception to the delegates of the Norfolk convention. You are just turning back the hands of the clock twenty-five years this afternoon, and down along the line I can see in my mind's eye Tommy Tracy, Jim Duncan, and all those other men who made this decision twenty-five years ago, and wherever their spirits are, their presence must be here watching this convention and wondering whether or not you are going to destroy the foundation upon which this organization was founded—the foundation of trades autonomy.

We went on. Of course when prohibition came the thing was abolished, there were no trucks hauling beer. Whatever few there were it was hired truckmen. The brewery workers went out of business. The brewery workers themselves went into the brewery business. One of their experiments to pro-

tect and save their organization was the establishment of a brewery in Cincinnati. They bought and owned that brewery, but the last I remember hearing of it they had been trying to sell it to somebody and they were making ice there. Sixty per cent of the breweries that obtained in this country before prohibition were eliminated. Part of those that remained were turned into ice factories, mostly, or candy factories.

It went along and we went through a period of industrial destruction, legalized murder throughout the world since those days. The whole world has been tied up in turmoil, in blood, in war and in destruction. We have another generation, different from the few of that generation who are left. The whole industry of teaming has been re-created.

There are no teamsters any more except out in the country. There is a new mechanism and the art of steering the modern motor truck is entirely different from what it was driving horses through the streets. In the first place, the old time brewery teamster enjoyed himself very much. Such a man could not function today on a modern five or ten-ton truck. One of the requirements of the law of the states and of the nation and of our organization is that any man with a sign of intoxicating liquor on his breath cannot operate a truck. The lives of the public are endangered. The valuable property that he handles is in danger. It is a different type of man. My sons and your sons are the chauffeurs or drivers of today. The old time driver who stayed on the job until he was sixty, sixty-five or seventy years old is a thing of the past.

The whole machinery of moving freight has been changed. There is a new element, a new generation. We came into this Federation when we found that this condition was changing and we had our charter amended, and we are the only organization in this Federation that has the right to admit, by charter right, chauffeurs and chauffeurs' helpers who are not mechanics into our organization.

Now the brewery workers lost their name, their identity, their following. There were no breweries. There was one here and there, but it was outside the law, and they had no access to it. They came to the Executive Council in one of the years that I was on the Council with a pitiful tale of the condition of their organization. They had some financial resources and they said, "If you will allow us to amend our charter and extend our jurisdiction we believe we can survive, gentlemen. Otherwise we cannot survive." And we did amend their charter. I voted to amend it and to help them, as per their request. There are other members here who also voted to help them out. We gave them jurisdiction over mill workers, cereal workers. They said there were thousands of flour mill workers that were unorganized, and thousands of other classes of cereal workers, that there was no limit to their jurisdiction.

I find that while they claimed 5,000 mill workers, cereal workers and yeast workers in membership, their membership average was way down below what it was in 1907 and 1908, about forty-five to fifty thousand, down to less than fourteen thousand members in 1932. Those are the records of the Federation.

Now if they had 5,000 yeast workers and 5,000 mill workers, they don't have very many brewery workers, and the chances are they paid on a couple of thousand more than they had in membership, as some organizations do. I mention this to prove that this organization had been practically wiped out, and we are in a new day and a new age with a new industry.

We don't want men that work inside of the brewery, we don't want any man who is covered by his own trade. A truck driver backs up his five- or ten-ton truck to the platform of the brewery. He never goes inside except he goes in for a glass of beer. Those drivers are very independent and they draw the line pretty close about doing somebody else's work. The driver has his load put on with helpers, with

shipping room men. We don't want those shipping room men. The driver goes on down to the freight house shipping a load of beer from New York City or Brooklyn up to Buffalo or Rochester or some other city or, in the case of the Anheuser-Busch people, from St. Louis to Indianapolis, or Chicago, he backs up his truck to a freight house and unloads his load of beer, or he may drive it over the road—they are driving loads of beer now from St. Louis into Indianapolis, and so on. That is purely trucking work. If anything happens to his tires or truck he must be able to make temporary repairs. Otherwise he would be of no good to the institution. That is the man we want, that is the man we have every place, as Secretary Hughes has said. We haven't a word of dispute with any labor organization affiliated with this American Federation of Labor.

Do you mean to tell me, any of you men, that the pressmen could not just as justly claim the man who hauls the paper to the presses, or that the building trades could not claim the building trades mechanic who hauls his material?

There is a certain class of men engaged in our work, and we know the trucking business. Look over our men down there. That is all we know, just the trucking business. It belongs to us just the same as your trades belong to you. Surely you are not going to take the position that you are entitled to your trade but we are not entitled to the truck drivers over whom we have been granted jurisdiction.

I heard some insidious references here to the poisonous fangs of the man who stoops to deception, and it has a greater meaning than just the winning or the losing of this case—referring to the Executive Council and that they have no power to do this and that. Well, it is a good thing that the statements have been made to International officers, men who are themselves executive officers of their international unions. Such statements will not accomplish the purpose for which they have been made.

I was a member of this Executive Council for eleven years. I disagreed with the Council substantially on more than one occasion, as we do on our own Board. None of you who preside over your boards can deny the fact that there is serious misunderstanding, but after all, when a decision is reached, real men that are labor men will abide by the decision.

Why did this case come to the Executive Council? We brought it there with the engineers, and we demanded an answer as an organization living and fighting and struggling to maintain conditions. We, too, pay our way in the American labor movement, we never turn our back on anybody, including the brewery workers. When we pay our fees into the American Federation of Labor we want service and we get service, if it is within the law.

We had a situation up in Seattle. I will tell you how it came to the Council. We had a situation in the northwest. Every driver in the city of Seattle belongs to our organization except half a dozen of these brewery drivers that have just come in. They were not brewery drivers before, there were no breweries. The brewery owners of that western country, after the Seattle central body unanimously had decided that the brewery trucks belonged to the teamsters, said, "We will carry out any decision rendered by the central body," and when the central body unanimously made the decision the brewery workers again threatened the brewery owners, and the brewery owners held back, and there is one of their representatives here, at least he said he was to be here and I saw him this morning and he may be listening to what I am saying. They held back and they said, "We will decide where these men belong in accordance with the decision of your Executive Council." As this affected several brewery workers from the Vancouver line almost down to San Francisco, the matter was acute, and so we came to the Council and demanded that the Council say whether chauffeurs and drivers belonged to us or somebody

else. The Council heard our case for nearly three days, and then the brewery workers go away and they come back and submit another brief, and the Council rendered no decision until the second brief had been presented and read. Then, after deliberating on the situation and understanding the seriousness of the case, and after receiving telegrams from the central body at Cleveland, Seattle and several other places, the Council would have been unfaithful to us who helped to elect them unless they rendered a decision in such a crucial case. So they rendered their decision.

The agreement has not been signed up there yet because the brewery workers have gone in and said, "We are going to have so-and-so with us in the convention and we will upset that decision in the convention." Then the brewery owners began to hedge the second time. The agreement is not signed yet, and we have all the drivers, and it has not been signed simply because they have been threatened.

They went further than that, they threatened to tie up the breweries because our union drivers were operating the trucks, and the brewery owners, the innocent victims in the play, had to apply for an injunction restraining those men, on orders of Obergfell, from striking against union chauffeurs, who never did a dirty trick to anybody in their lives.

Kugler talks about having a conference. Why, we have held conferences with these men until I turned gray and then green and then gray again holding conferences with them. But I did do this. As soon as this thing went over, long before we expected it to go over—and I think you know that I had some knowledge of what was transpiring in the late political campaign, but even the best of us on the inside did not expect that the Volstead Act would be amended before the first of May. The President's program was to call a special session of Congress on April 15, but finding conditions as they were so dangerous, with banks closing everywhere, the President of our coun-

try was forced to call a special session of Congress a day or two after he was inaugurated. And so we got the Volstead Act amended or liberalized two or three months ahead of when we expected it. Then the best that any man expected who knew what was going on in the world was that the 18th Amendment would be repealed about the end of 1935. The very leaders, the men who drafted the platform for the Democratic Party, did not expect anything better than that. But with industrial stagnation prevailing everywhere and with the Administration establishing the confidence of the people, with everybody in every State from north to south and from east to west trusting this man and his associates, we are going to have the 18th Amendment repealed by the first of January.

Now in reading that circular that John Possehl of the engineers read, that was the first time I had heard it or read it, but in this connection I want to say if there is any sin in human life that is more detestable than another, it is the sin of ingratitude. You may steal, you may rob, yes, you may commit even more heinous crimes and the law will punish you, but no one can ever punish the ingrate in any institution sufficiently. I will take my hat off to no man or number of men doing more than I did to eliminate from the statute books the 18th Amendment or to modify or liberalize the Volstead Act. I talked on every platform and over the radio and every place else, and I never failed to use a substantial part of that valuable time in behalf of the repeal of the 18th Amendment and the liberalization of the Volstead Act. There is no brewery worker within or without the organization, including the Master Brewers, who did any more than I did to bring about the condition confronting you today of the elimination of that detestable law.

I sat on the Executive Council when the majority of men on the Council were total abstainers, and those men voted in accordance with the instructions of previous conventions to do everything in their power to change that law in the

interests of liberty and not in the interests of intoxication.

Then we find circulars issued charging us with being slackers, trying to create an influence of prejudice against men who do not know—the Master Brewers, trying to create prejudice in their minds against our organization, and that sin cannot be forgotten. I do not deserve that, and my organization does not deserve that.

As far as paying any money is concerned, we have had our hands in our pockets all the time. I don't know about this organization you have in here, but the records will prove that we were pretty nearly as liberal as your organization. We sent eleven organizers during the weeks of the campaign at high salaries and expenses throughout this country pleading for the adoption of that plank in the Democratic platform. We sat in conferences night and day from coast to coast, helping to bring it about, and what have we done? We have created a Frankenstein that is perhaps going to destroy us, and you can smell the breath of the monster. It is right here this afternoon.

I called Obergfell to Indianapolis, believing that he could see the light and believing that he could at least give to Caesar that which belonged to Caesar, the men that belonged to us. Why, he laughed at me. He said, "You are joking, Dan, you don't want the drivers, they were always in the brewery workers." That is the answer he gave me. I like Joe Obergfell personally, but that was the answer he gave me, in substance.

Then we came to the Executive Council. We are coming to you as a trade that has stood for the principles upon which this organization was founded. Let me say this to you, gentlemen—it may be prejudicing my case by saying so, but I will risk the statement: Unless this labor movement will get down to facts and face stern realities, we are going to have a labor movement by law instead of by choice. Don't tell me that it can't be done. I have been

through Germany and witnessed the strongest labor movement in the world put out of business. Even after the war they maintained their organization. I have been to England and I have seen the workings of the British Trades Union Congress, and I know just what we are confronted with in this country unless we have the courage of leaders to settle such disputes as this within ourselves. If we cannot do that we must establish a tribunal whose decision must be final and binding. If we don't do that the Government will do it for us.

Why should any brewery owner or set of brewery owners or any contractor or set of contractors have their employments tied up when they are willing to pay the scale of wages and recognize the union shop 100 per cent? Perhaps some of you have greater power for answering that question than I have, but I have been in conferences and I have met employers where I had to blush because of the stupidity of some of our labor men who tied up and kept tied up institutions when men are hungry and need the work, and there is no guilt on the part of the employer.

Where is our final tribunal? The building trades has its institution, the label trades may have its institution, and likewise the metal trades. They have certain functions that do not give them the power to settle jurisdictional disputes in some of these departments. If they were appealed in the building trades we might be able to settle it over some board, but we are not. The brewery workers and ourselves are both chartered by this American Federation of Labor, and the day that we got our charter we pledged ourselves to abide by the laws, rules and decisions of this Federation, and as I demand the same measure of loyalty on the part of our local unions, or else they cannot stay in our organization, then I say that same measure of loyalty is coming to this Federation.

And so we come to the Executive Council, which is the convention between conventions, as your Boards are

conventions between conventions and we say, "Here is an emergency. A decision has been rendered before. We ask you, in the name of the central bodies of several cities and in the name of our membership, we pray you, we beg you, we implore you to render a decision, and whatever your decision may be, the International Brotherhood of Teamsters will do what it did in 1908, submit to that decision, even though it is adverse."

I inherited perhaps the toughest job that ever was in the labor movement in 1907. We have tried to build ourselves up and we have built a house that we are not ashamed of. Yes, at the expense of the lives of many of our people, but from coast to coast we have never had an employer who even insinuated that there was anything but square dealing with our organization. And I was handed the rawest deal ever given a young man starting out when the convention handed back to the brewery workers a condition that neither the Council nor the convention had any intention of seeing fulfilled. Did I run away? Did I hide under a bushel? Did I go up and down insinuating disloyalty within our labor movement? No, we had enough of it created by the employers of the nation. We were on the eve of the Buck Stove & Range Company fight. We were on the eve of many other fights, the Hatters' fight.

If we are ever going to be destroyed—and we never will while I live and while you live—but if there is any weakness in our trade union movement it will be because men are disloyal to their obligations, they do not have the loyalty they owe to this Federation. I took my medicine and I worked and I stayed and tried to make friends wherever I went, tried to preach the gospel of justice.

Ten years afterwards I was elected on the Council in Buffalo in 1917. While I was on the Council I demanded a square deal for everybody, and everybody got a square deal, and they are getting it now. If they are not getting it now it is not because of their opinions that they are not getting it, but it is

because they haven't a just cause. Sure, I decided against my friends—I had to do it. When you are placed between two friends you have to decide against one. You take into consideration the question at issue—the labor movement—and that is what these men have today and that is what they have done in this case.

You are sent here because you are the representatives of your people, because they have elected you and they trust you, because you have helped to build them, but if you believe that you are entitled to the support of your membership, so also must you believe that the Executive Council in this decision is entitled to your support.

Men, you cannot vote to give the electrical worker to the electrical workers, where he rightfully belongs, or the machinist to the machinists, where he rightfully belongs, without in the same sense voting that the truck driver of today belongs in our organization that has been granted jurisdiction over them. I hope and trust that when you reach your vote you will vote to sustain the report of the Executive Council.

Delegate Obergfell: If I may be permitted to occupy a few minutes I would like to answer some statements that apparently are incorrect.

President Green: If there are no objections. If no other delegate desires to speak now, you are recognized, Brother Obergfell.

Delegate Obergfell, Brewery Workers: Mr. Chairman and delegates, I will be brief, but I feel called upon to make answer to some of the statements that were made by the representatives of the engineers, the firemen and the teamsters.

The statement is made that we hold in our membership engineers in the yeast industry. I want to deny that statement most emphatically. I respect the jurisdiction of the engineers and the firemen in the yeast industry, because that jurisdiction was granted to us after the engineers and firemen were chartered by the American Federation

of Labor. But not so in the brewery industry. We were organized twelve years prior to the charters of the engineers, firemen or teamsters being issued. There is a vast difference, therefore, why we have the engineers and firemen and teamsters in the breweries of the country. When we were granted jurisdiction over the yeast industry, the engineers and firemen were part and parcel of this organization, and we did not interfere with those branches of that industry.

Referring to the numerical strength of the Brewery Workers' International Union since the advent of national prohibition, statements were made that our membership dropped to 14,000. The records of the Federation will show that the lowest per capita tax we ever paid was on 16,000, and this morning I read to you—and those figures are in the record—the composition of our membership during the last few years. Those figures are from an accountant who was unknown to us and sent here upon his integrity for its correctness, taken from the records of our card files, which indicates every member of our International union and his department.

They say we were not big enough to organize the milling industry. Delegates, we organized 23,000 mill workers from 1919 until 1921, only after we established conditions with the Washburn-Crosby Milling Company through a conference with President Gompers, secured for us where we signed contracts and established conditions for every man in that vast institution, and that applied for the 3,800 men in the cities of Minneapolis and St. Paul. There is a delegate on the floor of this convention who is thoroughly familiar with every phase of that organization in Minneapolis, and when we got conditions by contract, then came the demand, "Give me, give me, give me,"—everybody wanted everybody else, so that the brewery workers would have had left for themselves the sweeper that swept the place out and swept the cars in which the grain was brought.

I want to say that the milling industry is a vast institution controlled primarily by the gamblers in wheat in Wall Street. It is a gigantic organization and we understood thoroughly what we were going into, and I dare say if it had not been for the jurisdictional demands made for this, that and the other men, we should have the mill workers today in the folds of our national organization. But when the jurisdiction question arose it created internal dissension, and in the organization of 3,800 men in Minneapolis and St. Paul it was impossible to have a decent meeting after the injection of the demands for jurisdiction.

May I refer the delegates here to the fact that Samuel Gompers, with his secretary, Mr. Oyster, came to our general office in 1923 and there investigated the facts that we were able to establish by securing possession of the entire property of the Marshall Detective Agency, which operated in these mills. Revealed in those documents, President Gompers read for three days where the movement of the detective agency was to pit one mechanic against the other and tell him, "If you belong to your respective organization you will be better taken care of and you will be entitled to more money—look what this fellow gets working at his trade," etc., etc. That brought about the destruction of the mill workers, and we decided not to expend our time, our effort, our money and our energy to reorganize that industry, because it can't be done.

There are delegates on this floor and representatives of the American Federation of Labor, organizers who are in the field and who meet daily the changed conditions of industry. They can tell you what they are hearing from the rank and file of the unorganized men.

But this is not a question of trade union craft autonomy versus the industrial form of organization, it is purely a case of the preservation of an organization that was within the folds of your Federation many years

before these other three organizations came into being, and organized not strictly on an industrial basis, as would be indicated by some of the speakers. We are only partially organized industrially. We never claimed the machinists, we never claimed the electrical workers, the steam fitters or the plumbers working in any of these industries, and we have no contracts with those employers, nor do we have building tradesmen within the folds of our organization.

So much for our inability to organize the mill workers. One of the speakers dwelt upon a statement made by Mr. August Busch in a recent conference held in Washington. I dispute that statement, and if Mr. Busch made it it is not based upon facts, and our contracts stand there as the best evidence that we do not have the men that the charge was made on the floor of this convention.

The statement was also made that the brewing industry was out of existence. In the next breath the speaker said that the engineers and firemen, etc., in the Anheuser-Busch plant "belonged to our organization." Yes, there were breweries in operation in St. Louis, and we always had the engineers and firemen many years before they came into being. In those instances where we did not have them at the advent of national prohibition we pledged these organizations that we would not accept engineers or firemen into our organization even though they wanted to come voluntarily.

Speaking on the engineers' question, may I refer you to the convention proceedings of 1910, when the American Federation of Labor directed, in the truce agreement between our several organizations, that a referendum vote be taken in all breweries by engineers and members of our international organization. And might I say that the election was supervised by a representative of the American Federation of Labor appointed by President Gompers. That vote was: for transfer to the engineers, 62; against transfer, 1,092; blank, 5.

Statements were made as to our membership in the mechanical departments. Here in 1910, when the brewing industry was at its height, when no statutory prohibition had been enacted, we then had only 1,149 engineers employed in all the breweries of the United States.

Reference was made to an ice plant owned by the brewery workers' international union. Yes, during the heyday of the United States Brewers' Association we had difficulty in the negotiating of agreements, and we found when we got into conflicts we were unable to get beer into that locality to supply the demands, and that interfered materially with our ability to win. We thereupon proceeded to purchase a plant in Cincinnati from which we shipped beer to the Washington strike for eleven months and eleven days at a loss. We shipped beer from Cincinnati to win the fight in the city of Los Angeles that lasted over a year. We learned early in years that with the solid, combined employers' association we had to have something wherewith we could fight to supply the trade with the product. And so we purchased that brewery. It was a large plant. When prohibition came on and the decrease in the consumption of near beer we converted it into an ice manufacturing plant, and in that plant every engineer was a member of the engineers' union, and not a brewery worker.

Speaking of strictly craft autonomy organizations, some men should practice what they preach. The teamsters hold within their organization not only the man that is steering the wheel or drawing the ribbons over horses, they have within their organization the milk bottlers and dairy workers who bottle the milk in the same manner as the brewery bottlers. They are entitled to them insofar as we are concerned. They have ice plant workers, men who do nothing but work on the inside of an ice plant. They are welcome to them. We are asking nothing from them in that respect. All we seek is justice, and

justice handed down by the delegates to this convention of the American Federation of Labor.

Reference was made to the fact that the brewery workers came in with a second brief to the Executive Council. President Green called me over long distance telephone after we had presented our case and made some statements that he desired to have a copy of the working agreement that now is being denied ever having been signed, and insinuations made of forgery. I deplore that statement. I advised President Green in an air mail letter—and he requested me to answer by air mail—as follows: "Complying with my telephone conversation with you this afternoon, enclosed find copy of signed international working agreement between the Brotherhood of Teamsters and Chauffeurs and our international union."

I sent him, in addition to that, exhibits, a letter signed by President Tobin, dated January 28, 1915, in which he stated that a conference to take up the entering into a working agreement between our two international unions was set for 2:00 o'clock, February 15, 1915. Attached to it as Exhibit A was my reply dated February 1, 1915, advising President Tobin that the time set was agreeable to us and we would meet. We submitted further a letter from President Tobin dated December 9, 1920, five years after that agreement was entered into. It was a grievance pertaining to something that happened in Scranton, Pennsylvania. He said in the last sentence: "This is not covered in any such thing as our international working agreement."

And yet he says he has no knowledge of having signed it, and by inference tries to say that there might have been some forgery. I resent that statement with all the force at my command. I lived in Indianapolis, where President Tobin lives, and I will stake my reputation for honesty and integrity with him or anyone else.

Here is the agreement sent out by us to our local unions and our employ-

ers whenever they asked for it, so that every one was aware of what our working agreements were with the several organizations.

Now Brother Tobin touched upon a very ticklish question, referring to Seattle, Washington, and the Pacific northwest. I have to contradict his statement and say to you that the brewery drivers were members of our organization. I wired President Green advising him that in Tacoma, Washington, we were on strike against the Columbia Brewing Company, and that the teamsters were offering to go to work there. Not alone that, when in Seattle they were not able to wedge in any of their men they proceeded to boycott a brewery employing 100 per cent members of our organization under contract.

And so with the power of the teamsters in Seattle controlling the movement, they made it considerably difficult for the brewer to do some business. He then threatened to put some of the teamsters to work, and we ordered our men to strike if he violated our signed contract, with the result that Mr. Brewer goes into the courts seeking an injunction against our organization from striking and to enforce the signed contract. In connection with that the teamsters sat at the council table for the brewers and coached them as to procedure. I am happy to say that despite all these efforts the court threw the injunction request out. The following is the agreement:

"Looking toward an adjustment of the labor controversy as regards the Columbia Breweries, Inc., and for the purpose of establishing a basis to bring about solution, the Columbia Breweries, Inc., agrees to recognize the jurisdiction of the various international unions as set forth by the American Federation of Labor and to deal with the various unions having their jurisdiction on all work performed in and around the Columbia Breweries, Inc., and in the handling of the products thereof."

Now, Mr. Chairman, I can readily see why the Columbia Breweries Company enters into such an agreement. We have made the fight pretty warm for them and we are going to make it warmer.

Continuing the agreement:

"The Columbia Breweries, Inc., further agrees to hire men and pay the union wage scale of the various crafts as is now being paid and under the same conditions of payment as their competitors under unionized conditions.

"It is further agreed and understood that in the adjustment of this controversy, should an agreement be negotiated between the Washington State Brewers' Association and the various unions having jurisdiction throughout the state and that the terms of that said agreement are applicable to all breweries, members of the Association, in the State of Washington, and the scale negotiated is not lower than is in effect between breweries and unions involved, the terms of that agreement with the Washington State Brewers' Association shall supersede any contract now negotiated with the Columbia Breweries, Inc.

"Dated this 13th day of September, 1933."

This agreement is signed by Dave Beck, representing the International Brotherhood of Teamsters; O. W. Carter, representing the Engineers' International Union; C. O. Young, representing the American Federation of Labor, and H. S. McIlvaigh, representing the Tacoma Central Labor Union, and by the president of the Columbia Breweries, Inc., where we have been on strike since February of this year.

We have whipped them and they have to get redress from some source, and they got consolation by getting an agreement signed by the representative of the American Federation of Labor in absolute contradiction of the message sent by President Green to this organizer.

Those are facts. If we have to wash dirty linen on the floor of this conven-

tion, which we did not touch upon this morning, then in justice to our position I think it is my duty to show you that we are not quite as black as we have been pictured.

I thank you for hearing our side. Our position is that if this convention ratifies that decision of the Executive Council it renders the autonomy and security of yourselves useless, and that decision of the Executive Council was purely a usurpation of authority.

Vice President Rickert: As the Chairman of this committee, I also, fortunately or unfortunately, happen to be a member of the Executive Council. I think I can speak and tell you what I believe to have been the sentiment of the members of the Executive Council in giving consideration to this question now before you. I do not believe that at any time in the history of the American Federation of Labor any member of the Federation or any Executive Council member has been anxious or in any hurry to render any decision in any jurisdictional dispute. I think the history of the Federation indicates that, if anything, the Council has been very slow in rendering decisions, because in the first place it is very difficult to decide who is right and who is wrong. In the second place, both parties believe that each is right. That being so, the Council has no desire to place you in a position where you have got to decide perhaps friend against friend, and nine times out of ten, if not all the time, the Council finds itself in a like position. Its members have friends on both sides. It does not want to decide a question, it is perfectly willing to pass it on to the next convention, and the next convention, and so on, in the hope that it will die or be adjusted, or that time itself will make one or the other side give in or agree that they are in the wrong, and in some way or other an adjustment of the controversy will be reached, disposing of it, so that the Council will never against hear of it and this convention will never have to render a decision.

Unfortunately, in this case, as has been explained to you, it is a question

that has hung fire before conventions for something like thirty years. Different decisions have been rendered. At least you and I reading them might have a different opinion as to what those decisions meant and in whose favor this one might be, and so on and so forth.

Then we have the situation of where for years there was so-called prohibition and the charge that in the meantime the breweries were out of business. Well, some say that it is true that you cannot by the furthest stretch of the imagination believe that one half of one per cent was beer as we used to consider it in the pre-prohibition days. The other man says, "Well, the breweries were never out of existence because they still continued to make beer. Perhaps it was not as strong, but it had the same color and foam, so now you can take your choice."

But after reviewing the case, and, as I say, with every desire to avoid rendering a decision, we felt that even in view of the fact that the contending parties who had appeared before the Executive Council impressed each and every member with the hopelessness of their ever getting together and reaching an agreement, it was still considered for about ten days, each day in the hope that something might turn up that would give us a way out.

When the Council finally decided it, I think the Council was moved by the fact that in the olden days the American Federation of Labor or its Executive Council, in issuing charters, did not clearly define anything further than was implied in the name in the majority of instances. The United Brewery Workers implied, presumably, all of those persons working in a brewery. The United Garment Workers, all those working in a clothing factory, and the Boot and Shoe Workers, those working in the boot and shoe factories. They could also go out and claim, I presume, those employed in the factories. Some of the other organizations had names similar to that.

In later years the Council has attempted to define and limit jurisdiction, but, as I say, when they chartered the brewery workers' organization in the form and title of the United Brewery Workers, they could perhaps just as well have claimed that that meant everybody. When they chartered the engineers they could truthfully have claimed that that charter when it was issued meant all engineers. When they chartered the teamsters they could have made the same claim, as well as the firemen or the teamsters, all honestly and truthfully believing that was the intention. Perhaps it was. I don't know, but the Council faced a situation where it had to make some decision. It did not believe and I do not believe that an engineer, a teamster or a fireman should be placed in a position by this American labor movement, where, when he works in a brewery he must belong to the brewery workers' organization, or when he works on the street for some contractor or truck owner, after having left the brewery, he must either leave the brewery workers' organization and join the teamsters, or vice versa. If he is a teamster and a member of that organization, if he gets a job in the brewery he has got to quit there and join his organization. The thing was spreading on a larger scale, so that the Council felt that once and for all we could no longer side-step, we could no longer dodge, we could no longer delay, that it was up to the Council to render a clear-cut decision, unpleasant as it may have been, because, as I have told you, nobody wants to decide against a friend, and I assure you that there are plenty of friends on both sides of the question in the case of at least some of the Council members.

Hence, the Council felt that a decision in a clear-cut fashion had to be made. It felt that it had the right to make that decision, because the law clearly provides except upon recommendation of the Council, and if this is anything other than recommendation, then I don't understand the English language.

Now it is here for you, it is for your consideration and your decision. Some

one says, "Well, what good will that do?" As the Chairman of this Adjustment Committee, after hearing all parties and by instruction of the committee, I made a personal effort to try to get the contending parties in a frame of mind where some compromise or adjustment might be reached that would take it away from you, so that you would not have to decide it at this convention. I had hoped that I might heal the breach or adjust the controversy, and I regret to say that the final result of those efforts was that all parties said to me, "Now, listen, we think it best that you let it go into the convention. Let us fight it out, and perhaps after the convention decides, an adjustment or an agreement may be reached."

So it is here for you, first, because the Council believes that the time has come when you must settle it; secondly, because if I understand the English language, the contending parties are not averse, they are practically agreed that you should decide it.

President Green: Are there any further remarks? If not, the question will now be put.

Delegate Tobin, Teamsters: I desire to ask for a roll call on this question.

President Green: A request for a roll call has been made. The rules provide that if sixty delegates in the convention ask for a roll call, a roll call shall be held.

Delegate Tobin: Is that the rule of the convention or is it based on request?

Secretary Morrison: That is the rule of the convention.

Delegate Tobin: Will you read the rules adopted by the convention this year?

President Green: The Chair was of the opinion that the rules this year were the same as the rules which governed previous conventions, and stipulated that a certain number of delegates could demand a roll call. It seems there is nothing in our rules this year governing that, except that it pro-

vides for a roll call. I presume, therefore, that the Chair will have to exercise his good judgment and say whether in his judgment a sufficient number of delegates in the convention desire a roll call.

Secretary Morrison: Section 3, Article IV, of the Constitution definitely states:

"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 part thereof which he represents."

There are 596 delegates present. That would require sixty delegates to demand a roll call.

President Green: Very well, we will be governed by the law. May the Chair ask if there are sixty delegates who demand the roll call?

One hundred and seven delegates indicated their desire for a roll call, and Secretary Morrison proceeded to call the roll, with the following result:

Roll Call on report of Adjustment Committee on the action of the report of Executive Council under the caption "Brewery Workers—Teamsters—Engineers—Firemen"

Yes—Mullaney, Shanessy, Birthright, Crane, Reagan, Merlino, Horn, Kramer, Franklin, Davis (J. N.), Walter, Haggerty (John B.), Prewitt, Meehan, Morrin, McCain, McGinn, Horan, Nelson, Willis, McFetridge, Ryan (M. F.), Holmgren, Beaudry, Knight, Hutcheson, Duffy (Frank), Lakey, Flynn (T. F.), Hanson (Chas.), Ornburn, Perkins, George, Hyatt, McCann, House, Johnson (Irving W.), Rosemund, Tracy (D. W.), Bugniazet, Bieretz, Paulsen, Cleary, McIntyre, Feeney, MacDonald (John C.), O'Brien (Thomas), Posschl, Fitzgerald (F. A.), Maloney (William E.), Walsh (William P.), Callan, Volz, Schmal, Woll, Baer, Richardson, Heinz, Kane, McNamara, Conway, Tormey, Lucchi, Rickert, Wines, Gordon, Adamski, Houck, Maloney (James), Campbell (Wm. W.), Babcock, Glass, Moreschi, Marshall, Rivers, Etchison, Garvey, Flore, Hesketh, McSorley, Case, Moore, Gairoz, Finnan, Gorman (Wm. J.), Duffy (Charles D.), Swartz (Luther E.), Wharton, Haggerty (Dan), Alifas, Henning, Fry (Charles), Robinson (W. F.), Fljozdal, Millman, Gassman, Stout, Kelly (M. J.), Hynes, Close, Ryan (James J.), Moriarty, O'Keefe, Wilkerson, Weber, Bagley, Canavan, Weaver,

Hirschberg, Parks, Lindelof, Swick, Madsen, Meehan, Kaufman, Burns (M. J.), Wilson (James), Collier, Rooney, Scully (T. A.), Donlin, Coe, Burke (Thomas E.), Rau, Anderson (Chas.), Fallon, Britton, Windsor, Mahon (W. D.), Robbins, Carey, Schultz, McConnell, Jones (George W.), Gavlak, Olander, Elliott (W. C.), Dempsey, Burke (James F.), Clendenning, Sinnigen, Sumner, Mitchell (M. W.), Cullen, Connors (James B.), Cashen, Soderberg, Tobin (D. J.), Hughes (Thomas L.), Gillespie, Goudie, McLaughlin (John), McKenna, Powers, O'Connell (J. P.), Morrison (Frank), Trotter, Simons, Martel, Cline, McDonough, Frey (John P.), Manning (John J.), Egan (John J.), Scott (John F.), Soderstrom, Hulsbeck, McCurdy, Verink, Walsh (James A.), Iglesias, Slater, Langley, Horle, Shoup, Sumner (Steve C.), Dwyer (William F.), Stubley, Dahms, Groth, Jeffries (W. C.), Burnett, Seaman, Leland, Trogdon, Doll, Spearling, Boscarella, Johnson (Jeff. O.), Torlay, Morgan (J. O.), Blue, Weizenecker, Quinn (James C.), Wald, Iekler, Cushing, Moody (Oscar), Dowell (E. H.), O'Connell (John A.), Holmes, Marksburg, Akin, Doyle (Frank), Noonan (James J.), Marquardt, Flynn (Michael J.), Tracy (E. J.), Noriega, Lufrano, representing 13,872 votes.

No—Myrup, Goldstone, Bessel, Obergfell, Kugler, Sullivan (J.), Bowen (W. J.), Bates, Price, Gray, Gleeson, Harrison (G. M.), Fitzgerald (W. P.), Chapman, Hershkovitz, Mendelowitz, Opie, Kunz, Kaplan, Greene (M. F.), Lawlor, Gallagher, Kovelacki, Bruck, Kennedy (A. J.), McCarthy (W.), McInerney (J. A.), Gorman (P. E.), Lane (D.), Brown (Thomas H.), Lewis (J. L.), Murray (P.), Kennedy (T.), Green (Wm.), Boylan, Hartneady, Brennan (M. F.), Fagan, Duffy (James M.), Ashbaugh, Berry (G. L.), McGrady, Roche, Dickson, Smith (J. Paul), Burke (J. P.), Sullivan (H. W.), Furueth, Hanson (Florence C.), Borchardt, Manion (E. J.), Leighty, Rieve, Hall (E. G.), Malloy (Chas.), Kummer, Murphy (John E.), Meister, Snow, Schneider, Sheehan (J. P.), Wier, Shave, Bower (A. P.), Brandt (W. M.), Peterson (A. H.), Gerathy, Darner, Suny, Perunko, Leighton, Seskind, Carey (James B.), Culver, Phillips (F. L.), Little, representing 5,859 votes.

Not Voting—Gillmore, Hamilton (E. G.), Mara, Kasten (Frank), Coulter (C. C.), Allison, Cameron (Thos.), Kubinsky, Waislevsky, Katovsky, Glibooy, Nixon, Christman, Tighe, Moynihan, Burt (Roy), Brown (Anna), Bryan (W. E.), Welse, Ryan (Jos. P.), Camalida, Scully (John J.), Morningstar, Fremming, Hannah (Edward I.), Helle, Sultor (Fred W.), Miller (Harry L.), Strickland, Evans (A. A.), Kaiser (Edw. W.), McMahon (Thos. F.), Evans (E. Lewis), Howard (Charles P.), Hatch, Graves, Billet, Jewell (E. M.), Schaffer (Walter F.), Runkle, Wood (Vic), Scharrenberg, Noxon, Rosqvist, Taylor (T. N.), Lewis (J. C.), Bond, Napier, Watt, Erskine, Ritchie (M. L.), Graham (J. D.), Lewis (Frank P.), O'H'non, Sandefur, Donnelly (T. J.), Boner, Bailey (A. L.), Yager, Cherry, Cornell, Fox (Harry W.),

Shuff, Flowers, Van Collie, Rich (G. B.), Vest, Hartley (C. H.), Bury, Wirtz, Plimmons, Allen (Frank), Ischey, Reviol, Blackman, Johnson (Clarence T.), Slout, Barrett (G. J.), Cutler (Granville R.), De Nayer, Ryan (Jeremiah), Fensore, Motta, Standard, Smith (Paul E.), Koster, McCarroll (John), Jiruska, Dadin, Fowler (W. H.), Kamin, Corbin, Ruisse, White (Tom), Nadelhofer, Ziman, Addy, Hamilton (H. T.), La Heist, Miller (Wm. A.), Rupard, Lowm, Ferrell (T. A.), Kern, Forsyth (M. E.), Jackson (G. L.), Kennedy (Roger M.), Smith (Thomas S.), Kitzman, Siefert, Wegener, Schlageter, Hagin, Murray (Jas. B.), De Witt, Davis (W. C.), Cottell (George H.), Langdon (Earl), Reider, Knight (Chas. L.), Smith (Charles O.), Bailey (A. L.), Snow (M. H.), Guy, Jacobson, Brewer (Roy M.), Steinmetz, O'Dell, Almy, Becker (L. F.), Katz, Stags, De Witt (Henry W.), Foley (E. M.), Schumacher, Miller (E. J.), Flau, Dixon (Wm.), Fechner (R.), Fritz (Adolph), Ramsey (Earl), Kuriger, Merritt (Guy), Sweeney (Lawrence), Augustino, Rogers (John W. H.), Heath, Powers (Perry), Bretz, Sublisky, Blacker (F. C.), Patterson (C.), Fitzgerald (John P.), Barnett (Floyd), Zea, Hulett, McCauley (J. P.), Redinger (R. D.), Blix, Le Bow, Wigdahl, Lutz, Skipton, Norman (R.), Ruppert, Cornwall, Campbell (Sam D.), Ledwith, Walker (B. P.), Blande (S. C.), Fabing (R.), Ceglowski, Rivin, Browne (H. Q.), Blanchard, Milne, Williams (Carlyle), Hornby, Green (Thomas V.), England, Doerner, Freeborn, Davis (Jerome), Hughes (Frank), Lucas, Dempsey (James), Patrick (Edward), Purdie, Blauvelt, Sullivan (James C.), Campbell (Joseph C.), McMahon (John J.), Pope, Hart (James), Draper (P. M.), Clay (Edwin S.), Newcomb, Lund, Phillips (L. W.), Hixon (Joel), McMullen (Mikel J.), Freeman (R. C.), Erwin, Van Conant, Jackman (F. H.), Oleson, Belamy (B. L.), Hanley (M. J.), Fey, Potter (Otis), Clark (Sidney P.), Thomas (Stephen), Hawkins (Clarence), Anderson (W. D.), Price (Stafford M.), Munrovan, Yalden, Madigan, Cutler (Granville), Welsh (Warren S.), McHugh (J. H.), McFarlin (H. L.), Barber (Leo F.), Ritchie (C. J.), Reynolds (Harry E.), Ladd, Martinez, Dalton (George), Scoble, Engle (H. A.), Campbell (Lawrence J.), Boyd (Howard L.), Kueher, McGuire (Lee), Woodmansee, Gatelee, Tuckness, Gaughan, Trumbols, Warning, Meyer (Alfred), Pink, Cushing (Wm.), Sullivan (William E.), Musgrave, Hooker, Rausch (Fred W.), Covert (Wm. E.), Marcante, Lemke (James), Kontas, Petty, McKiel, Bierer, Pruetz (J. E.), Walsh (Michael), Sparrow, Seal, Corrigan, Seese, Wedekind, Fitton, Welsh (F. E.), Mitchell (John B.), Saylor (John C.), Foust, Tessier, Hauser (John E.), Hess, Hartman (Wm. E.), Cook (Chauncey J.), Mack (Arthur E.), Walsh (William C.), Millia, Gormley (Hubert J.), Bohm, Albert, Klein, Latham (James T.), Ward (George), Whiting, Loken, Joseph, Cuthbert (T. R.), Rea, Sholtz, Barnes (George), Gallagher (Patrick), Lore, Schwartz, Taite, Randolph (A. Phillip), Watson (S.), McElligott (R.), Minger, Burns (Thomas), Zander, Kruck, Lynch

(Edward), Burns (Marion), Tigel, Hill (Richard), Mitchell (Theodore), Ocker, Jackson (Howard A.), Howan, Hall (J. A.), White (Fred J.), representing 1,660 votes.

President Green: The report of the committee is adopted.

Secretary Maloney: This completes the report of the committee, which is signed by those whose names follow.

T. A. RICKERT, *Chairman*,
JAMES MALONEY,
Secretary,

ROY HORN,
JOHN F. McNAMARA,
J. B. ETCHISON,
CHARLES L. BAGLEY,
PHILIP MURRAY,
W. D. MAHON,
F. J. FLJOZDAL,
M. F. TIGHE,
WM. C. ELLIOTT,
J. P. McLAUGHLIN,
M. F. GREENE,
D. W. TRACY,
G. E. LEIGHTY,
N. D. SMITH,
W. F. ROBINSON.
Adjustment Committee.

Secretary Maloney: I move the adoption of the report of the committee as a whole.

The motion was adopted by unanimous vote.

President Green: We will assemble at 7:00 o'clock in the Auditorium of the Department of Commerce Building for the purpose of holding a night session.

In the morning Mr. Sol Rosenblatt, Deputy Administrator, National Recovery Administration, will address the convention. I will appoint as a committee to escort him to the convention Delegate Frank Gillmore, Delegate William C. Elliott, and William C. O'Neill, Secretary of the Building Trades Department.

Delegate Galnor: I move that the report of the Shorter Work Day Committee be a special order of business for 10:00 o'clock, Wednesday.

The motion was seconded and carried.

Delegate Swartz: I move that the report of the Committee on Local and Federated Bodies be a special order of business for 10:30 o'clock Wednesday

The motion was seconded and carried.

The following report was presented by Delegate George L. Berry, President of the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union for the information of organized labor:

To the Officers and Delegates of the Seventieth Annual Convention of the New York State Federation of Labor Meeting in Annual Session at Syracuse, N. Y., August 24th, 1933.

Greeting:

Your Committee on Banking and Insurance respectfully reports to the Seventieth Annual Convention of the New York State Federation of Labor, in meeting assembled at Syracuse, New York, August 24, 1933, the reorganization and reopening of the Federation Bank and Trust Company of New York.

This was accomplished through the indefatigable efforts put forth by Frank X. Sullivan, Attorney, and John Sullivan, President, of the New York State Federation of Labor, together with members from the organized labor movement and with the cooperation and assistance from the Friends of Labor.

This institution, recognized nationwide as Labor's Bank, was brought into being by a resolution introduced at the 1921 Convention of the New York State Federation of Labor.

On March 6, 1933, President Franklin D. Roosevelt issued a decree closing all banking institutions in the United States, and which permitted the reopening of only sound and safe banks. The Federation Bank and Trust Company was one of the first to receive a license from the Federal Government to reopen for business on March 13th, which testifies to the stability and soundness of Labor's bank.

All financial institutions, whether large or small, have suffered through these four years of depression and distress, the same as have our organizations and their membership, but which we are hopeful and looking forward to, will disappear under the leadership of President Roosevelt's National Recovery Act, which has for its ultimate objective the cooperation of Labor and industry to end the distress and suffering caused by this world-wide economic and financial depression. To that conclusion, organized Labor must do its part and utilize such agencies as will protect its interests during the rehabilitation period.

Your Committee on Banking and Insurance would, therefore, recommend to this 70th Annual Convention of the

New York State Federation of Labor in Convention assembled at Syracuse, New York, that the Federation Bank and Trust Company be declared the depository for monies of the New York State Federation of Labor; and we further recommend that all affiliate organizations and their members make it their depository, thereby assuring to organized Labor its own financial stability.

Your Committee would further commend the address of the Hon. Jeremiah D. Maguire, President of the Federation Bank and Trust Company, made to this Convention on Tuesday, August 22nd, and that we extend to him our appreciation of his services to organized Labor of the State and Nation.

Your Committee is also vitally interested in regard to the continued successful operation of the Union Labor Life Insurance Company, located at Washington, D. C., which was formed and is owned and operated on behalf of the workers and for their benefit and convenience, by organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

In its 1932 annual statement to the shareholders of the Union Labor Life Insurance Company, it stated that dividends were paid to its policyholders, and that it was the purpose of the officers to have paid a dividend to its stockholders, but were prevented from such action by an order which prohibited all insurance companies from the payment of dividends to stockholders by the Superintendent of Insurance of the State of Maryland, and that such monies have been placed in escrow pending readjustment of financial conditions in the United States.

Your Committee recommends to this New York State Federation of Labor that the members of affiliated unions give preference to the Union Labor Life Insurance Company when contemplating taking out life insurance, and we further recommend that international and local unions give consideration to the Union Labor Life Insurance Company when instituting group insurance plans for their memberships.

Your Committee recommends the adoption of the following resolution:

Resolution No. 6—Introduced by John L. Hartnett, New York Mailers' Union No. 6.

WHEREAS, For the last four years there has existed the greatest economic and financial chaos in the history of the world, which has challenged the best thought and endeavors of economists, financiers, and workers to devise ways and means to break the backbone of these conditions, which has wrought

havoc in industries and brought distress to millions of workers in these United States; and

WHEREAS, The President of the United States, as part of his program in an effort to remedy these chaotic conditions, declared a universal banking holiday on March 6, 1933, which closed all banks throughout the country and which was effective up to March 13, 1933, when all banking institutions were required to secure from the Secretary of the Treasury of the United States a license to permit their reopening, and

WHEREAS, The Federation Bank and Trust Company, organized labor's banking institution, was one of the first to secure such a license from the Secretary of the Treasury of the United States after a stringent examination of its resources disclosed that it was 76 per cent liquid and in a sound financial condition, and

WHEREAS, The Federation Bank and Trust Company is universally recognized as the depository for the funds of the organized labor unions and its members of greater New York, and for many international unions and other bodies throughout the country; besides being depository for funds of the State of New York, County and City of New York, United States Postal Savings, and a designated depository for the United States Government; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this 70th Annual Convention of the New York State Federation of Labor in meeting assembled at Syracuse, New York, August 22, 1933, congratulates the officers and directors of the Federation Bank and Trust Company for the magnificent financial condition of the institution and in being one of the first banks to receive from the Secretary of the Treasury of the United States permission to resume business as of March 13, 1933; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Secretary of New York State Federation of Labor be instructed to forward a copy of this resolution to the officers of all affiliated unions in the State of New York and to all international unions, urging that they give united support and assistance to the Federation Bank and Trust Company; and be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution be forwarded to Mr. Jeremiah D. Maguire, President of the Federation Bank and Trust Company, for submission to its Board of Directors.

Committee reports favorably and recommends adoption. Seconded and carried.

Resolution No. 19—by New York Teachers' Local No. 5, dealing with the

sale of securities and nationalization of banks, in view of the fact that the Federal Government by Congressional action is investigating this question in its entirety and that any action by this State body would be premature, your Committee recommends that the subject matter of this resolution be referred to the incoming Executive Board, and that the delegate to the coming Convention of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to present a resolution that will give to the investor the maximum of safety and protection.

Recommendation of Committee adopted.

Respectfully submitted,

EDWARD J. VOLZ, *Chairman*, N. Y.
EDWARD CANAVAN, New York,
ALBERT F. DAY, New York,
CHAUNCEY M. DENIKE, New York,

JOHN J. DOYLE, Buffalo,
JOHN N. FORSTEE, Troy,
WILLIAM F. GOFF, Syracuse,
JOHN L. HARTNETT, New York,
E. KOVELESKI, Rochester,
JOSEPH McCRAN, New York,
JOHN J. MALONEY, New York,
JAMES C. QUINN, New York,
A. ROSENBERG, New York,
JEREMIAH RYAN, Binghamton,
JOSEPH P. RYAN, New York,
GEORGE P. SHEVLIN, Albany,
CHARLES E. SINNIGEN, Brooklyn,
FRANK SKROBACK, Syracuse,
JOHN SULLIVAN, New York,
FRED O. TOALE, Buffalo,
MICHAEL WALSH, Utica,
Committee on Labor Banking and Insurance.

At 5:30 o'clock the convention was adjourned to meet in night session at 7:00 o'clock.

Seventh Day—Tuesday Night Session

The convention was called to order at 7:00 o'clock in the Auditorium of the Department of Commerce Building by President Green and was broadcast over a nationwide network of the National Broadcasting Co.

President Green: Officers and members in attendance at the fifty-third annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, my fellow citizens and friends: The speaker this evening is the central figure in the great economic drama which is being presented upon our nation's industrial stage. We are honored by his presence here tonight, and we appreciate the opportunity of meeting tonight for the purpose of receiving his important message.

I have been privileged to associate with General Johnson and to work with him and serve with him. As a result of it I have learned to know him and to admire him. He is the very man who was needed to serve as Administrator of the National Recovery Act. He possesses in a peculiar way the qualifications that are necessary for this position—a man of tireless energy, a man with a great vision and a warm heart, a noble American, a dynamic personality. Through his association with us and through his evidences of sincerity, he has won the support and cooperation

of labor, and I want to repeat again what I have previously said, that if all others fail, if all other groups become discouraged and give up the fight, Labor will stand with the General and see it all through. I pledge to him our support.

Now, my friends, both of the convention and of the radio audience, I present to you General Hugh S. Johnson, Administrator of the National Recovery Act.

GENERAL HUGH S. JOHNSON

(Administrator, National Recovery Administration)

The basic principles of the National Recovery Act are sound and simple.

On the one hand they permit and encourage each great industry to organize and act as one under direct governmental supervision. This right had been denied by statute before the passage of this law.

On the other hand they permit and encourage the workers in each industry to organize and act as one. This right has been at least hampered and impaired by court decisions based on the Common Law before the passage of the National Recovery Act.

In other words this act asks for co-operation between industry, labor and government as one great team, to preserve the economic health of the nation and it permits the organization of both industry and labor without which such

cooperation would be wholly impossible.

This is a profound change in economic policy of a great nation. It is something new under the sun. It is the President's own concept. No exponent of economic theory suggested this plan to him. It has been criticized and nearly all the criticism I have heard springs from misconception. It deserves a clear understanding by every thoughtful man because it is the most intelligent and practical answer to a vital national problem ever conceived and put into execution. Every citizen has a distinct part to play in that execution but no man can play any position in a vast team-work unless he knows both his own part and the purposes of the whole plan.

You cannot have cooperation without that knowledge and you cannot have it without organization. Seven million industrial operations cannot act on a general plan without some system of organization, neither can 40,000,000 individual workers. This plan is to get complete cooperation by organization—the organization of each great industry and parallel with it the organization of workers in each great industry. That is the first and fundamental idea of the National Recovery Act—organization to the ultimate.

But there are danger signals here. The power of organization is immense. A fully organized and unchecked industry could exploit and dominate a whole nation. A fully organized and unchecked labor could do exactly the same. There must be responsibility in each such organization. There must be a check on these great powers. Our government is government of the whole people. Its principal excuse for existence is protection of the whole people. These vast organizations of industry and of labor must each be responsible to government and each must admit governmental participation and control. No industrial combination must be permitted to practice monopolistic oppression and exploitation. No labor combination must be permitted to paralyze a whole industry by the unchecked use of power. These three principles, then—organization—cooperation—governmental participation—are of the very essence of the National Recovery Act.

The blue print plan is thus simple enough to state. Organized industry and organized labor both responsible and both headed into governmental participation and absolute veto power—thus to permit the widest possible

latitude of self-government, self discipline, and complete cooperation but to check instantly any abuse of power at its very inception. That is the ground plan of the Act and the broad foundation of all that we have tried to do under the President's direct and personal guidance and I want to repeat and emphasize that not one single code has been approved without his personal and searching scrutiny and that at every critical point he has direct and intimate leadership.

Now why is all this either necessary or desirable. We got along for a century and a half without it. Why do we need it now? The answer here seems to me equally obvious. Up to the end of the nineties this was still a pioneer country. An essential of pioneering is individual adventure. Every horizon is a new challenge to any red blooded man to venture forth trusting wholly to the brain and sinew with which nature equipped him for his struggle for existence and advancement. In every failure there was always the beckoning of a new hope—the urge to a new try. Despair need never come so long as health and sanity remained and there was an open field for individual enterprise. In such surroundings there is no need for complete organization and where there is no need there is no justification, because the ideal of human life is the widest individual latitude and responsibility with the minimum of governmental intrusion. As Jefferson said "That government is best which governs least." We are willing to surrender only so much of individual liberty as is necessary to protect the rights of others. But we must surrender that if we are to live in the increasing complexity of modern life. It is to that very complexity that we must give our thoughts tonight. We are no longer a frontier community. We are in the grip of an intense industrialization. The whole scene and surroundings have changed. We must keep in mind the precept of Jefferson and keep out government intrusion but self-government today is self-government by—groups in industry to the end of economic placidity—groups in labor to the end of individual protection.

In this new era of mass production and chain distribution there is little room in commerce or industry for the adventurer on a shoe string. All the old common callings have merged into mass enterprise. The anvil and the bellows of the village blacksmith have given place to the enormous productivity of batteries of drop forges and rows

of open hearths. The cobblers last is out of business before serried ranks of automatics and even the independent corner grocery or drug store finds life impossible in the face of its highly organized rivals of the chain type. Nobody decreed or legislated absolute individualism into this dilemma. The astonishing progress of science and finance simply left it behind and there is no use in fighting against the progress of the suns. As St. Paul said: "It is hard for thee to kick against the pricks."

The old order is gone forever and by no man's designing. All this has brought benefits but it has also brought great griefs. The roaring, clacking, soulless complex of our industry and commerce have become a great and highly active machine of which no individual is more than an integrated part. Each man performs a specialized function. In most cases living income comes as a matter of determination by a power with whom there is no bargaining in any true sense. The individual takes what he gets and is thankful and his separation from the particular ratchet in which he revolves may be a tragedy. At his doorway there is no longer an open road to high adventure in a new and brighter country and even if there were such a road his specialization has utterly unfitted him to take it.

On the side of industry the size and complexity of the modern system has become ruthless beyond belief. As the condition of each great business group has been disclosed here in these public hearings, which have already searched the bulk of industry and commerce, it has become daily more certain that the jungle law of survival by economic mayhem and murder must be amended, and no one who has given attention to these astonishing disclosures can doubt this. The organization of industry—the creation of a tribunal of fair practice within each industry—the enforcement of rules against economic anarchy—all these things are vitally and immediately necessary. They are necessary to industry but they are more necessary for workers for—mark me and mark me well—there is not a destructive war of price cutting below cost—no retrograde movement in industrial production—no vicious downward spiral that does not result in the degradation of workers. There is only one place from which the sacrifice of a prolonged price war or price tendency can come and that is from the hours and wages of labor. That is fundamental. It is something that you must learn and cherish. The business of industry is your business. The success or failure of industry is your success or failure. Whether or not you are so called—you are a partner with your employer. There is never a proper question of

what is the most you can get out of him. The real question is what is fairly necessary to the success of your joint adventure. That also is of the very essence of the Recovery Act.

Great pools of capital are now necessary to any important commercial or industrial enterprise. The right of economic self-defense is narrowed to a ribbon. In such an environment both industry and labor must organize or perish. That is one of the chief reasons for the Recovery Act. That is why it provides for the organization of both and that is why its primary purposes must be carried to completion.

The great economic machine, the growth of which requires this law, was no planned and designed mechanism. Some of its parts are highly efficient. But there are no timing gears to regulate their movement to that of other parts. The vast engine has no governor. At times it races furiously and at other times it comes to a stop on a dead center and all the power of government and finance has not proved enough to turn the engine over. It is then that human tragedy stalks through the land. For the cogs and ratchets of the huge machine are not dead metal. They are human beings with all the high hopes and haughty aspirations of their pioneer forbears. Junked in the scrap pile of unemployment they cannot lie still awaiting a new melt. Yet there is little hope for them in seasons such as these. Forty years ago the human failure in one undertaking could go west and take up another. Now he cannot. There is nothing for him and his family but bare pavements and bread lines. Our people will stand this only for a time within reason. Whether we speak of a system as political or economic—when it reaches a point where willing men under it cannot get a living by their own honest efforts, it has outlived its usefulness, and for four years our systems have failed in this regard.

What are we to do about it? If a dictator came tomorrow what more could he do than has been done? If some ruthless seeker after power aspired to grasp this sorry scheme of things what could he do to feed the hungry mouths grown bitter and resentful after four years of patient suffering. The answer is that he could do nothing. We will find our way out of this mess not by smashing down all that has been built up but by applying intelligence and timing and control to this complex machine of which we all are a part and that is exactly what NRA is intended to do.

How? Again I say by organization. You cannot apply controls to millions of separate units of any great industry, treating each alone. You cannot apply control to the many more mil-

lions of employees or to the few separate labor organizations set up on different plans and acting independently. You must decentralize action and leave to each unit the right to do the utmost for itself and on its own initiative that it can do without harming others but for the broad general purposes of the public good you must reduce the master levers of the great control room to the fewest number consistent with our fundamental purpose.

That fundamental purpose is to put governors on this great Frankenstein. That purpose is to check it when it races wildly and to sustain it when it creaks and slows to a stubborn stop. That purpose is to prevent this constant junking of human gears and rachets. That purpose is to regulate the quantity of what goes in the hopper to the power of the country to consume what comes out at the snout. That purpose is to balance consumption with our enormous potential productivity—not by reducing production but by increasing the power to consume by a more even distribution of the fruits of every man's endeavor.

It is an act of economic lunacy in a country such as this to let anything interfere with the power of our people to own and have and enjoy the maximum of their productive power. There is here every element of the greatest prosperity and human welfare the world has ever seen and the keys to it are two—confidence and balance. It is not a difficult problem—it is rather an easy one and again I say the secret of it lies in the basic principles of NRA—organization and control of both Industry and Labor—organization to the utmost with such public controls as will create complete confidence in organization of both.

That is the key to this participation in economic riddle and this is the critical hour. The events of the near future will demonstrate whether there is, in this people the power to pull themselves out of the most desperate hole into which this country ever got. The spotlight is on the President's Recovery program. It is on industry which is being organized now with lightning speed. It is on labor which is also being organized at a headlong rate. You have the ball. Will you hold it firm and carry it across the last white line or will you fumble it like an untrained team and ruin the greatest chance that human workers were ever given? I am speaking to leaders of organized labor. I have no words strong enough to implore you to acquit yourselves like men and American leaders in this great crisis. You are like the boy at the Holland dyke with his finger in the crevice. You are in such a position in the life of your country as Fate sometimes places men when

the welfare of millions rests on the shoulders of a few. If you act as Americans have usually acted in the few cases where these great responsibilities impended, you can assure the future of organized labor. If you fail you will destroy it, and with it the one greatest hope of despairing humanity in this country. We cannot stand another vast collapse. You are the principal props against collapse. You cannot escape your responsibility.

In this new scheme of things labor organization has a new place that it never occupied before—new duties, new benefits, new responsibilities. In the old days of exploitation you had to form aggressive units literally to fight for the life of labor. You had to be sometimes militant and always on the alert defensive. That is no longer necessary under the Recovery Act. In the first of the Codes—the Cotton Textile Code, labor was not organized at all, yet it got in that case the greatest boost that workers in a great industry ever got and there were erased some of the worst abuses from which labor has ever suffered. Labor needs to use no aggression in this process and you will get in these codes the maximum of what the particular economic situation permits, and no amount of militant pressure can change that result.

As I see the new function of labor organizations it is best exemplified in the Bituminous Coal Code and what grew out of it. The situation demonstrates both the best and the worst in the Recovery Act. In that case, as the facts and principles grew clear there was no opposition from enlightened operators to contracts with the United Mine Workers. They recognized the need for partnership to pull themselves out of a hole and to discipline their own industry. The moment that contract was made practically the whole responsibility for the rescue of that industry and in some measure for the success of NRA itself fell squarely on the shoulders of John Lewis. Could he perform under his far-reaching agreement? Could he control the divergent efforts of all groups of miners? In a word—is Union Labor a responsible instrumentality? Make no mistake about it—the very foundations of organized labor are at test here and now under that code.

But what is happening? What are the hazards? A minority on each side—industry and labor—is threatening the whole enterprise. A minority of miners using force and violence in defiance of the public peace is hampering the responsible leadership of the United Mine Workers and preventing its compliance with its contracts. A minority of operators have thus far omitted to accord the rights and privileges to labor which

ninety percent of that industry have conceded. The purpose of the people of the United States as expressed in the Recovery Act—the concerted effort of both employers and employees—the peace of a great State are all thus put in jeopardy by the wilfulness of less than ten percent on both sides, for here and now I want to pay tribute to the leadership of the majority on both sides. John Lewis is living up to his contract just 100%. Such men on the employers' side as John Morrow, head of the Pittsburgh Coal Company, Ralph Taggart, James Francis, Charles O'Neil who have labored since before this act was passed as few men have ever worked before for peace and progress in this tortured industry have done and are doing their full share. Nowhere in the President's Recovery program is there a clearer example of teamwork between government, industry and labor than this—but it is being balked and frustrated by a recalcitrant few.

As Donald Richberg said not long ago, it is the "ten-percenters" that give us the trouble. In this case his words were prophetic. Just about ten percent of soft coal production—just about ten percent of coal miners—are involved in this resistance. Does anyone suppose for a moment that in a Democratic country like this ten percent of any group can hold up the progress of the President's plan, which has become the people's plan, in this country? I leave the answer to that question with you.

I used the coal industry as an illustration because it is the most typical, but the same sort of thing is going on in other places. There is some misconception about this. Two or three hundred thousand men are out on strike. But for some curious reason strikes are phenomena of Recovery. Dr. Alexander Sachs, Chief of the Research and Planning Division, provided for in the National Recovery Act, who—to my mind—is one of the world's greatest economists, if economic prediction be a test of an economist's value—Alexander Sachs tells me that there are far fewer strikes in this Recovery than in any other in history—here or elsewhere. If that means anything it means that the ill-informed and inimical chatter about the Recovery program being responsible for strikes is just plain nonsense.

But the matter does have this serious aspect for you. Labor does not need to strike under the Roosevelt plan. It has a disinterested forum—first in the open hearing at which sit in council your foremost leaders together with leaders in industry and full and adequate representation of consumers, to all of whom I want also to pay my tribute. Men and women seem to become inspired in their participation in the President's plan. I

can't mention all the members of the Advisory Boards and what I say for Mr. Teagle, Dr. Wolman and Mrs. Rumsey goes for all of them—more conscientious and devoted public service was never rendered. So I say that labor has its tribunal in the first instance. But that is in the formation of codes. The complaint has been about their execution. The President has also provided for that. Senator Bob Wagner—the Senatorial sponsor and co-author of the Recovery Act and champion of human rights for years, is head of as distinguished a board as was ever set up to pass upon these disputes and he is rapidly organizing his work to cover the entire country.

Thus from the beginning to the end of this process you are given a complete and highly effective protection of your rights. The plain stark truth is that you cannot tolerate strikes. Public opinion is the essential power in this country. In the end it will break down and destroy every subversive influence. If now—when the whole power of this government and its people are being given in an effort to provide and maintain to the ultimate the rights of very man who works for pay—you permit or countenance this economic evil, that public confidence and opinion will turn against you and as the Hon. Edward McGrady said to you the other night, the turn will be either to the extreme right or to the extreme left and either would result in your destruction as you know better than I can tell you.

I must say some things that you may not altogether relish, but I have a law to execute. We have to interpret it. The Recovery Administration would fail if we swerved one instant from impartial and honest interpretation of that law. In my own opinion, at a time of great crisis such as this, it is almost treasonable to depart from or exceed the mandate of the Congress of the United States. I am a lawyer and I feel quite confident of my knowledge of this law, because I helped to write it, but I have been an industrialist and lest I should, by unconscious prejudice or lack of point of view, swerve too much to the industrialist side, I asked for Donald Richberg as General Counsel. I wanted to maintain a balance. Our whole organization is planned to maintain balance. An industrialist and a labor leader sits in on everything we do. I have been much criticized by my industrial friends for asking Mr. Richberg to serve, but not by any man in industry or labor who has been in contact with him. A fairer and more resourceful or more able lawyer I do not know. Together we have tried to interpret this law for execution and whenever there is too

much doubt, there is always the Attorney General, who certainly cannot be accused of bias on either side.

This law requires that labor shall be represented by men of its own choosing, and that means just what it says. So far as I am concerned I believe in a vertical organization of labor in each industry on a national scale with representation of government in each organization to the full extent that we are putting government representation in each organization of industry. But my opinion does not count for anything on that. It is not our function either to organize or to disorganize either industry or labor. It is simply not true that the Recovery Act imposes on labor any particular form of organization or any particular representation. It is labor's right to select its own organization and its own representation, and if I said otherwise I would be recreant to my duty under the Act.

On the other hand, this Act provides that in such selection labor shall be absolutely free from any employer's domination in that choice. Any man can choose to bargain either individually or collectively, and the idea that a man can be compelled or even influenced to join a company union or any other union is absolutely negated by the plain words of this law.

There are plenty of enemies of the NRA. Yesterday I heard that a prominent Wall Street Journal was going to conduct a survey of small employers for the purpose of demonstrating that the President's Reemployment Agreement was a failure.

I know something about Wall Street. I used to work there. It has been much maligned and also properly criticized. But the idea of a Wall Street Journal going out to demonstrate through the little fellow the fallacy of a great social regeneration is one of the grimmest, ghastliest pieces of humor of all the queer flotsam of our daily work.

There is a distinct movement to raise farmer antagonism to NRA on the ground that anything done for workers before farm prices are raised to their pre-war relation to other prices is unfavorable to agriculture. The essential purpose of the President's program is to erase disparities. It is a cohesive program. It proposes something for every oppressed area. We all recognize that the greatest disparity is the lowness of farm prices. But the Agricultural Adjustment Act was given to farmers just as NRA was given to industry and workers. It goes to the ultimate limit to cure the ills of agriculture. There are much more drastic powers in that Act and they are being ably and vigorously administered. But

there can be nothing in our new social compact that says that one class must wait for any benefit at all for the maximum of benefit to another class. The aim is to raise the condition of all workers together. In Dr. Sach's opinion, it is the economic anarchy in the field of distribution which depresses farm prices and it is in that direction that all our efforts are concentrated.

There has been a mark-up of prices but never forget that they were mark-ups from the destructive levels of depression lows. The finest demonstration of the Recovery Act is about to be given. The government now has the right to ask about these things and when there is complaint about undue increases to require justification of them. That it is about to do in every case of outstanding disparity. As I appeal to you to give the President's plan your unstinted support in the matter of disputes, I appeal also to our farmer friends to do the same thing in this matter of national unity against depression. Let us play the game as a team and not as discordant units.

There is complaint also—largely from Wall Street—that rising wages have increased costs and so reduced consumption. Any man who will make an examination of these codes must know that in every case, wages and hours have been related to the ability of each industry to sustain them and not one code has been approved without the overwhelming agreement of the industry submitting it. Not one single code has been imposed. Not one drastic provision of this law has been invoked. These financial gentry who assume to know more about how to operate a business than the men who are running it should take some counsel of these circumstances, but finally and above all they should answer the fundamental question of how you are going to reactivate business without giving the mass purchasing power so necessary to mass production. You cannot squeeze blood out of a turnip.

There is criticism also that there is chiseling behind the Blue Eagle and that our failure to hang, draw and quarter these opportunists is reducing confidence in the whole plan. I think that this criticism is in part justified. But the point has never for one moment been overlooked. The question of enforcing compliance is complex. Taking away the Blue Eagle has been proved to be a terrific economic punishment. We must have a method of justice and certainty. Organization for this involves other departments of government. Men have been working night and day to prepare a national network to handle these problems and the result will shortly be forthcoming. The temporary advantage that the real

chiselers may obtain will prove a costly experiment. The whole power of government is behind the Blue Eagle. It is the symbol of the cooperation of a whole people, and I can assure all these honest employers who have displayed it that they will be protected to the limit.

I must ask again that the public support the Blue Eagle. Every man who has a job,—every man who has been put back to work in some way supporting someone else.

As the able and efficient Harry Hopkins who is administering the Relief Organization has repeatedly said "There is no relief for the average American as effective as a job." Every employer who has the Blue Eagle in his window has—at great sacrifice, in some cases—created jobs. I want to say again, with all the emphasis at my command, that whenever a woman buys or permits buying any article at any store which has no Blue Eagle, she is setting herself against the job of her breadwinner and against recovery.

To say this has been called incitation to a boycott. The mistake about that is that 90 per cent of employers do have the Blue Eagle now. It is exactly the same situation as I have described in the Bituminous Coal Industry—the revolt of the 10 per cent. The question here is simply whether 90 per cent of the people of this coun-

try are going to be stopped by Donald Richberg's "ten percenters."

Buy, and buy now, because prices are bound to rise. Buy under the Blue Eagle because that is and will remain the symbol of cooperation of a whole people—not to be balked and frustrated by the rugged individualism of a recalcitrant few.

In closing I want to say a word of thanks to the great broadcasting chains. I am informed that the cancellation of commercial programs necessary to clear this half hour has cost them many thousands of dollars. When we think of the willing eagerness of such sacrificial cooperation as this in an effort to make effective a great national purpose and then turn to contemplate the obstructions of "ten percenters"—the rules of radio do not permit adequate characterization.

President Green: In behalf of the officers and delegates in attendance at this convention I thank General Johnson for his visit and for his inspiring and instructive address.

That completes the business for this evening, and the convention will now stand adjourned until 9:30 tomorrow morning.

The convention adjourned at 8:30 P. M.

Eighth Day—Wednesday Morning Session

Washington, D. C., October 11, 1933.

The convention was called to order at 9:30 o'clock by President Green.

President Green presented the Reverend Robert A. McGowan to deliver the invocation.

INVOCATION

(Rev. Father Robert A. McGowan)

Our Father Who art in heaven, hallowed be Thy name; Thy kingdom come, Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread, and forgive us our trespasses as we forgive those who trespass against us; and lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil. Amen.

COMMUNICATIONS

Secretary Morrison read the following communications:

New York, N. Y., October 10, 1933.

William Green, President,
American Federation of Labor,
Washington, D. C.

The Union Health Center, only health institution owned by and operated for the benefit of the American Federation of Labor members and their families, extend to you and delegates assembled its heartiest congratulations upon the splendid achievements during the past few months. May your deliberations bring to the wage earners the country over a decent standard of living and economic security.

DR. GEORGE M. PRICE, Director.

Pittsburgh, Pa., Oct. 9, 1933.

William Green, President,
American Federation of Labor,
New Willard Hotel, Washington, D. C.

Greetings and our sincere hope that wise judgment and constructive thought of the better minds will prevail in convention proceeding. We like thought expressed in resolution for perpetual memorial to deceased trade unionists, page one eighty-one, number sixty of second day's proceedings. Can see no reason that such endowment should be sole privilege of big business in rich

classes. Financing such endowment should be no hardship for unions of the forty-three leaders who have gone to their reward since Cincinnati Convention. Isn't it obvious that our problems require the sanction, study and approval of unbiased minds who have the future of our government at heart.

JOHN P. HOLLERAN, President,
Pennsylvania Federation of
Post Office Clerks.

Brooklyn, New York, Oct. 10, 1933.

William Green, President,
American Federation of Labor
Convention,
Willard Hotel, Washington, D. C.

The Socialist party of the State of New York sends to the convention its fraternal greetings. We rejoice in Federation's great gain in membership and wish you success in your drive to bring the millions of yet unorganized workers under your banner. Your constructive and progressive policies will inspire Labor in its struggles for economic and social freedom.

LOUIS WALDMAN,
New York State Chairman
Socialist Party.

Telegrams were also received from Marshall Hale, President of the San Francisco Down Town Association, and from J. W. Malliard, Jr., President of the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce, urging that the 1934 convention be held in that city.

President Green: The hour for the special order provided for in the motion yesterday has arrived, and we will hear the report of the Committee on Shorter Work Day.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON SHORTER WORKDAY

Delegate Simons, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

Delegates of the Convention:

Your committee, in submitting this report, desires to stress the high importance of the shorter workday, not only on its own account, but also as a pend-

ing issue of commanding moment before the American people. With renewed emphasis we reaffirm the stirring declaration made on this subject by the American Federation of Labor in preceding conventions and we here supplement and build on these pronouncements in the light of economic and social conditions as they now present themselves. Dating back many years, the American Federation of Labor has insisted that the principle of balance must be observed in our economic relations as a condition precedent to the promotion of the public welfare. In definite terms this meant that lessened labor hours and increased wages should keep even step with the steady expansion of productive efficiency. Industry as a whole, however, both in precept and practice, and in its feverish scramble for big profits, has not only disregarded this sound and unanswerable economic philosophy, but instead has centered its efforts on increased production per unit of worker through machine refinements and labor-displacing agencies with little or no thought as to the reactions of this ill-starred program on consuming power or the public interest. Naturally and inevitably, the present depression and general business prostration followed. There was no escape from it and there will be none as long as this planless industrial policy prevails. And thus for the past four years we have been confronted with the harrowing and absurd spectacle of a potential productive capacity on the one hand that could shower every normal want with abundance, while on the other, millions of willing workers have been sentenced to involuntary idleness and part-time employment with all its attending miseries, and through no fault of their own.

Briefly stated, these were the conditions of general economic dislocation that faced the American Federation of Labor when it met in convention a year ago in Cincinnati, Ohio. It was a time for action and definite declaration. After a thorough survey of the situation, the Cincinnati Convention, in stir-

ring terms, reaffirmed its moving philosophy of higher wages and shorter hours, and in doing so made a timely advance based on sound reasoning by recording itself in support of and as proposing to the country the adoption, without delay and without wage reductions, of the six-hour day and the five-day work week. Proclaiming this program to be its paramount objective and stressing the staggering loss being suffered by all the people through sheer defiance of economic laws, that convention in substance declared that there was no hope for the restoration and maintenance of prosperity in our beloved country except on a basis of shorter labor hours and steadily advancing living standards.

That declaration was sound then. It is sound now. With added force and without reservation, we proclaim it again. Moreover, we have been heartened beyond measure by the stirring developments of recent months and by the wide and growing acceptance of this basic truth as the corner stone of any rational program of economic reform and industrial recovery. In this same spirit we now pay our tribute of high appreciation to President Roosevelt and to his rare courage and clear vision that prompted the institution of the National Industrial Recovery Act. Its moving purpose as we interpret it is to bring order out of the pending maze of economic dislocations and congestion and to forward prosperity's return by balanced production and consumption through enlarged purchasing power and a wider diffusion of jobs. To the fullest achievement of this purpose we dedicate our best efforts. We are sensitively alert to the profound social and economic changes that the Recovery Act has set under way. We know, too, that all beginnings are difficult and that its processes must be liberalized and perfected in the light of hard experience and compelling labor and social needs. We are convinced beyond all doubts, however, that in its main purposes, the National Recovery Act is headed in the right direction and this one fact in the entire equation overshadows every other consideration.

The story of the long fight for shorter labor hours, over intense and uncompromising opposition during the past fifty years, is an inspiring one. Time was when the shorter workday was primarily the concern of the labor movement alone. It had few friends and fewer adherents of its underlying philosophy in any other quarter. This is and need be so no longer. In the light of the glaring paradox of plenty causing want that now besets a perplexed world, the thoughts of men are advancing and have advanced to a realization that the heart and center of the existing economic upset, with its long trail of idle workers and staggering social losses, lies in the long continued and steady expansion of productive efficiency and in the failure of society to master the machine and make it serve the public welfare. There is no longer a problem of production. Mass production, standardized operations, the elimination of competitive wastes and new means and methods, have solved this problem and in its stead, and in every line of human endeavor, has created a problem of surplus and the disposition of that surplus that now demands an answer. Summing up this entire situation in a single sentence, we declare that society must adapt itself to the new economic, social and industrial environment that expanding productive efficiency has wrought, or we must be prepared to accept the sad consequences.

Your committee therefore strongly insists that the universal acceptance of their prompt translation into practical application is no longer a matter of choice if we are to restore our highly interdependent social structure to an orderly and balanced basis. The logic of the situation, reinforced by relentless economic pressure, compels it. With the welfare of all the people as our supreme concern, we declare there is no safe alternative course. Your committee concedes that there is no special merit in any stated number of labor hours whether they be ten or eight or six per day, only as such hours harmonize with the industrial and social needs of the time. If we still reaped

with a sickle and transported by ox carts, wages would be low and labor hours long, no matter how industrious or thrifty we might be. By the same token and with the picture of depressed consuming power and the workless millions before us, we insist that the time is here when labor hours must be sharply and promptly revised downward and wage rates increased as the one and only practical answer to the machine age in which we live.

With all their manifest imperfections we applaud and rejoice in the progress recently made along the lines of shorter hours and higher wages through labor codes established under the National Recovery Act. Your committee submits, however, that we are all more or less prone to underestimate our great national productive capacity and to forget that, in the last analysis, wages are paid from production. In the preparation of this report and its recommendations, we have given these two fundamental factors mature consideration in striving to do the wise and timely thing. In this regard we refer with high approval to the following declaration made by President Green to this convention on its opening day:

"I am going to voice my personal opinion, and it is an opinion arrived at after careful and mature deliberation. I will express it enthusiastically here. It is my opinion that unemployment will not be overcome, that the eleven millions of workers who are begging and pleading for an opportunity to work cannot get back to work, until we face this issue boldly and uncompromisingly and establish in these industrial codes of fair practice the 6-hour day and the 5-day week."

Your committee, in concluding this survey of widespread and persistent unemployment, sharply decreased consuming power and the economic depression which so vitally affects each individual and every avenue of our national life, now declares that the needs of this deplorable situation demand that there be a drastic shortening of labor hours as the only remedy for this dire problem.

We further declare that such reduction in labor hours should carry no reduction in pay, but, on the contrary, wages should be maintained and steadily increased in conformity with present-day needs. We further insist that the adoption of this program is imperative to create work opportunities for all willing workers, including young men and women now on the threshold of industrial life, and as the only means of conquering the scourge of depression now oppressing our nation. Your committee therefore recommends that this convention strongly reaffirm its indorsement of the 5-day, 6-hour work week without reduction in pay, which it now declares to be our paramount objective, and that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to give the utmost force and direction to this program in order to secure its universal adoption at the earliest possible time. We further recommend that the Executive Council be directed to resolutely continue their efforts until the 5-day, 6-hour work week, without any reduction in pay, is included in every code adopted under the National Recovery Act.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the committee's report.

Delegate Gainor, Letter Carriers: Mr. Chairman and fellow delegates—Confronted with this highly important issue that vitally affects the lives of all the people and enters into every activity in our industrial life, I trust that the delegates will not permit this report to be disposed of without contributing some of their thoughts to the great questions involved. It is a subject about which all of you are thinking, and in your survey of the remarkable developments of the past four years you have put your own interpretation upon the causes that have prompted this extraordinary, world-wide, economic collapse and which has compelled us to be confronted with the absurd and glaring paradox of suffering and want in a land of plenty.

In preparing this report we have tried to look at the problem in a broad way.

I am one of those who believe there is a striking analogy between the laws of nature and the laws of economics. The laws of nature say unto man, "Obey my laws or I will destroy you, and I will destroy you just as quickly if you sin innocently as if you sin viciously." Nature further says unto you: "I will not tell you my laws; you must discover them yourself." And so it is with the laws of economics. They say to man, "Obey my laws or I will punish you, and I will punish you just as readily if you sin innocently as if you sin viciously." Moreover, economics does not tell man its laws; he must discover them himself.

There is something greater in the world than the opinions of people or even of governments, no matter how powerful they may be, and that is economic pressure, and unless we conform to and work in harmony with the evolution of economic forces, we must be prepared to accept the penalty.

Therefore, in my opinion, the supreme obligation of the American Federation of Labor is to be economically sound and to lay down principles that will be a wise guide for the American people in finding a way out of this economic debacle which now perplexes the entire world.

With that thought in mind as this report points out, a year ago the American Federation of Labor at its Cincinnati Convention made a survey of the economic situation and then without reservation made this declaration, which you can approve as you see fit, the sweeping declaration that there was no hope for the restoration and maintenance of prosperity in our beloved country except on a basis of steadily declining labor hours and steadily advancing living standards. We reaffirm that declaration in this report. We also point to the extraordinary and unparalleled progress made in the acceptance of our ideas in the past year, and we commend President Roosevelt for the institution of the National Recovery Act, which has that philosophy as its very foundation. We further in-

sist, in the light of these developments, that progress must continue along these lines. We point out that there is no special virtue in any certain number of labor hours, whether they be ten, eight or six, but the supreme need of the hour is to observe balance in our economic relationships, so that the public welfare may be protected.

We concede that the National Recovery Act, as General Johnson pointed out last night, means a reversal of the old order, which can never be restored. We concede that it institutes profound economic changes, but each and every one of these changes is predicated primarily on the steady advancement of productive efficiency. We lay our finger on this as the cornerstone and the heart and the center of the existing economic up-set. We point out that the heart and center of the existing depression lies in the long continued and steady expansion of productive efficiency and in the failure of society to keep step therewith in shorter hours and higher wages. Therefore and preeminently these facts must be kept in mind in seeking a cure.

Furthermore, we attempt here to epitomize in a single sentence the whole, entire economic question, wherein we declare that society must adapt itself to the new economic, social and industrial environment that expanding productive efficiency has wrought, or be prepared to accept the sad consequences. But even more, we lay down this principle, that not only is the National Recovery Act headed in the right direction, but that there is no alternative way.

For my own part, I declare here and now that in the various economic and governmental adventures now under way throughout the world, whether they be in Russia or Germany or Italy, if they fail to take into consideration that the heart and center of our economic up-set is the rapid expansion of productive efficiency, then every one of those epochal undertakings is destined to fail. Even more, if the National Recovery Act was to fail tomorrow we

would still have the problem of expanding productive efficiency before us, which society would have to answer or be destroyed.

Therefore, we insist that while in the beginning labor wisely and with extraordinary force pointed the way for the public welfare through shorter hours, we now insist that this issue has gone far beyond the realm of labor, because there is no other way in which the public welfare can be conserved. It is with that thought and in the crucible of your composite judgment that I would urge you to give voice to some of your reflections in the light of this important and sweeping problem whose wise disposition you are now called upon to make.

President Green: Are there any further remarks?

Delegate Gainor: Mr. President, might I suggest that you address yourself to this question.

President Green: I am glad to respond to the request of the chairman of the committee. I regard the report of the committee as of transcendent importance to this convention, and I wish to compliment the committee upon this excellent, constructive, sound report submitted to this convention on the question of the shorter work day and the shorter work week. It appears to me they have assumed an unassailable position. Their reasoning is profound and the economic position which they have taken cannot be successfully challenged. It seems to me that all the facts are obvious. We have developed a productive capacity here in our great land so voluminous, so wonderful that we ought to realize that the needs of society can be easily supplied by the machinery and the workers of our nation upon a shorter work day and a shorter work week basis. That to me seems clear.

We have been developing technique in industry. We have been making the worker more efficient. We have been developing human hands and human skill to the point where I think we could

almost say it has reached perfection, but the trouble has been that while we have been traveling this economic, mechanical, technical road, we have been adhering to the old, clinging to it, maintaining the long work week and the long work day, endeavoring to develop the new in production and technique but holding to the old in service and in custom and in the work day and the work week.

Well, my friends, because we did that we have developed an army of unemployed in America so great that it is now becoming a menace to our social and political order. The problem before us is to find ways and means by which we can absorb the unemployed back into industry. We cannot do it, it is clear, upon the old policy. We cannot find work for our people on the long work week basis and on the long work day basis.

Then what is the sensible thing to do, as the committee has well pointed out? We must choose between two things; either reduce the number of hours worked per day and the number of hours worked per week, so that that reduction in working time shall correspond with our production facilities and make it possible for all to be given an opportunity to work, or prepare here in America to maintain permanently a standing army of the unemployed. It appears to me that if the economic facts can be brought home to the people and to the Government itself, there is no question about what the decision will be.

The problem now confronting us through the application of the National Recovery Act is this: That the hours of labor must be reduced, the number of days worked per week must be adjusted, so that those ten or eleven million people still idle may be given an opportunity to work. Progress is being made in that direction, but the public mind reacts slowly, and I presume that it is impossible to do the revolutionary thing, but move in this direction or move in that direction, zig-zag here and zig-zag there, always avoiding just the

climax to it all, nevertheless these economic forces are moving us inevitably to the one point of the six-hour day and the five-day week.

I am glad that this convention meets the issue bravely and boldly. We have pointed the way for, lo, these many years. At every convention we have announced our economic policies. We have never wavered, and through the years that have intervened the economic and social facts tend to vindicate and prove the soundness of the position which we have assumed.

And so, in adopting the committee's report, which I heartily approve, we are taking another forward and advanced position, and the world will know and the Government of this great country will know that the American Federation of Labor is actually offering the real remedy for unemployment.

Now, paralleling the adoption of this principle of the six-hour day and the five-day week there must come the development of buying power. Wage standards must be maintained, and that is the very principle embodied in the National Recovery Act. There must come a reduction in the number of hours worked per day and the number of hours worked per week to the point where the unemployed may be absorbed back into industry, and along with that the payment of higher wages, so that when these people are back the buying power of the masses of the people will correspond with our production facilities. We must be able to buy that which we produce. The facts are that the masses constitute the market. The unemployed must be a part of this market, they must be able to buy, for when buying ceases, collapse comes, we reach the end, and that is the trouble.

And so we are sound upon our wage philosophy, we are sound upon the position we have assumed that the wage rates must be built up in this day and age of specialized production to the point where the people can buy freely; in fact, the economics of the situation require that buying power shall be in advance of productive power. We

ought to be able to create a demand for goods by demanding more than the industry can produce, and when such a balanced order is established we need not fear a standing army of unemployed, with all the distress and suffering that goes with it.

And so I am glad, my friends, that the American Federation of Labor is leading, it is pointing the way, its voice is crying out for the application of the one remedy that will cure our economic ills. I hope the report of this committee will be adopted by a ringing declaration of approval so that all may know where the American Federation of Labor stands.

The report of the committee was adopted by a unanimous vote.

Thirty-hour Work Week for Government Employes

Resolution No. 20—By John P. Frey, Delegate Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L.

WHEREAS, One of the causes for unemployment has been the enormous increase in the wage earner's capacity to produce as a result of greatly increased use of power, machinery, chemical and other processes, and the technical supervision of methods of production; and

WHEREAS, The shortening of the hours of labor is one of the important steps which must be taken to provide adequate opportunity for employment; and

WHEREAS, Spreading the work without increasing the total volume of wages being paid would prevent an increase in capacity to purchase on the part of the masses; and

WHEREAS, This increased purchasing power is essential to industrial and commercial recovery; and

WHEREAS, The United States Government should be a model employer and take the lead in establishing terms of employment which will serve as a model to private industry; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 53d Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor record itself in favor of the enactment by the Congress of the United States of a measure which will establish a 30-hour work week without any reduction in the weekly pay received by Government employes prior to the enactment of the "Economy Acts."

Your committee recommends concurrence in this resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Six-Hour Day and Five-Day Week

Resolution No. 12—By Delegate Phillip Ickler, of the Central Labor Union, Pensacola, Florida.

WHEREAS, Our economic system is still out of balance due to the great army of unemployed; and

WHEREAS, Science is constantly bringing out new inventions in form of mechanical labor-saving devices that in turn take work more and more out of human hands; and

WHEREAS, The reduction of working hours in comparison with the mechanical progress made has been very slow when considering that the 8-hour day has been in existence in some industries for almost 25 years or more, and yet not compulsory in all industries; and

WHEREAS, The shorter work-day is the most essential solution in coping with the unemployment problem, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in its 53d Annual Convention held at Washington, D. C., beginning October 2, 1933, request concentrated efforts to fight in the next session of the Congress of the United States for a compulsory six-hour day, five-day week, to be enacted into Federal or State law.

Your committee is completely in accord with the principles of this resolution, but believes that the best results for labor will be accomplished by the American Federation of Labor if our officers will constantly recognize the efforts now being made by our Government to achieve industrial recovery through the channels of the National Recovery Act. Should the anticipated results of the NRA, in the judgment of our officers, fail to materialize because of concerted and persistent opposition to shorter working hours by combinations of employers in the many and diverse industries of the nation, the committee strongly recommends that the resolution shall then be compiled with to the fullest extent that is possible.

Delegate Dowell, San Diego Federated Trades and Labor Council: While

the report of the committee is commendable, and I do not wish to find any fault with it, I think we are all overlooking, perhaps, the fact that the life of the NRA is limited, and would it not be far better to place ourselves on record as demanding at least this part of the program, that we may endeavor through our legislative efforts to educate our senators and representatives at the Capitol to the necessity of making some permanent move in this direction?

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Shorter Hours for Fire Fighters

Resolution No. 36—By Delegates Fred W. Baer, George J. Richardson, John Heinz and Vincent Kane, of the International Association of Fire Fighters.

WHEREAS, The President of the United States, in his statement of June 16, 1933, "National Recovery Administration Bulletin No. 1," stated: "The law I have just signed was passed to put people back to work—to let them buy more of the products of farms and factories and start our business at a living rate again. * * * The idea is simply for employers to hire more men to do the existing work by reducing the work hours of each man's week and at the same time paying a living wage for the shorter week"; and

WHEREAS, The fire fighters throughout the United States and Canada are now working an average of eighty-four hours per week; and

WHEREAS, A reduction of their working hours would create employment for many thousands who are not now employed; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates here assembled at this, the 53d Convention of the American Federation of Labor, instruct the executive officers and the component parts of the American Federation of Labor to endeavor to secure the shortening of hours for members of the fire departments of the United States and Canada, with no reduction in monthly salaries.

Your committee recommends concurrence in this resolution. Inasmuch as shorter hours for fire fighters can be obtained only through legislation, your committee is strongly of the opinion that shorter hours without reduction

of salaries should be applied to all Fire Departments and Fire Fighters throughout the United States and Canada, and we further recommend that the American Federation of Labor and its allied organizations encourage and aid in every effort that is made to effectuate the purpose and provisions of this resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Your committee reports the following extract from the Executive Council's report for the information of the convention:

GENEVA CONFERENCE ON SHORTER WORKDAY

Resolution No. 90 of the Cincinnati Convention called attention to the Geneva Conference on shorter workday and expressed the hope that a representative of the American Federation of Labor would be designated to serve with the American delegation. The joint conference was held in May, 1933. Hugh Frayne was appointed and served as the labor representative.

Secretary Simons: This completes the report of the committee, which is signed:

E. J. GAINOR, *Chairman*,
JOHN SIMONS, *Secretary*,
L. A. BEAUDRY,
MICHAEL HARTNEADY,
JAMES P. MEEHAN,
L. O'KEEFE,
FRANK B. POWERS,
ROBERT B. HESKETH,
A. F. SPOUT,
JOSEPH MCINERNEY,
WM. F. KRAMER,
MARY E. MEEHAN,
EMIL CAMAIDA,
WM. L. McFETRIDGE,
ABRAHAM L. KATOVSKY,
IRVING W. JOHNSON,
Committee on Shorter Workday.

The report of the committee as a whole was adopted, and the committee continued.

SPECIAL ORDER

Delegate Weaver, Musicians: I move that tomorrow afternoon, Thursday, October 12, 1933, be set aside as a special

order of business for the nomination of officers for the ensuing term.

The motion was seconded and carried.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON LOCAL AND FEDERATED BODIES

Delegate Swartz, Secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

To the Officers and Delegates of the American Federation of Labor, in Fifty-third Annual Convention Assembled at Washington, D. C., October, 1933:

Your Committee on Local and Federated Bodies would respectfully make the following Report and recommendations:

No resolution bearing upon the status or functions of local and federated bodies has been referred to this Committee, but we do not feel that this apparent lack of interest should be construed as indicative of a low appraisal of the importance of the local unions and of the city central bodies.

No part of the organic structure of the American Federation of Labor could be spared without serious damage to the whole; but the local union holds the unique position of being the foundation of all. It is basic, and on its health and vigor depend the vitality of the entire labor movement.

In the higher labor bodies, composed of representative delegates from the local unions, or from the central unions, it may be taken for granted that those delegated are schooled in the underlying principles of unionism and business proceeds on that assumption; therefore, in the local union the new members who may eventually be delegates in the higher labor bodies should be thoroughly instructed in those fundamental precepts of Labor.

This is particularly true at the present time in cases of rapid increase of membership in many unions through the laudable desire of workers to provide the proper machinery, or to connect with existing machinery, to deal

with NRA codes and connected problems. This numerical increase contains a serious menace unless these fledgling members are rapidly schooled in the principles of organized labor.

Apropos of this urgent need for the education of these welcome newcomers by our local unions, we would approvingly quote from the splendid address of President Willian Green at the opening of this Convention, Page 9 of First Day's Proceedings:

"I want to speak briefly about some problems that disturb us, that inspire feelings of concern and, perhaps, sometimes feelings of apprehension. We will reaffirm in this convention, I am sure, the principles and policies of the American Federation of Labor, and we will add to those principles and policies declarations upon new problems and new subjects that have developed out of this great experiment and this wonderful adventure. But the one great problem that we must consider is the perfecting of our great organization. We must place it upon a sound, constructive, solid basis—I mean such a basis as will enable it to meet and deal with the new problems which have arisen. Do we not feel that the addition of a million and a half to two million new members has brought with it grave responsibilities? They must be trained, they must be disciplined, and they must be brought into our ranks, assimilated and made to understand they are a part of us. I realize our problem there, the problem of education, for we want to keep them as loyal, devoted members of our great trade union movement. That will be a problem of planning how we can develop these men and women, bring them in, give them to understand that they have a place here and that it is not enough merely to identify themselves with our movement, but that more is required of them than that—an understanding of our trade union philosophy, its policies and principles and the part that each of them must play in the furtherance of our great aims and purposes."

It is the recommendation of your Committee that this highly important process of education be carried on in the local unions to the fullest possible extent. When feasible, able speakers should be provided, but in their absence many of the simple and enduring truths of unionism can be planted in the mind and heart of the newcomer by the humble but heartfelt words of sincere men and women of no especial oratorical ability but imbued by the quenchless enthusiasm of the real organization spirit. In social chats before and after the formal meeting, the newcomers, in addition to being made to feel at home, can also be inoculated with the spirit of unionism in a more intimate and perhaps even more effective manner than by listening to formal speeches although the latter have their important part in the program.

On the third day of this great convention we were admonished by a clerical friend, Reverend George Laekland, bearing most sharply upon the functions of the local labor union, as follows:

"I believed there was no hope even for the business of the country, first, unless the workers organize, and second, unless the workers within the ranks of organized labor appreciated what organized labor had meant to the workers of this country and third, what organized labor could mean not only to the workers but to the total social fabric of America if it was only intelligently manned, not simply by leaders, in the sense of trade union presidents, but if every trade union president in this country could put his hand on ten men in his local union who knew what it was all about, who had a vision of what the labor movement could mean to this country, and who would give their time and talents going out and organizing the unemployed, and secondly taking the rank and file into the organized labor movement and mobilizing them into an intelligent and constructive force in the community.

"How can we do that in the local unions? First, don't ever have a

meeting where the only business is to read the minutes and communications. I know they are eloquent communications, but, for goodness sake, have somebody stand up and tell that labor group what the present problems are, and instead of having 2 per cent attend your labor meetings you will have from 50 to 75 per cent if you impress upon them that they are missing something by not attending. Every leader of the local movement may ask this question: Why should the rank and file come to meetings? What is there to interest them? Why is there so much that strikes right there to interest them? That is an educational job, and how can you do that? The simple suggestion is to take three of the livest men and women you have in your union and make them an educational committee. In New Haven where labor has had a difficult situation, Jerome Davis has provided a speaker at least twice a month in the winter time, and you will find the attendance three or four times as great at meetings when labor is hearing something.

The foregoing advice from a very good friend may perhaps be modified and adapted in varying forms in different locals, but the underlying principle is sound. The meetings of the local unions should be educational, more interesting and, consequently, better attended.

In the Report of this Committee a year ago to the Cincinnati Convention, mention was made of the usefulness of the local union in combatting the depression by giving patronage preference to the products of employers favorable to union labor. From that Report we would quote the following prophetic language:

"The year that has elapsed since the Vancouver Convention has been replete with convincing evidence of the soundness of the wage philosophy of the American Federation of Labor. Revival of business still awaits restoration of the buying power of workers.

"Continued wage cutting has so decreased demand that nearly all industry is prostrate. Caught in the vortex of their own folly, many great wage-cutting corporations have also been compelled to reduce or entirely discontinue dividends, and are showing heavy operating losses, thus completing the vicious circle of destruction.

"It appears that no industry or group of industries is both wise enough and strong enough to lead the procession back to prosperity. Many leading executives now give lip service to our principle of increasing the buying power of the wage-earner. But still each industry holds its own labor cost down by the introduction of additional labor-discharging machines and by wage cuts to their remaining employes.

"Thus the management of each industry lessens the demand for the products of all industry. If all, or even a large percent of all employers could at one time be induced to give a shorter workweek, hire more workers, and pay but a modest increase of wages, all industry would profit, workers would again be happy and dividends to stockholders would be resumed.

"But no one dares to start, and pending this general action so devoutly desired there is an impasse. The breaking of that barrier is the question of the hour."

To this challenge from Labor came the courageous answer of our new Chief Executive, embodied in the National Industrial Recovery Act. What no single industry or group of industries dared to do a year ago is now being attempted by all in their associated capacity of the United States of America, under the emblem of the Blue Eagle.

On the third day of this convention we were honored by the presence of Miss Frances Perkins, Secretary of Labor, who placed the seal of official sanction upon the program of Labor in the following significant language:

"As you consider today the programs that are before the country you must sometimes be struck by the remarkable resemblance of the program of economic salvation on the terms of economic necessity, the remarkable resemblance between that and what has always been spoken of as the aspirations of the working people of America for a better chance of living, for shorter hours and some leisure and wages sufficient to make it possible for every family to buy for itself and for its own use those things which go to make life worth living in modern civilization.

"And now it so happens that the economists and the statisticians in their study have found that the thing the working people of America always wanted and always knew was right is right not only for the working people but it is right and necessary for all the people and for all the partners in industry and in every aspect of our life in the United States of America. This is a curious and new aspect of the unity which we have developed out of the necessities of this depression. As a nation we are recognizing that the program long thought of merely as labor welfare, such as shorter hours and higher wages and a voice in determining the conditions of work, are altogether essential factors in our economic recovery. These are provided for in varying degrees in the codes adopted under the NRA. The opportunity for collective bargaining is established. Child labor is abolished. Certainly these are great gains for labor in the test to adjust our industrial life to the patterns of democracy and the needs of a new day."

And now under the NRA comes to the local union another great opportunity and responsibility—that of making effective the various codes. Only through local protests can chiseling employers be brought to task in their evasion or downright violation of their codes. Modes of action may vary by the varying judgment of local union officials, but whether it be deemed ex-

pedient to give warning with opportunity to reform, or wisest to make quick report of violations without notice to offender—in either case action should be firm and sustained until the code is enforced.

Hence this Committee recommends that the officers and members of local unions be urged to measure up to their full opportunities as organizers and educators of workers, make their meetings interesting and instructive, deal with employers amicably if possible but always with firmness and gladly assume their new and highly important function of policing the NRA codes.

All local unions should join their central labor unions as essential links in the chain of organized labor. Once more we would quote the following law, Art. XI, Sec. 2, A. F. of L. 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.

"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 aid 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."

We would further recommend that this Convention reaffirm the pronouncements of former Conventions 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 Union.

Delegate Swartz: This concludes our report, which is fraternally submitted and signed.

JOSEPH N. WEBER, *Chairman*,
L. E. SWARTZ, *Secretary*,
J. O. HOLMGREN,
JOSEPH M. MARSHALL,
JAMES B. CONNORS,
THOS. McCANN,
EDW. BIERETZ,
A. ADAMSKI,
JAMES C. QUINN,
C. C. COULTER,
JOHN R. O'CONNELL,
R. E. WOODMANSEE,
C. C. CALLAN,
WM. C. BIRTHWRIGHT,
W. D. LANGLEY,
JOHN A. O'CONNELL,
Committee on Local and
Federated Bodies.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

President Green: Now, my friends, we have with us this morning a most splendid man and a most interesting speaker. The speaker I will introduce to you this morning has made a deep impression upon all those associated with the administration of the National Recovery Act. He made a deep impression upon the representatives of labor, his broad vision, his fairness, his display of excellent judgment appealed to all those representatives of labor who were called upon to present the viewpoint of labor at the hearings on Codes of Fair Practice where he presided as a Deputy Administrator.

There are a great many splendid men connected with the administration of the National Recovery Act, serving as deputy administrators, but, as in every administration of a great Act, such as the National Recovery Act, there are those who seem to stand out above, perhaps, and beyond others, and such a man is our speaker this morning. He

has served as deputy administrator in hearing the Codes in the amusement field, and he has appealed to the men and women representing organizations associated with the amusement industry, not that I mean he has shown bias against someone or for someone, but it is his eminent, judicial fairness that has appealed to all of us. We invited him to come here and speak to you. He is here, and I present to you Mr. Sol Rosenblatt, Deputy Administrator of the National Recovery Administration.

MR. SOL ROSENBLATT

(Deputy Administrator, National Recovery Administration)

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen: I thank you all for the privilege and honor of being invited to attend here and to address you. I assure you that with respect to each and every word I will read here, the same has been carefully balanced in my mind, and I have endeavored, and will endeavor, as I am sure all the other men in this administration will endeavor, to try to carry out those things concerning which I can address you.

Not so long ago a story appeared in one of our national magazines about tree planting and the great work being done in that united effort for conservation of our natural resources under the leadership of our greatest President, Franklin D. Roosevelt. It told about the little seedlings being planted and how, within a comparatively few years, these young trees would be tall and lovely and reaching up high into the sky. That whole conservation effort is a beautiful thing to contemplate and is an example of practical idealism.

This great organization of the American Federation of Labor, foremost of its kind in the world, was planted like these seedlings to become within a comparatively few years also a robust tree with its branches spreading into every field of endeavor. It has been carefully tended and under its wise and courageous leadership has gone forward until today it stands at the threshold of a career of new usefulness.

No man in these United States could pay more eloquent and sincere tribute to the workings of this great Federation than the speakers who, during this session of your annual meeting, have addressed you. I can only add my tiny voice to those great ones, but I did not come here to make an oration.

There is no longer time for talk and twaddle. We have all earnestly at-

tempted to end the twaddle and cut the talk short because we know with absolute certainty that it is action which is now most necessary. Action is the only answer that each and every one of us can give to our great leaders today and they demand results which are essential to national recovery. Born of the loftiest ideal in American history—the financial, mental and physical recovery of our people, this National Recovery Administration must go forward. It can not falter or delay.

The knowledge that our fellow men are still out of work is made less grievous when we realize that our President has given into our own hands the replacing of these men in gainful pursuits. We are all firmly convinced and know that by cooperation we can put men to work just as we can by cooperation in buying the products of their finished labor—keep them at work. We can, will and must put men to work, and more importantly, keep them at work.

The test of our capabilities, however, is even more than that. The Good Book cautions us against permitting men to earn wages only to put them in a bag of holes. I tell you that if men are worthy of their hire they must be paid a commensurate living wage. Men who earn for a week's work, as has been brought to my attention, salaries as low as from 85 cents to \$2.25 per week, might just as well be out of work in my opinion. If we are to progress in this great nation, men must receive a living wage which is an adequate wage.

The National Recovery Administration is the greatest experiment in practical idealism ever conceived in the minds of human beings. These Codes upon which we are now engaged must make provision by terms of the Act for maximum hours of labor and minimum wages.

General Johnson told you last night that strikes are a phenomena of recovery but strikes and industrial peace do not go hand in hand. It is my observation that the majority of strikes are caused by the apparent desire of the striking workers not only to enforce the collective bargaining by representatives of their own choosing which is guaranteed them by the National Industrial Recovery Act but also to secure an adequate minimum wage.

Minimum wages where a supply of men exceeds the demand for them, tend to become the maximum wages. Therefore, unless the minimum wages provide an adequate living wage for labor, we are bound to have strikes. This means in simple words that unless we not only pay labor a wage worthy of its hire but an adequate wage, we are merely adding to industrial unrest and thereby to eco-

conomic waste. What good can be accomplished by the pursuit of a good course of procedure in achieving the aim of the Act to put men to work and to keep them at work if, as we do so, the result is unbalanced by industrial unrest?

This great Federation represents those workers who, by years of endeavor and collective bargaining, have achieved in their various branches of labor a prevailing scale. If that prevailing scale is taken to be an adequate wage and if the workers are working under such prevailing scale and that industry in which they are engaged is paying that prevailing scale, then it follows that that industry must achieve and will continue to enjoy industrial peace.

In plain English, if the organized workers, through their collective bargaining over a period of years have achieved a certain rate of pay per hour now generally enforced, and if a lower minimum rate of pay is fixed, it is not enough to say that the fixation of the minimum does not mean the fixation of a maximum, because, with so many men available to fill those positions, capital must necessarily feel that if it pays the minimum prescribed it is doing its part, and the new men must feel that if they receive the minimum they are receiving an adequate wage; but the men who have been steadily and gainfully employed in such positions and who have been receiving by reason of their collective efforts a higher rate of wage, must feel that their accomplishments and the fruits of their collective efforts are being torn down. Therefore, I say and submit to you that not only shall we fix a minimum wage which is adequate and which is a living wage, but we must also see to it that in fixing such minimum wage the standards which have been built up over a long period of years are not impaired or destroyed. Capital owes that duty to labor, to the public, and to itself, in order to assure itself of industrial peace. Labor owes to itself the protection of the results of its collective bargaining, and more than that, must perform its duty in preserving the fruits of its collective efforts not only for its organized members but also for its unorganized members, and for the new men who are rapidly entering into these fields of endeavor to be put to work.

I am sure that neither the President nor General Johnson, nor any of our great leaders desire to see the standards of organized labor lowered or brought down. I feel confident that if we are to have steady and constant buying of the finished products of men's labor, we cannot afford to impair the purchasing power of that very labor. If it is our ideal that not only shall

no persons gainfully employed lose their employment but on the contrary more people be put to work, we must assure all of the workers that their standards of wages shall not be lowered by an inadequate minimum wage.

President Green, John Frey, Edward McGrady, and others of the outstanding leaders of organized labor, have heretofore pledged themselves to the maintenance of proper living standards. The National Recovery Administration has done likewise. Our great industrial leaders freely subscribe to this great principle. As the representative of the President and walking arm in arm through these troublesome times with both capital and labor, the National Recovery Administration is fully aware of its responsibility to all the parties concerned, including those being put to work. This great nation has prospered during those times that capital and labor have jointly enjoyed the fruits of common industrial endeavor. It will prosper again under such circumstances.

One word more—if our practical idealism is to succeed fairly and fully on its merits, then we much achieve industrial stabilization and peace. I know and feel confident that your efforts are designed toward that end. The participation of labor, through the Labor Advisory Board, through the Labor Adviser to General Johnson, and through the National Labor Mediation Board, is real, commendable and praiseworthy. This participation must be balanced with the participation of capital and the public. May we through cooperation go forward and not retrogress. May we construct and improve and not impair or destroy. May we safeguard industry in all of its component parts and divisions.

I am sure that every man here present joins heartily with me in wishing well to our endeavors; and I am equally sure that the respect, admiration and love we have for our greatest President will continue forever when we have achieved his ideal of work for every American and buying by all Americans to keep their fellowmen steadily engaged in such work.

President Green: I want to express to Deputy Administrator Rosenblatt our deep appreciation of his visit this morning, and we thank him for his splendid address. I know that every word he uttered was sincere, it came from the heart, because I have learned to know him. I want you to know, Mr. Rosenblatt, that we appreciate your visit here this morning and we thank you for your address.

**PRESENTATION OF GIFTS TO
FRATERNAL DELEGATES**

President Green: I want to interrupt the proceedings of the convention this morning in order that we might conform to and carry out a beautiful custom. This is a part of the pleasing exercises of our annual gathering. We can all agree upon this. It makes us very happy. At every annual convention the officers and delegates in attendance at the convention present to the fraternal delegates and their wives and those who accompany them beautiful presents, tokens of our high esteem and regard. So at this convention we are following that custom. Just now I wish to present to our fraternal delegates and their wives and those with them the presents which we have provided for them. I know you will join me in offering to them, along with these presents, our hearty good will and earnest hope that these splendid men and women coming to us from trade union movements in which we are deeply interested, a most happy visit and a safe return to their homes and their families.

Now I wish to present first to Fraternal Delegate Rowan, from the British Trades Union Congress, this beautiful watch and chain, with a knife attached. This watch is appropriately engraved. It is your present to Brother Rowan, and I ask him to accept it with the assurance that it carries with it your high appreciation of his visit and your gratitude to him and to the movement for sending him here and for coming here.

Fraternal Delegate Rowan: Mr. President and fellow delegates, I have looked forward for a year with eager anticipation to my first visit to the United States of America, and with no little trepidation to meeting this convention, the greatest convention of working men in the world, but since I got here and met many of you the trepidation has rapidly disappeared. I have more than realized my fondest hopes in the greeting I got here.

I was especially glad to be present at the unveiling of the memorial to Sam-

uel Gompers. I had the pleasure of meeting Mr. Gompers and hearing him speak on his last two visits to Britain. His sincerity and oneness of purpose impressed me, but I do not think that ever in his most optimistic moments he dreamed that a President of the United States would have delivered the eulogy of him that was delivered by President Roosevelt last Saturday. I believe the name of Samuel Gompers will go down the ages as a great crusader. His crusade, on behalf of the common people, was as great as that of Richard Coeur de Lion in his attempt to get the Holy Grail.

I have been most interested in the progress of your NRA. It will have tremendous effect upon the United States of America, upon all classes, not only the working class, but I am just as keenly interested in the effect it will have in Europe, because your success will be our success, your failure will be our failure.

I want to conclude by thanking all the delegates for the hospitality they have extended me and my wife, and to your President and officers I extend thanks for the help they have given me. I shall always remember my first visit to the United States with pleasure.

President Green: Mrs. Rowan is with Fraternal Delegate Rowan, and the committee has provided a beautiful present for her. It is a beautiful watch, just see it, ladies! It is the gift of the officers and delegates in attendance at this convention to Mrs. Rowan, and I am happy indeed to present it to her, and after I have presented it she will make an eloquent speech.

Mrs. Rowan: Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen; It gives me very great pleasure to be with you this morning in the Washington convention. I may say, like my husband, that I have been looking forward for the last twelve months to coming here. It has been delightful to me to be with you and to make so many friends. I assure you that when I go back to England it will be with many recollections and memories of the good times I have had and the good friends I have met here.

I shall wear this little watch with pride, and it will bring many happy memories to me of the time I spent here and the good friends I have met. I wish you success in your good work, and when I get back home I will have a lot to tell the people of the many friends I met here.

President Green: I knew she could do it! Now I present to Fraternal Delegate J. A. Hall this beautiful watch. It seems to me that it is just similar to the one we presented to Brother Rowan. The committee was very discriminating in its selection. It is a watch and chain and knife. What could be more appropriate? I present it to Brother Hall in your name and in your behalf with all your best wishes.

Mrs. Hall could not come because of illness. She was unable to accompany her husband to America, but we will vouch for him, all right. The committee has not overlooked Mrs. Hall, however. There is a beautiful watch for her. He can carry it back and present it for us, and I am sure he will receive a hearty welcome from Mrs. Hall when he presents this beautiful watch.

Fraternal Delegate Hall: Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, representatives of the whole of the United States Federation of Labor: I am sure it would be impossible by word or pen to give the feelings I would like to give this morning to this large assembly. Let me say that prior to leaving England to come here I had a very, very peculiar opinion about you. Let me say also that instantaneously I altered that opinion. I felt like a great number of the citizens of Europe, that you were a people who like to talk pleasingly about yourselves without any foundation, but now let me say candidly, that intellectually I find you are not inferior to us, diplomatically you are our equals, and courageously you are our superiors.

Let me say that in kindness and sociability I have not met your equals, not even on the continent of Europe when visiting there. Every delegate it

has been my pleasure to meet has used every kindness and courtesy to make my stay here pleasant, and I shall not hesitate when I go back to Yorkshire to tell the people of the determination of this country to go forward with the Recovery Act, even though it may mean sacrifices. I am going back there to tell them that you are on the royal road to success and that it is our duty to follow the course you are following.

The National Recovery Act means unity, the National Recovery Act means economic success. The one specific feature that overshadows all others is this: That it is bringing back to the trade union movement those who preferred to be outside prior to the Act coming into force.

You are going to build up a strong trade union organization, and with that organization take the opportunity that it will afford you. Let me illustrate what taking advantage of opportunity means. It is a man who comes before you with a bald head at the back and a tuft of hair on the forehead. If you do not immediately grasp the tuft of hair on the forehead he turns and is gone. I want you to take this opportunity that is afforded you, grasp it while you may, because it is the one opportunity the workers of the world have been offered. I want you to take advantage of it, and the nations of the world will follow and help to bring us out of the morass the workers have been in in our country for ten years. I want to reciprocate in some manner other than by speech the tenderness and kindness that has been given to us in our visit, so I say:

"Workers of America unite!

You have nothing to lose but your chains

You have the world to gain."

Economic recovery, the standardization and the stability of wage earning, the decline, if possible, of the capitalist regime, and to build up for America such a state that was only the state of the dreamer of a hundred years ago.

I thank you, every one of you, for your hospitality. I thank this great congress for stimulating me, a youngster in the trade union movement, to go back to England to back up still with greater energy the movement that has been the means of building up the resources of mankind. I go back a better and a wiser man by attending here. I shall go back probably with different opinions about you. I understand, too, your intellect, I understand your diversities of opinion in this great state, but I hope that despite the diversities of opinion you will be a united army, ready to stand by the man who has been courageous enough to bring forth a policy that will mean so much to labor and to the world.

I thank you for your hospitality, I thank you for the kind consideration you have given us, I thank you for the splendid address in the opening of this congress, Mr. President, and I admire the brilliance of mind of some of the speakers you have brought on to this platform. I want to say in closing au revoir, good wishes, go on with the good work and lead us out of the morass we are in ourselves.

I am only too sorry that my best partner is not with me, but the feminine sex will know more about the troubles that come into their lives. Mine has had two and one half years of physical disability, but I will go back and present to her the watch you would have presented to her had she been here. I know she will accept it with pleasure and with grace. I know I shall go back a better man and in the end it will come out that probably my visit to America will mean more to me than any visit I have ever made, even to any country in Europe.

President Green: Now we have a beautiful present for Brother White, the fraternal delegate from the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress. It is similar to the watches presented to Brother Rowan and Brother Hall. It is beautifully engraved and has a chain and knife attached. I am going to present this to Brother White as a

token of your appreciation of his visit and of the high esteem in which he is held.

Fraternal Delegate White: President Green and fellow delegates, when I was selected to bring greetings from one organization to another I felt it was a great privilege indeed. And now the delegates to this convention have asked me to be the recipient of this gift, and I accept it as a token of the friendship and good will which exists between your organization and those whom I represent here today. I, like the others, have found the convention most interesting. Your problems are similar to our own. The delegates have had occasion to discuss and talk on the questions which confront them from day to day on behalf of their members, and that has brought out more clearly the common problems we have and the common ground that we must take in order to bring about improved conditions for those we represent on this occasion.

I appreciate most sincerely the hospitality and the courtesies which have been extended to myself and to Mrs. White. We go back more stimulated to carry on the fight—a really worth while fight—on behalf of the working men and women of North America.

After all, as the motto says:

"For when the One Great Scorer comes to write against your name He writes, not that you won or lost But how you played the game."

And so we go forth to play the game with fellow workers to bring about that improvement of conditions we hope for, to bring sunshine into the lives of all the working men and women. That is your duty, that is my duty, that is the responsibility of the trade union movement. God speed the American Federation of Labor insofar as its field of activity is concerned.

I again thank you most sincerely for the very splendid gift you have presented. I will carry this constantly as a reminder of the very pleasant visit I

made to the American Federation of Labor.

President Green: We have a beautiful watch for Mrs. White. I will hold it up so you may all see it. The committee, I think, made a very fine selection in all these watches presented to the fraternal delegates. I want to present this to Mrs. White with our assurance of the deep appreciation we feel for her visit here. I ask you to accept this from the officers and delegates of this convention, Mrs. White, and then make them a nice speech.

Mrs. White: I think I shall thank President Green for giving me the privilege of the last word. I do wish to thank you sincerely for this very beautiful gift and for the very many kindnesses and courtesies that have been extended to me in your beautiful capital city. I think one of the reasons your city is so beautiful is that you have not allowed it to grow too tall, you have allowed the sun to shine down on your buildings and on your beautiful parks.

I think in this convention there has been an effort to bring sunshine into the lives of the workers. We in Canada, I think I may say, are part of this great movement. I think the women could play a great part in this movement. We do control a great deal of the purchasing power in the home, and if we make a demand for union-made articles it will be a great help to this movement. I thank you again sincerely and wish you the greatest luck in your convention and in your movement.

President Green: Now, as a parting word, I think I can say to these fraternal delegates and their good wives that we wish them a continuation of the happy visit up to their departure. We wish them a safe journey to their homes and we ask them to carry back these presents as a reminder of a most happy and pleasant visit to the convention and to the city of Washington.

I want to thank the committee, Brother Adamski, of the United Garment Workers, and Brother Tracy, of

the Bookkeepers and Stenographers of Washington, for the service they rendered. I think I can say for them that they are really experts in the selection of beautiful presents.

President Green: We will now hear from the Committee on Executive Council's Report.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON EXECUTIVE COUNCIL'S REPORT

Delegate Sumner, Secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

Appeal from Decision of Executive Council in Behalf of Outside Salesmen and Collectors

Resolution No. 10—By Delegate W. A. Miller, of Allegany Trades Council.

WHEREAS, There has been a group of outside salesmen and collectors primarily organized to secure the benefits of the National Industrial Recovery Act, and for the purpose of bettering the social life of the wage earner of this specific trade calling in Allegany County, Maryland; and

WHEREAS, This group has applied to the Allegany Trades Council, the central labor union of Western Maryland, for affiliation with the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, Under a decision of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, this classification of wage-earners cannot affiliate with the American labor movement, unless such decision is repealed by the convention; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has stated that all workers will be organized into the American labor movement; be it

RESOLVED, That the Allegany Trades Council appeals to the convention assembled to repeal the decision of the Executive Council and give this classification of wage earner the right to affiliate with the American Federation of Labor, either directly or through an international union affiliated with the Federation

Resolution No. 10 comes to your committee as an appeal from the action of the Executive Council in refusing to grant a charter to a group of outside salesmen and collectors. The record shows that the Executive Council refused to extend the jurisdiction of the

Retail Clerks to include traveling salesmen and collectors. In addition to that the committee finds that for more than thirty years the Executive Council has watched with considerable care the applications of similar groups for Federal Union charters; and that without exception whenever its action was questioned and brought before the convention for review that the decision of the Executive Council was sustained.

No action heretofore taken either by the Executive Council or the convention in any way precludes the organization of this class of workers by the affiliated organizations having jurisdiction over them. The application of each group, when made, will be investigated and the decision based upon the facts as they are found to exist.

Your committee finds the action of the Executive Council in this case is in line with the well established policy affirmed by previous conventions; and therefore recommends that the Executive Council be sustained in the case now under consideration and that resolution No. 10 be disapproved.

The report of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

Delegate Sumner: This concludes the report of the committee upon all matters that have been referred to it.

Your committee feels, however, that it may, without presuming upon your patience or encroaching upon the prerogatives of any other committee, and for the purpose of keeping the record straight and up to date, call attention to that portion of its report made to the 1926 convention in Detroit—namely the danger to the savings of the workers of the practices then developing with accelerated speed of turning the enormous profits of the industrial corporations into all kinds of stock issues. The history of the last four years is its own commentary on that abuse of corporate control by the "captains" of finance and industry.

What the committee then said was so well said that it will bear repeating:

Modern industrial development has gone forward so rapidly that even the closest observers are unable to keep fully abreast of it. In some aspects this development has taken the form of financing on a basis that is leading to a point where no one may say exactly what will happen. Able men, notably Professor William Z. Ripley of Harvard University, have pointed out the extreme danger that lies in the direction along which our business affairs are now traveling. Before this new era dawned, the business world was familiar with the device known as the stock dividend. Originally this was resorted to for the legitimate purpose of permanently fixing in the capital employed, the accretion accumulated and held as surplus. Any such stock dividend was accepted as notice to all, and sundry, that the business had been profitable beyond the sum needed for defraying reasonable dividends, and the excess earnings had been employed in the work of carrying on the enterprise to the end that even greater dividends might be declared and a large surplus accumulated. This was also a notice that the wage rate in any such enterprise might be advanced without jeopardizing the success of the undertaking.

Since the dawn of the post war era we have known such manipulation of enterprise as makes the high finance of the earlier part of the century appear like the innocent amusement of amateurs. One of the most elastic and readily controlled agencies for this form of jugglery is the stock issue of "no par value." It means exactly what it says, that the purchaser of that stock buys nothing. He pays his money for the prospect of accumulating dividends at whatever rate a board of directors may determine. Through the issue of non-voting stock, or the central control device, the purchaser of stock has no voice whatever in the management

or direction of the affairs of the concern to which he has turned over his money. The danger residing in such a practice is so apparent that only the most reckless of investors or the most gullible will resort to the purchase of such stock for the employment of their savings.

Another dangerous practice is that form of stock issue which is commonly referred to as "employee ownership." Thousands of employees of the various great manufacturing or transportation concerns of the country have invested large portions of their savings in these concerns, lured on by specious and attractive promises from stock promoters or from the management.

Your committee would not in the remotest sense discredit thrift among the workers of America, nor discourage any ambitious worker from trying to make himself secure against possible want in the future, but we would urge that all give careful consideration to the subject that is so tremendously important to them. When it is possible for a man of William Z. Ripley's standing to publish in one of the most conservative American magazines the names of one after another of great corporations whose financial statements to the public and their stockholders are inaccurate, misleading and in some cases contain downright untruths, it is time for the ordinary mortal to "Stop, Look and Listen."

Your committee also wishes to call attention to a practice that is prevalent and which exemplifies one of the most unsound and dangerous contrivances known to high finance. We refer to the capitalization of prospective earnings. Under this process it is the common practice for financial buccaners to secure control of a prosperous business and then through the process of reorganization or reincorporation to increase the capital stock by two or three times the original sum, basing this increase on the earning capacity of the plant and

the anticipation of future sales of the product. This is such an extreme form of speculation that it amounts in the end to downright gambling, presenting to the stock purchaser only the prospect of winning a return on his investment in the event that the anticipated increased sales of output be realized. Such stock issues are dependent for value entirely upon the ability of the manipulating group to maintain the enterprise at its full productive capacity. In the event of any diminution or cessation of purchases by the public the payment of dividends must cease or be provided for from a surplus which has been created through the accumulation of excessive profits. When such adversity overtakes one of these companies the device most swiftly applied to preserve the shrinking surplus is that of reduction in wages. At the same time the investor will note the decrease in the quoted price of his shares in the stock list and may easily compute for himself the extent of the loss he is incurring through having "taken a chance" in the game that is being played by the financial captains of the day.

Your committee would urge therefore that all workers wherever situated proceed in their purchases of corporation shares with the same caution and prudence that they would exercise in other investments.

The concern of your committee in 1926 was the effect that all this over-capitalization would have upon the investment of the savings of the workers. The concern of your committee today is over the effect that the perpetuation of this over-capitalization will have upon the restoration of wages. Apparently every effort is being made by the owner group to preserve intact the paper value of their properties regardless of the original over-capitalization and the great shrinkage in actual value thereof. The necessity of resuming the payment of dividends before wages can be raised or the hours reduced is constantly stressed. The old guard never learns and never

surrenders. Unless a "new deal" as to the value of plant and machinery can be dealt so that only the actual value of the operating plant is considered when allotting capital its portion of the joint products of capital and labor the intent and purpose of the Industrial Recovery Act to increase the consuming power of the masses by raising wages and reducing hours will be made impossible. While this is universally recognized as a fact it has not changed the attitude of the so-called "captains of industry." The duty of the American Federation of Labor and its affiliates in such a situation is plain. Little attention need be given for some time to come to find means to protect the investments of the savings of the workers; but much attention must be given to the question of compelling a reappraisal of plant values on which a return is to be allowed.

Your committee, at this time, wants only to bring the matter to the attention of the convention and suggests that the subject matter be referred to the Executive Council for such action as developing events and opportunity invite.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Vice President Wilson: The subject matter that has just been presented by your committee is one of extreme importance, not only to the wage earners of our nation, but likewise of great importance to all the people. At the 1926 convention of the American Federation of Labor the Committee on Executive Council's Report directed the attention of the convention to the evil that was growing up in industry through the over-capitalization of industry. This was a warning to the people of the fact that stock dividends were usually issued from surplus that was created by withholding wages from labor, and if industry expected to pay dividends upon this fictitious valuation, it would eventually lead to a situation where, in order to continue dividends, it would be necessary to still further curtail wages.

It is the judgment of your committee that this is one of the most serious problems confronting our nation at the present time, and we believe that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor should gather all statistics upon this vital question in order that it might be presented not only to a convention of the American Federation of Labor, but to all of the people of our country.

If we are to have permanent recovery we must in some way bring about the re-financing of the great industries of America, so that this fictitious value in capitalization of industry may be taken out in some manner by amortization or more drastic methods in order that real value may be represented in the capitalization of industry, because not only do the wage earners of the country have to suffer by reason of the desire of industry to pay dividends on this fictitious value, but likewise all of the people, by reason of the fact that higher prices for commodities must be paid than otherwise would be necessary if this value did not exist in the capitalization of the industries of our country.

The trade union movement, in calling the attention of the people of this country to this evil, are rendering a distinct service and are much in advance of the general thought, and we are continually directing the attention of the people and of our movement to the fact that if we are to have prosperity and if we are to have a prosperous condition, then the hours of labor have to be reduced and earnings of labor have to be increased in order to place purchasing power in the hands of the people.

There is no more constructive movement in our country than the trade union movement. It has directed the attention of the people to these abuses, and in presenting again this report that was adopted by the Detroit convention, we want to direct your attention and the attention of the people of this country once more to this situation. We, as a great labor movement, today passing through a period of national industrial recovery, must recog-

nize this fundamental truth, that if we are to bring justice into the industries of America permanently we must remove in their entirety the evils that have crept into industry.

And so, in the judgment of your committee, it is the duty of this convention to pass on to the Executive Council the job of acquiring all of this information and presenting it to a future convention of this organization, and to present it to the people of our country in order that this one thing may be remedied—a thing which, in the judgment of your committee, has been responsible at least to a degree for part of the condition in which we now find ourselves.

And on behalf of the committee I say these things in order that your attention may be directed to the seriousness of this situation, and that, as the representatives of your organizations you will furnish information along this line to the officers of the American Federation of Labor.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

Your committee notes with satisfaction the growth of the American Federation of Government Employees, as reported in Secretary Morrison's report. New officers have been installed and every evidence indicates that this organization will grow to be representative in the field in which it is authorized to operate. It is deserving of the good will and the good offices of all affiliated unions and the committee takes pleasure in commending it to your attention.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

CONCLUSION

The committee, before retiring from the scene, wishes to pay its respects to President Green and his colleagues of

the Executive Council for the capable work they have accomplished during the year.

Labor's voice has been heard and Labor's influence has been felt in all matters of public concern as rarely before. Its advice has been sought and its philosophy accepted as never before. The "new deal" now so hopefully launched sounds to the trained ears of the trade union leaders like nothing so much as the pronouncements and declarations of faith that they have enunciated for many, many years, in season and out of season, at the annual conventions of the American Federation of Labor.

It is gratifying to know that our chosen representatives have been equal to the opportunity that has come to them. We feel that they have well presented the hopes and aspirations of the tolling masses.

For the first time in the history of the American nation a laudable effort is being made to overcome the mistakes and adversities of its economic life through a united and cooperative endeavor that gives Labor its proper and just place in the scheme of things. Were it not for the sound philosophy and capable leadership of the labor movement as represented in and through the American Federation of Labor this would not be so. Today we are taken for granted as a component part of the necessary factors in the solution of our economic ills. This is a tribute not only to the movement as a whole but also, and to a large degree, to the character of our chosen representatives. So we congratulate ourselves and express to President Green and to the Executive Council our sincere thanks for the high character of the services rendered and our sincere trust and confidence in them in the services they are to render in the days to come.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Delegate Sumner: That concludes the report of the committee, which is signed:

JAMES WILSON, *Chairman*,
CHAS. A. SUMNER, *Secretary*,
GEO. L. BERRY,
THOMAS KENNEDY,
WM. L. HUTCHESON,
F. H. KNIGHT,
EDWARD FLÔRE,
J. J. HYNES,
ANDREW FURUSETH,
JAMES C. SHANESSY,
MARTIN LAWLOR,
JOHN J. GLEESON,
JOHN J. MARA,
JAMES H. WINDSOR,
HENRY W. STRICKLAND,
JOS. P. RYAN,
CHAS. M. RAU,

Committee on Executive
Council's Report.

Delegate Sumner moved the adoption of the report of the committee as a whole.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

President Green: The committee will be continued.

I wish to announce a meeting of the Executive Council immediately after adjournment in Room 128. All members of the Executive Council are requested to attend.

In order that the Executive Council may have the opportunity to hold this meeting during the noon hour, the Chair will declare that the hour of the morning adjournment has arrived and the convention will stand adjourned until 2:30 o'clock this afternoon.

The convention adjourned at 12:20 o'clock p. m.

Eighth Day—Wednesday Afternoon Session

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

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT, COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

Delegate Schmal, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

Your Committee on Credentials desires to submit for approval the following partial report:

We have received credential for H. M. Thackrey to represent the Little Rock, Ark., Central Trades Council, and recommend that the delegate be seated with one vote.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

COMMUNICATIONS

Secretary Morrison read the following communication:

St. Louis, Mo.,
September 20, 1933.

To the Officers and Delegates of the American Federation of Labor, Washington, D. C.

Brothers and Sisters:

At the meeting of our Saint Louis

Central Trades and Labor Union held September 10, 1933, a motion was passed by unanimous vote inviting your body to hold its 1934 convention in our city.

The undersigned elected from our Central Body as a delegate to this convention was instructed to extend to you this cordial invitation.

Saint Louis has not had an American Federation of Labor convention since 1910, and we believe that our movement is entitled to the consideration due and requested in this communication.

For your information will say that by April, 1934, our new five and one-half million dollar auditorium will be completed and will contain a number of fine convention halls, the largest with a seating capacity of fifteen thousand. This auditorium is located at the Municipal Plaza in the heart of the down town district and is being built exclusively by union labor.

We are sure that our hotel accommodations will be sufficient to take care of any sized crowd that may be in attendance on the occasion of the convention.

Trusting that we may be honored with the 1934 convention, we remain,
Fraternally yours,

Central Trades and Labor Union of
Saint Louis and Vicinity.

(Signed) W. M. BRANDT,
Acting Secretary.

ANNOUNCEMENTS

Secretary Morrison: I have been requested to announce that on Wednesday evening at 8:00 o'clock there will be a meeting of delegates from state federations of labor in Room 127 of the Willard Hotel.

Boot and Shoe Workers

President Green: The Chair wishes to make a brief announcement relating to the controversy which arose at Brockton, Massachusetts. For some time there has been a controversy raging there relating to the organization of the boot and shoe industry in that city. It appears that some misinterpretation has been made of the attitude of the American Federation of Labor in the controversy. For that reason I deem it advisable to state at this time that the American Federation of Labor recognizes the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union as having jurisdiction over workers in the boot and shoe manufacturing industry.

That organization was chartered by the American Federation of Labor; it is recognized by the American Federation of Labor; it is the only Boot and Shoe Workers' union recognized by the American Federation of Labor. For that reason the American Federation of Labor will give to the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union in the city of Brockton and elsewhere a full and complete measure of support in its efforts to develop cooperation and working agreements between employers and members of that union. There is no question as to the attitude of the American Federation of Labor in this matter. We recognize the validity of contracts that have been entered into between the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union and manufacturers. The American Federation of Labor will give to the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union a full and complete measure of support.

The Chair recognizes Chairman Ryan, of the Committee on Law.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON LAW

Chairman Ryan: Your convention referred to the Committee on Law two

amendments to the constitution. Your committee was organized and later held hearings and gave opportunity to all those individuals interested to appear before the committee and to make their statements. We are now ready to report and the report will be made by the secretary of the committee, President Volz, of the Photo-Engravers.

President Green: The Chair recognizes Secretary Volz, of the Committee on Law.

Delegate Volz: Mr. Chairman and delegates: As explained by Chairman Ryan, of the Committee on Law, two propositions were referred to our committee—Resolution No. 11 and Resolution No. 25. Resolution No. 11 is as follows:

RESOLUTION NO. 11**Proposed Constitutional Amendment Increasing Executive Council**

Resolution No. 11—By United Mine Workers of America.

RESOLVED, That Article 5, Section 1 on page 9, of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor, be amended by striking out the word "eight," appearing on the second line and inserting in lieu thereof the words, "twenty-five."

There is involved in this proposal merely an enlargement of the number of members of the Executive Council but a fundamental change in the organic structure of the American Federation of Labor itself.

The present provision of the Constitution governing the number of members of the Executive Council and stipulating their duties conform to the basic structure of the organization.

Article IX, Section 8 reads:

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

The annual convention is the supreme governing body. The balance of power

In the control and direction of the policies of the organization is deposited in the affiliated organizations through the exercise of their representative power in the convention.

In the interim of conventions if a situation arises which threatens serious consequences to the trade union movement the procedure is to bring into conference the executive officers of the affiliated national and international unions for counsel and guidance. This has been done time and again. The most recent evidence of this procedure is found in the conference called in the recent past to consider the National Recovery Act when in process of Congressional consideration. In every problem involving the interests of a particular organization or group of unions in allied industries the organization or organizations that have jurisdiction are the determining factors in the matter of procedure. Here again flexibility is provided and evidence available that the practice is to call into conference the affiliated National and International Unions for counsel, advice, guidance and direct participation, whenever the appeal of any one or group of affiliated National or International Unions required such united action.

The enlargement of the Executive Council will tend to undermine, if not destroy, the practice and procedure thus outlined and heretofore followed. An analysis of the voting power of our convention and its distribution among the affiliated unions clearly indicates that an Executive Council consisting of direct representatives of twenty-eight National and International Unions will preclude any effective participation in any proposal by the delegates to the annual convention who are not directly represented on such an enlarged council, thus affecting our democratic procedure.

It has been the progressive policy of the American Federation of Labor to decentralize growing power and control within our labor movement. The several departments that have been created in the American Federation of Labor

were instituted for this purpose and the affiliated unions have thereby enlarged upon their direct representation in matters of immediate trade and occupational issues. Through this decentralization of authority and control a larger spirit of cooperation is being developed. Through this method direct representation is effected without the dangers inherent in the proposal we are reporting upon.

For the foregoing reasons and prompted solely by considerations for the good and well being and the continued growth of power and influence of the American Federation of Labor, your committee submits these findings as expressive of our best judgment.

In recommending non-concurrence in the resolution presented we are fully conscious that in the finality it is for the delegates in this, as in the last convention, to determine the course that should be followed and the practices and procedures that should hereafter govern.

Delegate Volz moved the adoption of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded.

Delegate Kennedy, United Mine Workers: Mr. Chairman, I have listened very carefully to the report of the committee as made by the secretary to the convention, and to be quite frank, it is my judgment that the very report of the committee, designed to attack the principle of the resolution, is in reality in support of the resolution as offered for the enlargement of the Executive Council.

As I gather from the report, it is alleged that this resolution strikes at one of the fundamentals of the American labor movement—in other words, that an Executive Council of eight men is really the fundamental foundation upon which this movement has been organized. It requires no stretch of the imagination to discard that statement, with many others, as having no relationship to the real purpose set forth in the resolution. If the entire American labor movement revolves upon a Council of eight and that is the basic

foundation of the movement, then I have no conception of the trade union movement of this country.

I had always understood that the real, fundamental basis of the American labor movement was represented, first, in the membership of the international unions, and second, through the affiliation of those international unions with the American Federation of Labor, subscribing to the ideals and the principles of the American labor movement.

If we analyze that report in the light of our Federal jurisdiction we will find a great deal of inconsistency. The Federal Government, insofar as its basic lawmaking bodies are concerned, recognizes not only increasing population, but shifting population, so that those lawmaking bodies may be kept representative at all times. It occurs to me that by applying the same principle to the labor movement we might be building for the future instead of being eternally chained to some so-called, alleged principles that do not exist.

My friends, there is really nothing dangerous in this proposition except such fear that might exist in the minds of men who perhaps would not want any more intelligence or the exercise of any more judgment on the Executive Council than that which obtains at the present time, and it occurs to me that if this is the fear upon which these reports are based, then that fear could rapidly be dispelled if we but approach the problem in the light of other sections of the Council's report as made to this convention.

It has been pointed out that the membership of the American Federation of Labor has increased well over the million mark within the past six months and that we are going out upon the slogan of getting 20,000,000 members into the American Federation of Labor. That being the case, it is our thought and our judgment that we can best accomplish that purpose by infusing some new blood into the Executive Council—not to detract from the work of the Council, but to add to its influence and

its greatness in representing the American labor movement as it is now constituted, and as a spur to bring about those 20,000,000 members that we ought to have in the Federation.

It was pointed out at the Cincinnati convention that the United Mine Workers, in submitting this proposition, submitted it with the thought of doing good for the Federation and for the affiliated organizations within the Federation, and that is the real purpose of the resolution.

The report of the committee points out that in cases of emergency, conferences are called by the Executive Council of representatives of international unions for the purpose of discussing and taking action on these emergencies. That being the case, my friends, it can readily be construed as an argument in support of this resolution, so that we might have at all times the equivalent of the Executive Council in such conferences of international unions. And I submit that perhaps many of the emergencies we are called upon to decide would not go into emergencies, if we had a Council made up of representatives from various international unions and from different sections of the country to meet these problems before they do arise and solve them in a way that would reflect to the credit and to the glory of the American labor movement.

The argument is advanced by the committee that representatives from some twenty-eight unions sitting on the Executive Council would really not be democratic procedure, because it would be unnecessary for conventions to act on subjects that the Council had disposed of. My friends, I don't know whether I have the right conception of democracy or not, but if we take the present set-up of the Executive Council as an example, namely, that it is constituted of eight men, if that is the essence of democracy and that if we add some more men to this number, to the number of twenty-five, we are destroying democracy, I cannot conceive of any argument that might receive intelligent consideration, based

upon the premise that to increase the number in representative government is to destroy the principles of democracy. It is absurd, to say the least.

Now we say twenty-five members in this resolution. We are not wedded to the number of twenty-five, and in this connection you will find us ready to receive or consider any proposition which we deem to be constructive and which will not destroy the principle that we enunciate in this resolution.

Then the question of expense has been developed, and while this has not been included in the report of the committee, the matter was developed before the hearings in the committee on this subject. It is our thought and our opinion on this matter that instead of talking about the expense of the proposition we ought to consider the benefits, the possible benefits and the great potentialities that might be brought about through the enlargement of this Council, so that it might be made more representative of the American labor movement. We believe it should be approached in that light and in that light only.

Other gentlemen have raised the question of fear of some of the large international unions taking control of the organization through election of numerous members of that union to the Council. In this connection I want to disabuse your mind of any such thought and say, so far as the sponsors of this resolution are concerned, that we shall be ready to receive and favorably look upon any proposition to restrict any international union to a certain number on the Executive Council—either one or more.

I have tried to analyze briefly just what is in our minds on this subject, and I want you to believe me when I say that it is offered for the good and for the welfare of the American labor movement.

Those of you who get out into the front line trenches of this country where labor is fighting, talking about its rights and planning for the future must have realized before this that really the minds of the men back home are con-

cerned about these various agencies having to do with the administration of the affairs of labor in the great American labor movement. I want to say frankly, without reflecting in any particular on any member of the Council, including the executive officers, that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor is considered very little back among the mine workers and other workers in this country with whom we have come in contact. We believe that is so because it is not considered that the Council is fully representative of the changing order of economic conditions in this country.

We have in mind many of your jurisdictional disputes—and we had some up in Cincinnati last year in particular which developed the necessity of having more members on the Council from different sections of the country, representing different organizations, so that there might be a greater knowledge brought to the Council of these various changing factors that enter into the situation as affecting all international unions.

It is our judgment that if this was done it might save many of the troublesome questions that come into this convention from coming here for our consideration. All in all, it is our belief that the resolution, simple in its terms, is directed absolutely in the direction of better serving the American labor movement through an enlarged Council, a Council that will be familiar with the needs and requirements of the situation in the various sections of the country, a Council that will be responsive to the will of the vast army of members in the American labor movement, a Council that will be constructive in every particular. We believe that the additional members provided for in this resolution to go on the Council will add to its prestige and to its greatness and will enable them to better serve the American labor movement and the American Federation of Labor.

We are opposed to the report of the committee and ask that you vote it down and support the resolution presented by the United Mine Workers.

Delegate Volz, Photo-Engravers: Personally, I do not believe there are any good grounds or reasons why we ought to increase the number of the executive members of the American Federation of Labor. I do not believe that by doing so we would get any better decisions or that the business of the Federation would be conducted in any better manner. I think that is well demonstrated by the fact that practically all actions of the Executive Council have been approved by this convention, at least up to this time, and all actions of previous years have always been approved.

I fear the outcome of a large committee. I have seen large committees try to function. I know the attitude of the members of large committees. It is one of indifference because of that feeling that every one's business is no one's business, and I am just fearful that if this Executive Committee was increased to the number of twenty-eight there would be many members of that Council who would absent themselves, because they would feel there would be a quorum anyway and that the business would be conducted whether they were there or not. Then, too, I think that all of us are agreed that large committees are burdensome and carry on lengthy discussions, and in the final analysis reach the same decision as a small committee usually does, with less steam, with less effort, and with less energy.

In the committee's report we call attention to the fact that when necessity has arisen the Council, or at least the President of the American Federation of Labor, has not hesitated to call conferences of the various representatives of national and international unions. We had such a conference just recently at the time the Black-Connery thirty-hour week bills were pending just prior to the introduction of the National Recovery Act, and I believe that that conference adopted a very comprehensive and very helpful program. I believe it was helpful to the general labor movement that that conference was called, and possibly if there had been an executive committee of twenty-eight

no such conference would have been held.

I recall a somewhat similar conference the year previous, at the time the LaFollette-Costigan bill for relief purposes was pending, when all of the representatives of the national and international unions were called into Washington and again adopted a very comprehensive program. They took that program to the White House and submitted it to President Hoover, and from there they went over to the Senate and submitted it to Vice President Curtis, and from there they went to the House and submitted it to the then Speaker of the House, now Vice President Garner. I believe the very fact that those conferences were held was helpful, because the very numbers that were present were impressive. They were impressive, I am sure, upon the President, upon the leader of the Senate and the leader of the House, and while the measures they were advocating were not enacted, some of the legislation we endorsed did receive favorable consideration.

It is not so long ago that a somewhat similar conference was called in the city of Pittsburgh. And so we can go back into the past for quite a distance and find that the executive council, or at least the officers of the Federation have, when necessity arose, called such conferences as they deemed might be helpful to carry on and to progress the work of this Federation.

Now, too, I do not like the idea of presenting an amendment to the constitution in the form of a resolution. I do not think it is quite fair. After all, a resolution takes but a majority vote, and the constitution of this Federation provides that an amendment to the constitution shall have a two-thirds vote. Now, we might get into quite a ridiculous position by passing a resolution by a majority vote, and then find we have not the necessary two-thirds vote to put that resolution into effect. I believe that if we want to amend the constitution we ought to bring in a constitutional amendment as such, and not as a resolution.

I may not agree with the constitution. I may possibly agree and I do agree that a majority vote ought to change the constitution, and yet my belief is not changing the constitution at this time. I believe if we feel we cannot get a two-thirds vote to amend the constitution in such manner as we feel it ought to be amended, then we ought to look for a change even of that provision of the constitution which provides for a two-thirds vote.

Then, too, I believe we ought not to be too greatly swayed by present conditions. We are going through very sub-normal times. We are all hopeful that they are but temporary, and I am sure that when we get back to normal times all of us will be agreed that possibly an executive committee of eleven members, which now constitutes the Executive Council of this Federation, is plenty large enough to conduct the business of this Federation. And in the meantime, as has been explained before, there is nothing to prevent such further conferences, such enlarged meetings as the officers or the present Executive Council might deem necessary.

There have been some things said about the present personnel of the Executive Council of this Federation. I do not believe that a change in the number of the Executive Council members will change that condition. I believe that if we are not favorable to the present officers and the Executive Council members we ought to make a change, and I believe that that change is just as easily made under our present laws as it would be under the law as changed by the proposed amendment.

So I for one see nothing to be gained by an enlarged Council except possible delay in reaching decisions, decisions which I believe will in essentials be the same from a large committee as they have been from a small committee, and I believe we can well get through the unusual times through which we are passing with our present set-up and with our laws and that the number of Executive Council members at present provided for is quite adequate for all normal conditions.

Delegate Martel, Typographical Union: I rise to support the resolution as introduced by the miners' organization, but before doing so I want to take this opportunity of thanking the secretary of the committee for two great contributions he has made to this convention. One of them is the theory that the constitution of the American Federation of Labor can be circumvented by an attempt to amend the constitution through a resolution. If that was true we would certainly be in a very nice situation. The other great contribution he made was the mentioning of the name of Mr. Garner. I was at a loss to know who the Vice President was until he mentioned it.

Last year I supported this resolution because it was my belief that the American Federation of Labor should have the advantage of the talents of some of the younger men in the organization. This year we are compelled to discriminate between the services of an Executive Council that I characterized as a Council of elders last year and the analytic reasoning of one of the younger members of the American Federation of Labor in the person of the secretary of the committee, which I think is somewhat juvenile.

However, it does seem to me that in this convention and in the American Federation of Labor there are a lot of men who are not only willing but anxious to give of their time and their service to help build this organization and meet some of the new problems that the organization is confronted with. The Executive Council as it is now constituted may be well enough for those who want the American Federation of Labor to continue always to occupy just the position it does in the life of the people of this nation, but there are some of us who want the American Federation of Labor to occupy a more important position in the life of the people of this nation, and it can attain that status and it can grow to that magnitude if it has the counsel and the active work of some of the younger men in the convention.

It is time that those of us who come here year after year cease bowing at the altar of the mighty and recognize our own responsibilities and shoulder those responsibilities, not bowing to the theory that all of the brains of the Federation are involved in the eight men that constitute the holy family of this organization, selected through machine methods of politics.

Delegate Berry, Pressmen: Mr. Chairman and delegates to the convention, I rise to offer a substitute to the committee's report. The substitute is as follows:

That Article 5, Section 1, page 9 of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor, be amended by striking out the word "eight" appearing on the second line and inserting in lieu thereof the word "fifteen,"

with the following added as a concluding sentence of Section 1, Article 5 after the sixth line:

With the understanding that exclusive of the Executive Officers of the Federation, to wit: President, Secretary, and Treasurer, no International Union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor shall have more than one member of its organization serving on the Executive Council during any regular term of office.

Delegate Howard, Typographical Union: I second the substitute offered by Delegate Berry.

President Green: The question now recurs upon the substitute offered by Delegate Berry. Are there any remarks?

Delegate Howard, Typographical Union: Mr. President and delegates to the convention: Last year at Cincinnati I was one of the delegates who stood upon the floor and supported the amendment proposed by the United Mine Workers of America to increase the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor. At this time I second the substitute offered by Delegate Berry, not for the reason that I believe an Executive Council of twenty-five members is too large for this organization, but because in the years that I have

been attending conventions of the American Federation of Labor I have learned that it is difficult to depart from past practices, it is difficult to do anything differently from what has been done before, and I fear that perhaps by increasing the Executive Council to twenty-five members it might be considered a radical departure, and to avoid giving indigestion to those who have assumed that position, I am willing that we should increase the Executive Council step by step.

On the floor of this convention last year I stated that I was supporting this proposition, not because I believed that the organization I represent was not adequately represented upon the Executive Council, it was not because we desired more representation upon the Executive Council, it was for the sole purpose of making the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor more representative of the American labor movement.

To those who are fearful that this proposal is unsound and unsafe for a labor organization, I would suggest to you that if you inquire you will find out that the Executive Council of the British Trades Union Congress is composed of about thirty-one members.

It has been said in this discussion that the same decisions would be attained from a larger Executive Council, that the same judgment would be rendered upon matters coming before the Council with a smaller number as would be rendered with a larger number. If that is true, I submit to you that we will not increase the danger of securing wrong decisions from the Executive Council.

But, let us look at it from the other angle. You know and I know what the attitude of the rank and file of the workers of this country is today, not only towards the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, but you understand full well that there is a subversive propaganda going throughout the country that has for its purpose discrediting the executives of every trade union in this country. I submit to you that the defeat of proposals such as this year after year only makes that propaganda more effective.

Now when this Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor has rendered a decision or taken an action, what is the position with which we are confronted? Is it a legislative body that can enact legislation and that has some power by which it can give effect to that legislation? The answer, my friends, must be no. The power of the Executive Council and the power of this convention lies in the strength of its recommendations. The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor must of necessity make the policies for the American Federation of Labor, and I submit to you that its decisions, its proposals will be more widely accepted and will be better accepted by the rank and file of the various organizations if they have direct representation upon the Executive Council of this organization.

I realize that proposals to increase the Executive Council place the members of the Council in a rather difficult position. I do not wonder that no member of the Council should care to get up on this floor and take the position that we have been admitted to heaven, now St. Peter shall close the gates. I find little or no logic in the argument that has been presented against the proposal to increase the Executive Council. In the analysis of the situation I find an overwhelming argument in favor of increasing the Council, and I believe that if this convention can be induced to take a step forward, if the required number of delegates in this convention can understand that we are confronted with new problems, that this labor movement must provide the leadership to meet those problems, and if you can agree that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor should be increased to fifteen members at this time, you will render a distinct service to the American trade union movement.

I have been attending conventions of the American Federation of Labor not as many years as many of those who are present at this time, but I have been attending these conventions as an international union delegate since 1921.

That is more than a decade, and I have had an experience that I do not believe is good for the American trade union movement. It is one that is difficult to avoid under the present conditions. Reasonable men would not expect that the delegates could assemble in a convention city and within a period of two weeks formulate policies that will affect the lives of millions of the working people of this country. As a consequence these conventions must be guided in their actions by the recommendations of the Executive Council, and it is my contention that the larger number of minds you can apply to these questions as members of the Executive Council—not only are their decisions going to be more widely accepted, but if we adhere to the theory of democracy we must admit that the greater number that participate in a decision, the more likely the decision is to be right and just.

In these conventions every new proposal that is presented by some delegate in good faith for the purpose of meeting some problem with which we are confronted is referred to a committee, and I would ask the delegates in this convention to make a check of the reports of those committees and ascertain just how many of those proposals come back with the recommendation that they be referred to the Executive Council. I am not saying that that is improper, as in many instances it is necessary, because the committee does not have the time or the information at hand upon which to base sound judgment. But if we are going to submit or refer all these important proposals to the Executive Council, it is only reasonable, it is only logical, that as many organizations as possible should be permitted to participate in the consideration of these problems and in rendering those decisions.

Reference has been made to the fact that conferences are called. I have attended some of those conferences and I believe they have been helpful. But what was the purpose of those conferences? They were to deal with a specific question that had arisen, they

were to deal with one or two particular problems and they were not for the purpose of formulating the policy of the American Federation of Labor upon any other question than that with which they were called to deal.

If there are sound reasons why the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor should not be increased, I should like to see those reasons presented upon this floor. I think it places the American labor movement in a ridiculous position to assume the attitude that proposed changes in our laws can come before this convention and that those who are opposed to those changes can sit smugly by, that we have got to vote to defeat it, regardless of the merits of the proposition. I do not believe that is for the best interests of the trade union movement, and I say again, if there are logical reasons, if there are sound reasons why the substitute to increase the Executive Council to fifteen members should not be adopted and should be defeated in this convention, it is the duty of those who can present the logic of the situation and it is the duty of those who are opposed to this amendment to avoid placing the American Federation of Labor in that position. If they do not present it and allow the delegates in this convention to test their logic, it must be assumed that those sound and logical reasons do not exist.

For that reason, Mr. President and delegates to the convention, I appeal to you to apply your intelligence to this situation. Ask yourselves if an Executive Council of fifteen members will not be more representative of the millions for which this organization is speaking. Ask yourselves if an Executive Council of fifteen members will not be more representative of the millions that we hope to organize.

Delegate Horn, Blacksmiths: I would just like to ask a question. I was rather interested in the question of increasing the Council, and particularly the reference made to the machine methods by which the present Board is elected. I

would like to know, if you increase it to fifteen, assuming that there is a machine, won't you make the machine just that much greater? You all know that if there is a machine around you all get in on it.

Another question I would like to ask is just about how much per capita tax we would have to pay to the American Federation of Labor if the Council is increased. We ought to know that before we vote on this question. I don't want to build up a bigger machine and make it worse than it is now.

Delegate Howard, Typographical Union: Mr. President, while I was not the delegate who referred to machine methods, I believe any delegate who has asked a question in good faith has a right to have that answered by those who are proposing the change. While I am on my feet, so that you will understand I was not the delegate that charged machine methods being used, I will say that the question is not in accord with general knowledge of logic as applied to the situation. The man who plays the game of a lone wolf finds no difference because he is playing it alone. The larger an organization such as the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor becomes, the less likelihood there is of any combination, rather than more likelihood of the more powerful combination. Now it seems to me that is the logical thing as it appears to my mind. I leave it to the delegates as to whether it is logical as it appears to their minds. I submit to you that you could not possibly form a combination if every member in this convention acts as an individual, and that is somewhat along the lines of the answer I would give Brother Horn in reference to his question.

As regards the increase in per capita tax, so far as I am concerned I believe it is more important that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be made representative of the labor movement than it is to consider the expenditure of a few dollars, and I would suggest that if the expense is

an argument with any of the delegates in this convention, the national and international unions who secure representation upon the Executive Council be required to meet the expense of their representatives upon that Council.

Delegate Tobin, Teamsters and Chauffeurs: Mr. Chairman, as a member of this Executive Council for eleven years, I rise to oppose both the resolution and the amendment to the resolution. There is a kind of a catch in that amendment, if you watched it carefully, that perhaps the average delegate has not noticed. It says that only one member from any one organization can be a member of the Executive Council. That sounds very simple.

Let me tell you a story of facts within this Federation. Many years ago the president of the machinists' union was a member of this Executive Council—Jim O'Connell. The temperament of the membership changed. The so-called Progressives in those days got control of the organization. O'Connell, after years of service, was defeated because he was not considered a radical progressive. We in the general labor movement believed that O'Connell's services were absolutely necessary on the Executive Council, and after he was defeated as president we continued to elect him on the Council. After a while he was defeated as delegate from that splendid international progressive organization of mechanics and he had to seek election as a delegate from the Central Labor Union of Alexandria, Virginia, and we still elected O'Connell on the Executive Council. Then—and this is the joke—a resolution was passed in his organization that the then president, who is yet alive but who is not now president of the machinists' union, should be supported by all the members of the union for the position on the Executive Council. In the St. Paul convention in 1918, O'Connell, who would have been elected unanimously, was forced to refuse to be a candidate for the Council that he had served for years, in order to protect his membership within the organization.

That same thing can happen by the adoption of the amendment to this resolution. You have noticed last year's vote on this question where the President of this Federation, by the manipulations of votes or laws or rules governing an organization was compelled by the unit rule existing within his organization to vote against the report of the Executive Council. He had to do it yesterday. Suppose that the Miners' Union would decide that some other man be the man on the Council, which could be done. If you adopt this amendment you have either got to get rid of Green or he has got to seek membership in some other organization—and I know what can be done and what is done and what was done.

Let me give you a little story of facts about this election of some of the members on the Council. There isn't any one of you, I don't care who you are, that has had any greater differences with this Executive Council than I have had, but this must be said, that they are clean, they are beyond suspicion, no one can point the finger of selfish motives to any of their actions. And unfortunately, as in every great aggregation of men and women in the whole history of the world, we have in the labor movement organizations and individuals for whom we can't find answers to certain questions they ask, relative to either their honesty or their selfishness. Green did not seek this job as President of this Federation, he never asked for it.

Under the law, when the President of the Federation passed away it was the duty of the Executive Council to select from among its membership one of its members until the next election of the Federation. When it was decided that Mr. Green was drafted for this position he was not within a thousand miles of the city of New York, where the selection was made. Why did we select Green? We knew full well that any man who followed in the footsteps of Samuel Gompers had a load almost impossible for the average man to bear. We selected what we thought was the best man for that job within our mem-

bership. I would like to have voted for my personal friend who had served in the Council for many years, but the Federation of Labor, our labor movement, came first, and we selected a member of the Miners' Union who was on the Council. But before it was decided, the President of the Miners' Union who is here in the hall gave his consent to that selection. Whether he would have been selected otherwise or not I am not going to say, but the President was consulted and he gave his consent, and we drafted his man to serve on the Council, just as most of these other men have been drafted—Joe Weber of the Musicians, Bugniazet, of the Electrical Workers, Coefield, of the Plumbers, Duffy of the Carpenters—every one of them sacrificing their time and giving of themselves generously to carry on this work in the labor movement. If any of you men believe that it is a snap, that it is Sunday school work to sit in this Council for days and try to decide important questions, then you don't know the seriousness of the problems confronting this Council—problems that must be decided.

I am not in favor of the resolution to increase the membership to either fifteen or twenty-five. There are now eleven members on the Council. This statement that there are eight members on the Council is not correct. There are eight vice presidents, a president, a treasurer, and a secretary—eleven men who vote on nearly every question that comes before the Council. I don't know of many organizations that have more.

I do know that the Typographical Union, of which Charlie Howard is president—and he has just spoken in favor of the amendment—has had an executive council for nearly twenty-five years that I have been in Indianapolis composed of only three members. Then I think in recent years it was increased to five members.

Our international union has nine members on its executive council, and if there is any change to be made we want to reduce it to seven instead of

nine—and we are democratic and clean. You can have thirty members on your council, but my experience is that if you pick the quality of men, men who can be trusted, men before whom you can open your life's work and trust them, it does not depend so much on whether you have thirty men or nine men, if each man stands for his rights and fights for his rights, as they do in the Council, and where the vote of the smallest member is equal to the vote of the President.

I know organizations that have councils of large membership and they are only rubber stamps, only one or two men run the institution, and you know that, too.

Now, it has been said that the younger element wants a place in the councils of the Federation. Away back in 1907, 1908 and 1909 I used to think that way, too, and we thought that the old Gompers machine was insurmountable, impregnable. All of us young men—and none of us was very young—just congregated and we consoled with each other and we sympathized with each other, and we finally found the way to enter into the holy city, as Delegate Martel has said, and there wasn't any trouble.

In the 1917 convention in Buffalo, perhaps the strongest Executive Council that the American Federation of Labor had had up to that time was overwhelmingly defeated, although the executive officers supported an associate of theirs at that time against one of the individuals who is now on the platform. In the following year in St. Paul two other members broke into the holy city, and were elected on the Council, and the only reason it cannot be done today is because those that are asking for it cannot get the support of the majority of delegates attending this convention. If they can get that support they can become members of this Council, if they want to assume those additional duties.

I am not playing to the galleries. I need nothing from the Council, but I am talking for this Federation. If there

is anything wrong the cure is not in building up a large Council. I go into the executive boards of our own local unions with seven members and I hesitate to express myself openly, while I can talk to perhaps one or two within the executive board of the local union.

I trust we will not be carried away, and I am not appealing to your sentiments. Personally, I will go along, no matter what you do, but I don't think that this is the time, because there is no need of changing an institution that has worked successfully for many years. Away before my time they told me the Council used to be made up of only nine members, six vice presidents and three executive officers, but for the twenty-six years that I have attended these conventions the Council has been composed of eight vice presidents and the three executive officers. There is no institution of labor in the world, no body of men in this world, men and women working, that can hold up their heads and say that they have any better institution of labor in this or any other country in the whole world. You have gone through the fire, you have gone through the great war under this Executive Council. You stood right with your Government in its darkest hour. The suspicion of wrong doing or underhand play was never directed at any member of this Council or any international union. In other countries the movement composed of only one class of people was being charged with disloyalty to their government, but that sting was never attributed in any way, shape or manner to this organization of labor represented by the American Federation of Labor. You went through that big, mushroom growth of great, gigantic organizations springing up over night, through the aid of the Government, through the shortage of labor, and you came out with colors flying. You have gone through four years of hell, with millions of men starving, and the man you drafted and his associates have kept your banner before the public. No one can charge him with being lazy, intemperate, or unreasonable.

Say it as you will, that there is no intent to disturb the present membership of the Council—I don't believe it, and nobody else who understands the inside workings of this Federation can believe it. I say to you now that this hour is equal to the hour of war, when you should continue this institution as it has been, clean and above board, with eleven members on your Executive Council, and no strings to any amendment that will prohibit us from having any member of any international union we desire on this Executive Council.

I ask this delegation, and I ask it because I see in the distance other things, I ask them because I see in the present the necessity for cool, courageous thinking, and no matter who the enemies are that we make because we disagree, at least all of us that I know and understand, our hearts are in this movement. I ask you as men and as trade unionists to vote down the amendment and to vote in favor of the committee's report, which means to leave the Executive Council with the membership of which it is now composed.

Delegate Lewis, United Mine Workers: Mr. Chairman and delegates of the convention: I rise to state, in behalf of the Mine Workers' delegation, that they will vote for the substitute offered by President Berry. They do it in a spirit of accommodating themselves to what may seem to be the logical viewpoint of others and in order not to adhere too tenaciously to their own point of view, and without detracting in any way from their belief and their judgment of what is applicable and proper in relation to this amendment to the Constitution.

I don't know of any reason why I should take a great deal of the time of this convention to make a logical analysis of the question before the house. The matter of the logic of the proposition was set forth in the debate in the affirmative at the Cincinnati convention, and although a year has gone by, neither then nor now has the logic on the affirmative side of this question been answered on the floor of this convention or elsewhere. We are either

logical in our judgments and in our actions or we are illogical. If we accord ourselves the luxury of being illogical and inconsistent, there is nothing that anyone can do to change our judgment. It is not for me to repine or to criticize or to amend, nor that my voice, like that of Rachel in the wilderness, rise in walls and lamentations because all do not agree with me. If you do not agree, then the power of judgment is thine and the responsibilities for inaction are likewise placed.

I said a year ago that I did not think the convention could afford to slap in the face those organizations who believed conscientiously and sincerely that an enlargement of the Executive Council would add to the prestige, the dignity, the strength and the influence of the American Federation of Labor. That is all that is involved in this question. The enlargement of the Council will either do these things or the enlargement of the Council will not bring these things to pass. Upon that judgment exercise your individual opinion and guide your action accordingly. There is nothing else involved.

The attempt of President Tobin of the Teamsters' organization to come upon this platform this afternoon and read into this resolution sinister designs upon the part of intriguing men is nothing more nor less than childish—a childish fantasy from the lips of one who has quarreled more and has derided the members of the Executive Council more than any one man in the American labor movement—Daniel J. Tobin. Has it come to pass, my friends, that Daniel J. Tobin, with all respect to his years of service in the labor movement, has the exclusive right to quarrel with members of the Executive Council or to criticize them? I think not, and I think the representatives of other organizations affiliated on the same basis with the American Federation of Labor as the Teamsters' Union have the same inalienable rights to disagree with an act or a judgment of the Executive Council or the members thereof and to offer upon the floor of this parliament of labor an amendment

to the Constitution that might, in their opinion, improve the situation.

Why, President Tobin even brings into the discussion the name of President Green, and he implies that in some dark and mysterious way, if this resolution is adopted, that evil things will happen to President Green, and it might even be that the representatives of the Mine Workers' organization would have another candidate for President of the American Federation of Labor—the mutterings of a man who knows not of that concerning which he speaks—nothing serious, nothing important, nothing even to take the time of a convention except as a matter of indulgence in humor for a moment.

President Green is a member of the United Mine Workers of America and an honored member. He has been a member since he was a boy and first started to work in the mines. He knows the officers of the United Mine Workers of America and he knows the membership of the United Mine Workers of America, and yet I think that President Green knows, without any information from President Tobin, that the United Mine Workers of America during the last ten years, and now in this year of 1933, have no candidate for the Presidency of the American Federation of Labor except William Green. For ten years past, when I have been privileged to be present in the conventions of the American Federation of Labor on the day the elections were held, I have esteemed it an honor and a privilege to rise upon this floor and to present the name of a son of the United Mine Workers to the delegates of this convention for election to the office of President. If God gives me health and strength to walk into this convention on the day the election is held in this year 1933, I shall renew that nomination with all the fervor and pride in the organization I represent, and I don't want Daniel J. Tobin or any other delegate to this convention, either from the privilege of this platform or the privacy of a hotel room, to utter statements and set up implications that the President of the American Federation

of Labor, himself a mine worker, is in jeopardy from the machinations of the President of the United Mine Workers of America. I hurl those statements and those implications back into your teeth, my friend, Dan Tobin, and I regret—

Delegate Tobin (interrupting): Mr. President, I want the privilege of addressing the convention after President Lewis has finished for the purpose of explaining and answering some of the insinuations that he has made in reference to my previous statement.

Delegate Lewis (continuing): You have the privilege, sir, and if the convention wants to waste more time on a subject of this character, you have my consent.

To proceed, Mr. Chairman—enough for a question of that character. I can conceive that it may not be a good thing to enlarge the Executive Council. I say that because I consider it is possibly true that my own judgment and the judgment of my colleagues on the Mine Workers' delegation may be wrong, but we have no yard stick with which to measure the logic of that question except our own minds, our own experience, and our own ability to reason. If we are wrong in the judgment of a majority of the delegates of this convention, what difference does it make if we come here upon the floor and, in a manifold way, call the matter to your attention and abide by your judgment when judgment is written? I think it might be helpful, but yet it may not be, and if the majority of you decide that it will not be helpful, then the United Mine Workers must conform to your decision.

Personally, I do not think there is anything in the proposition to cause anyone any concern or the loss of a single night's sleep. We offer it because we think it will be right and helpful and constructive, we offer it because we think it would tend to promote confidence. We offer it without designing in any manner to detract from the integrity or the honesty or the ability of any member of the Executive Council.

It is a question of policy and administrative details.

Perhaps the Executive Council has always been right. Perhaps it has been like the rest of us and has made mistakes at times. Perhaps it is merely a human institution, subject to all the frailties of judgment of mankind. Surely its mistakes could not be any greater if it was a little larger in number.

There is a sentiment abroad in many quarters of this convention where it has not been publicly expressed, for an enlargement of the Council. The only difference between some of these individuals and ourselves is that we are expressing our convictions and we are expressing them with restraint. It matters not to the United Mine Workers in a fundamental way whether or not this resolution is adopted. It is like a great many other resolutions, it might be helpful if adopted, and if not adopted we will have to make the best of the circumstances.

I see no reason to take more of your time nor to delay the consideration of this question. Vote your sentiments, whatever they may be, but vote them free from any passion or prejudice that might have been invoked by statements upon this floor.

The Mine Workers' delegation votes as a unit because there is a provision in the Constitution of the United Mine Workers of America which provides that they shall vote as a unit, and the majority expression of the delegation of the Mine Workers decides which way the unit vote shall be cast. The United Mine Workers are not apologizing for the provisions of their Constitution to my friend Dan Tobin or anyone else. We give him the right to interpret his own Constitution in the Teamsters' Union and to run his organization any way he wants to run it—and we understand he runs it. Frankly and confidentially, we do the same.

So that's that. I don't think I need say any more on it.

Treasurer Ryan: As Chairman of the Committee on Law, and in defense of our report, and being a member of the "holy family," as referred to by our distinguished gentleman from Detroit, and one of the elders in the labor movement, I just want to say this: It must be obvious to the delegates on the floor of this convention why the Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor would not care to say very much upon the merits of this case; therefore I will content myself by saying that in the consideration of this amendment to the constitution the majority of the committee took into consideration the fact that this same subject matter, in identically the same way, was presented to the Cincinnati convention one year ago and the same arguments were presented there as were presented to our committee and again presented to your convention here today. A vote was taken upon the matter, and the result of that vote indicated then that there was no desire on the part of a majority of the delegates to amend the constitution to provide for twenty-five vice presidents.

Your committee had this in mind in rendering the report which we submitted here today. Now, I say again, that the question is here before you, it is for your consideration and for your determination. Whatever you decide to do in the matter will be satisfactory and acceptable to me. I am glad that Brother Lewis and Brother Tobin have sat down by each other in peace and paid their respects to each other. They have both told us how they run their international unions, and some of us who have not as yet learned to run them that way have learned something from these two distinguished gentlemen.

Delegate Tobin, International Brotherhood of Teamsters: When I made the statement pointing out to you the danger of the adoption of this amendment I did not want to convey any false impression. The amendment states plainly, in addition to adding four members to the Council, that only one member of any international union can be a member of the Council.

Delegate Berry: I suggest that Brother Tobin read the amendment. He is in error.

President Green: The Secretary will read the amendment, if there are no objections.

Secretary Morrison read the substitute offered for the report of the Committee on Laws by Delegate Berry.

Delegate Tobin: What does that mean, George? Will you kindly explain that? It says that only one member of the Executive Council, exclusive of the executive officers. Does that mean a man may be president or secretary of the union and still be a member of the Executive Council?

Delegate Berry: I don't want to hurt your feelings, Brother Tobin—

Delegate Tobin: You could not hurt my feelings.

Delegate Berry: It is exclusive of the President, the Treasurer and the Secretary. If you don't understand I will explain it to you again.

Delegate Tobin: It is understood now, after a great deal of explanation that I needed, from a highly intelligent southern gentleman.

Now, Mr. Chairman, the point that I am trying to make is this: That it is possible to so act within certain organizations, within their laws, that any member of this Council can be removed and substituted by another member and that the delegates from that organization shall stand instructed to vote only for that member of the organization. Why, I have known of a case in the miners' union—and I give them, of course, the right they have accorded me, the right to make their own laws—I have known a case in the miners' union where a man, because he was elected as president of the Illinois State Federation of Labor, could not serve as a delegate to the American Federation of Labor.

Delegate Lewis: May I understand that the teamsters' delegates want to debate the constitution of the mine workers this afternoon?

Delegate Tobin: I don't want to debate it, but you are not getting away with your grandstanding this afternoon.

President Green: The Chair will ask that the delegates confine themselves to a discussion of the matter before the house.

Delegate Tobin: The matter before the house is the amendment to the constitution increasing the number of members in the Council. That is the way the resolution reads. The amendment reduces the members from twenty-nine or thirty or forty or fifty to fifteen, trying to disturb the present successful condition that we are having in this labor movement. Brother Lewis and I, of course, have debated on different sides of the table more than once. During the last campaign we were very prominently opposed to each other, and I respected his opinions and I respect them now, but he is not going to read into my statement some things, for the edification of the men that do not seem to understand, that were never intended to be in the statement.

Delegate Lewis: Will you answer a question?

Delegate Tobin: I will answer any question.

Delegate Lewis: On this campaign matter?

Delegate Tobin: Certainly, on the political end of it.

Delegate Lewis: The question is granted that we were in opposite corners in the campaign itself, weren't we in the same corner when it came to the selection of a Secretary of Labor?

Delegate Tobin: We both agreed that the choice for that position was the best individual for the office—which was the speaker.

President Green: May I ask you, Brother Tobin, to keep to the question before the convention.

Delegate Tobin: You know I will, and never deviate one iota. I understand the miners thoroughly, Mr. Chairman, and that is why I answered as I did.

Now, first, last, and all the time up to now, and for this year, we are opposed to changing the number of members in the Council. Why? I don't care how many sweet statements they make in here, I have the right to my opinion just the same as they have, and, in my judgment, the success of the labor movement, for the coming year at least, depends upon a continuation of the present form of the Executive Council. John Lewis tries to say to you that Dan Tobin is insinuating that John Lewis would ever be a candidate against Billy Green. I know, Brother Lewis, that you campaigned against one of the greatest friends you ever had in the Denver convention, Samuel Gompers.

Delegate Lewis: It is a fool statement.

Delegate Tobin: It is not a fool statement, it is a statement of facts.

President Green: The Chair will have to insist that we confine ourselves to a discussion of the matter before the house. Let us leave out the personalities. You have been love-tapping at each other for quite a while.

Delegate Tobin: My name was mentioned by Delegate Lewis in an attempt to be funny, and I wouldn't let that go with a false impression on the delegates, perhaps many of whom never attended a convention of the Federation before. I know the men, and if the circus wasn't permitted in the first place I wouldn't have continued the second and third acts.

I will wind up by saying this: That, no matter how many arguments I made, those outside are watching, brothers and sisters. We are in the nation's capital and the great men of labor will be mentioned in the newspapers. Many of us will be, perhaps, misrepresented, and I want at least to help in trying to clarify this situation to such an extent that this Federation will be some-

what understood and its action fairly interpreted by the press.

I say to you in closing that this great mushroom growth that is now coming to our labor movement will, perhaps, be frittered away, as the great membership we gained during the war was, and we are confronted also by enemies within the organization, as my worthy opponent is fully aware of in many of the districts in the miners' organization; and if for some special reason or some honest reason in the minds of others we attempt to disturb the conditions under which we have worked for thirty years and enlarge the membership of the Council, our action will be misunderstood and it will work to the disadvantage of all of us.

Delegate Hynes, Sheet Metal Workers: I move the previous question.

Delegate Howard, Typographical Union: I think it is grossly unfair that some delegates should occupy unlimited time discussing personalities while some of us wish to discuss the question.

President Green: The previous question has been called for and the Chair has nothing to do but put the question.

The motion to close debate was carried.

President Green: The law provides that the constitution of the American Federation of Labor can only be changed by a two-thirds vote. In order to determine that question we must have a roll call. The Secretary will call the roll and the question will recur upon the substitute offered by Delegate Berry. Those in favor of the substitute as an amendment to the constitution will say "Aye" and those opposed to it will say "No." Delegate Berry's substitute provides for an increase in the membership of the Executive Council to fifteen members, with the three executive officers, which would make eighteen. The other amendment provides for an increase to twenty-five members, and the executive officers would make twenty-eight. You are now voting on the amendment.

Delegate Swartz, Letter Carriers: If the vote on this is negative, does that dispose of the original motion as well as the pending substitute?

President Green: If the substitute carries, the original motion is defeated, because the substitute is offered for the original motion.

Delegate Swartz: If the vote on the substitute is in the negative, does that dispose of the original motion before the house?

President Green: No.

Delegate Tobin: Will we have to have another roll call over this?

President Green: It will depend upon whether or not the substitute is adopted.

Delegate Tobin: If the substitute is rejected, we will have another roll call?

President Green: Then the convention can vote for the other motion offered by the mine workers' delegation.

Roll Call on Report of Committee on Law on Resolution No. 11

Yes—Obergfell, Kugler, Sullivan (John), Bowen, Bates, Price, Gray (R. J.), Gleeson, Harrison, Fitzgerald (W. P.), Chapman, Hershkowitz, Mendelowitz, Opie, Kunz, Christman, Bryan (W. E.), Fljozdal, Millman, Gassman, Stout, McCarthy (William), McInerney, Gorman (Patrick), Lane, Kelly (M. J.), Brown (T. H.), Lewis (John L.), Murray (Philip), Kennedy (Thos.), Green (William), Boylan, Hartnedy, Brennan, Pagan, Burns (M. J.), Berry (Geo. L.), McGrady, Roche, Dickson, Smith (J. P.), Soderberg, Hanson, Borchardt, Manion, Leighty, Powers (F. B.), McMahon (T. F.), O'Connell (J. P.), Rieve, Howard, Trotter, Simons, Martel, Cline, Scharrenberg, Scott (J. F.), Lewis (J. C.), Verink, Boner, Cherry, Burr, Wirtz, Kummer, Almy, Barnett, McCauley, Schneider (John), Blanchard, Mungovan, Brandt, Saylor, Darner, Klein, Ferunko, Leighton, Randolph, Carey (J. B.), Culver, Phillips (F. L.), Little (D. A.), Lynch (Edward), representing 6,410 votes.

No—Gillmore, Mullaney, Myrup, Goldstone, Beisel, Shanessy, Birthright, Crane, Reagan, Merlino, Horn (Roy), Kramer (Wm. F.), Franklin (J. A.), Davis (J. N.), Walter, Haggerty (J. B.), Prewitt, Meehan, Mara, Morrin, McCain, McGinn, Horan, Nelson, Wills (C. F.), McPetridge, Ryan (M. F.), Holmgren,

Beaudry, Knight (F. H.), Hutcheson, Duffy (Frank), Lakey, Flynn, Hanson (Chas.), Ornburn, Perkins, George (Leo E.), Hyatt, McCann, House, Johnson (I. W.), Coulter (C. C.), Rosemund, Tracy (D. W.), Bugniacet, Bieretz, Falszet, Cleary, McIntyre, Feeney, MacDonald (J. C.), O'Brien (Thos.), Fosseh, Fitzgerald (F. A.), Maloney, Walsh (Wm. P.), Callan, Volz, Schmal, Woll, Baer, Richardson, Heinz, Kane, McNamara, Conway (John), Tormey, Rickert, Wines, Gordon, Adamski, Houck, Dubinsky, Wasilevsky, Kaplan, Katovsky, Maloney (Jas.), Campbell (W. W.), Gillooly, Babcock, Glass, Moreschl, Marshall (Jos.), Rivers, Etchison, Garvey, Flore, Hesketh, Koveleski, Tighe, McSorley, Case, Moore, Burt (Roy), Brown (Anna J.), Gainer, Finnan, Gorman (W. J.), Duffy (Chas. D.), Swartz, Bruck, Kennedy (A. J.), Wharton, Haggerty (Dan), Alifas, Henning, Fry (Chas.), Robinson (W. F.), Hynes, Close, Ryan (J. J.), Moriarty, O'Keefe, Wilkerson, Weber, Bagley, Canavan, Weaver, Hirschberg, Parks, Lindelof, Swick, Madsen, Meehan (J. P.), Kaufman (Harry), Wilson (James), Colleran, Rooney, Scully (T. A.), Donlin, Coefield, Burke (Thos. E.), Ran, Anderson (Chas.), Fallon, Britton, Duffy (Jas. M.), Ashbaugh, Windsor, Mahon, Robbins, Carey (J. C.), Schultz, McConnell (J. A.), Collins (W. M.), Strickland, Jones (Geo. W.), Gavlak, Furuseth, Olander, Elliott, Dempsey, Burke (Jas. F.), Clendenning, Sinnigen, Sumner, Mitchell (M. W.), Cullen, Connors (J. B.), Cashen, Tobin (D. J.), Hughes (T. L.), Gillespie, Goudie, McLaughlin (J.), McKenna, Evans (E. L.), Morrison (Frank), McDonough, Frey (J. P.), Manning (J. J.), Noxon, Egan, Soderstrom, Taylor (T. N.), Hulsbeck, McCurdy, Watt, Hall (E. G.), Horle, Reviol, Sumner (Steve C.), Dwyer (W. F.), McCarrroll, Stuble, Dahms, Groth, Slater, Langley, Jeffries, Cottell, Leland, Spearling, Boscarelli, Johnson (J. O.), Morgan (J. O.), Weizenecker, Quinn, Campbell (Jos. C.), McMahon (J. J.), Jackman, Welsh, O'Connell (J. A.), Doyle (Frank), Noonan (J. J.), Shultz, Flynn (M. J.), Tracy (E. J.), Lufano, representing 14,125 votes.

Not Voting—Hamilton, Kasten, Allison, Cameron (Thos.), Lucchi, Nixon, Greene (M. F.), Lawler, Gallagher, Moynihan, Weiss, Ryan (Jos. P.), Camada, Scully (J. J.), Morningstar, Fremming, Hannah (E. I.), Helle, Burke (J. P.), Sullivan (H. W.), Sultor (F. W.), Evans (A. A.), Kaiser (E. W.), Hatch, Graves (E. E.), Billet, Jewell, Schaffer (W. F.), Runkle, Wood, Rosqvist, Bond, Napier, Erskine, Ritchie (M. L.), Blackman, Johnson (C. T.), Slout, Barrett (G. J.), Cutler, DeNayer, Ryan (J.), Shoup, Fenore, Motta, Standard, Smith (P. E.), Malloy, Koster, Jiruska, Dadin, Fowler, Kamin, Graham (J. D.), Lewis (F. P.),

Walsh (J. A.), O'Hanlon, Sandefur, Donnelly (T. J.), Iglesias, Bailey, Yager, Cornell, Fox (H. W.), Shuff, Flowers, Van Collie, Rich, Vest, Hartley, Plemmons, Allen (F.), Ischey, Corbin, Ralsse, White (Tom), Nadelhofer, Ziman, Addy, Hamilton, LaHeist, Miller (W. A.), Ruppard, Lown, Burnett, Ferrell, Kern, Forsyth, Jackson, Seaman, Kennedy (R. M.), Smith (T. S.), Kitzman, Seifert, Wegener, Schlageter, Murphy (J. E.), Hagin, Murray (J. B.), DeWitt, Davis (W. C.), Langdon, Rieder, Knight (C. L.), Smith (C. O.), Bailey (A. L.), Snow (M. H.), Guy, Jacobson, Brewer, Steinmetz, Meister, Trogdon, O'Dell, Doll, Becker, Katz, Stagg, DeWitt, Foley (E. M.), Schumach, Miller (E. J.), Pau, Dixon, Fechner, Fritz, Ramsey, Kuriger, Merritt, Sweeney, Augustino, Rogers (J. W. H.), Heath, Powers (P.), Bretz, Snow, Sublisky, Torlay, Blacker, Patterson (Cecl), Fitzgerald (J. P.), Zea, Hulet, Thackrey, Redinger, Blix, LeBow, Wigdahl, Lutz (J. R.), Skipton, Norman, Ruppert, Cornwall (J. A.), Campbell (S. D.), Ledwith, Walker (B. P.), Blande, Fabing, Sheehan, Wier, Ceglowski, Rivin, Browne (H. Q.), Milne, Williams, (C.), Hornby, Green (T. V.), England, Doerner, Blue, Freeborn, Davis (J.), Hughes (E.), Lucas, Dempsey, Patrick (E.), Shave, Purdie, Blauvelt, Sullivan (J. C.), Pope, Hart, Draper, Clay, Newcomb, Wald, Ickler, Lund, Phillips, Hixon, McMullen, Freeman (R. C.), Cushing, Erwin, Van Conant, Oleson, Bellamy, Hanley, Fey, Potter, Clark, Thomas (S.), Bower, Hawkins, Anderson (W. D.), Price, Yalden, Moody, Madigan, Cutler, McHugh, McFarlin, Barber (L. E.), Ritchie (C. J.), Reynolds, Dowell, Peterson (A. H.), Ladd, Martinez, Dalton, Scobie, Engle, Campbell (L. J.), Boyd (H. L.), Kuether, Holmes (T. W.), Marksbury, Akin, McGuire, Woodmansee, Gatelee, Tuckness, Gaughan, Trumbois, Warning, Meyer (A.), Pink, Cushing, Sullivan (W. E.), Musgrave, Hooker, Rausch, Covert, Marciate, Lemke, Kontas, Petty, McKiel, Bierer, Pruett, Walsh (M.), Geraghty, Sparrow, Seal, Corrigan (J. F.), Seese, Wedekind, Fitton, Welsh (F. E.), Mitchell (J. B.), Foust, Tessier, Hauser, Hiss, Hartman, Cook (C. J.), Mack, Walsh (W. C.), Millis Gormley, Bohm, Marquardt, Albert (B. A.), Latham, Ward, Suny, Whiting, Lacken, Joseph (M.), Cuthbert, Rea, Barnes (G.), Gallagher (P.), Lore, Schwartz, Seskind, Taite, Watson, McElligott, Minger, Burns (Thos.), Zander, Kruck, Noriega, Burns (M.), Tigel, Hill (R.), Mitchell (T.), Ocker, Jackson (H. A.), Rowan, Hall (J. A.), White (F. J.), representing 857 votes.

President Green: The question now recurs upon the committee's report. The committee non-concurs in the resolution to amend the constitution. The proposed amendment provides for

an increase in the members of the Council to twenty-five. Those who are in favor of the committee's report will vote "Aye" and those opposed to the committee's report will vote "No."

Delegate Howard, Typographical Union: I would offer a motion that the report of the committee in inverse be recorded as it was recorded in this instance.

Delegate Wharton: I object to that, because there is the difference between the fifteen and the twenty-five.

President Green: There is objection. The roll will be called.

Delegate Kennedy, Mine Workers: So far as the miners' delegation is concerned, we do not want any other roll-

call, we are completely satisfied with this vote.

President Green: All in favor of concurring in the committee's report, which is non-concurring in the resolution, hold up your right hands.

The delegates voted by show of hands.

President Green: Those opposed, the same sign.

Again the delegates voted by show of hands.

President Green: It is the opinion of the Chair that the report of the committee has been carried by a two-thirds vote, and it is so ordered.

At 5:30 o'clock the convention was adjourned to 9:30 o'clock, Thursday, October 12.

Ninth Day—Thursday Morning Session

Washington, D. C., October 12, 1933.

The convention was called to order at 9:30 o'clock by President Green.

President Green: I am pleased to present to you the Reverend R. Y. Nicholson, D.D., Pastor of the Rhode Island Avenue M. P. Church, for the invocation this morning.

INVOCATION

(Rev. R. Y. Nicholson, D.D., Pastor
Rhode Island M. P. Church)

We come, great Lord, to seek Thy grace, and for Thy morning blessing and benediction we wait. In these strange days, our Heavenly Father, when a million hands are idle and a million spirits are broken, we come to Thee very reverently, praying for the coming of peace, of justice and of happiness, and to this end may Thy blessing rest upon this great organization represented here this morning, from the lowliest man in the lowliest position to this, Thy servant in the high position. May we all work to the great end that men may know peace, have justice and experience happiness. Grant unto each of us a helping hand, a warm heart and a wise mind—we ask in the name of Christ, the Carpenter of Galilee. Amen.

COMMUNICATIONS

Secretary Morrison read telegrams from C. E. Baen, President of the San Francisco Convention and Tourist Bureau, and from John F. Shea, Secretary of the San Francisco Section, California Northern Hotel Association, urging that the 1934 convention be held in that city.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

Delegate Schmal, secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

The Committee on Credentials has been requested to propose the substitution of Frank P. Barry for Matthew J. Burns as a member of the Interna-

tional Paper Makers' delegation. The Committee so recommends.

The Committee moves the adoption of its report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

President Green: The Chair now recognizes Secretary Volz, of the Committee on Law, to continue the committee's report.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON LAW

Delegate Volz, secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

Public Utilities Workers

Resolution No. 25—By Delegate Robert J. Watt of the Massachusetts State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Large scale organization of workers employed by Public Utility and other industries hitherto practically unorganized is possible of early realization; and

WHEREAS, The problems and issues incident to their organization may of necessity require adjustment between conflicting jurisdictional and other claims of various organizations affiliated or eligible for affiliation with the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, The gravity of such problems and issues compel long and deep thought for their well considered resolution, especially in situations demanding responsive recognition of the need for a philosophy of action which will permit the American Federation of Labor to adapt itself to the needs of a changing economic order; and

WHEREAS, Wisdom dictates that pending such adjustment a policy of flexibility shall be favored, to the end that all workers who desire to affiliate with the American Federation of Labor may be afforded the benefit thereof without hindrance or delay; be it

RESOLVED, By this Convention, that Section 2 of Article XIV of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor be and hereby is amended as follows by inserting in the third line thereof, after the words "Federal Labor Unions," the following:

"and, in special situations, pending determination of conflicting jurisdictional claims or other matters in controversy or otherwise, probationary Federal Labor Unions;"

so that said Section 2 shall read as follows:

"Sec. 2. The Executive Council is authorized and empowered to charter Local Trade Unions and Federal Labor Unions, and, in special situations, pending determination of conflicting jurisdictional claims or other matters in controversy or otherwise, probationary 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."

While your committee is in thorough accord with the stated present day organizing possibilities—as set forth in this resolution—and is of the opinion that the various National and International unions should take full advantage of this opportunity to solidify their ranks and secure the affiliation of all competent and qualified workers coming under their respective jurisdictions, and suggests that this convention call upon all state, city and central bodies, as well as all paid and volunteer organizers of the American Federation of Labor and the Executive Council to render assistance and compose jurisdictional differences wherever and whenever possible, it nevertheless recognizes and declares the purpose of the resolution to be in direct contradiction to past as well as present policies, practices and principles governing jurisdictional rights, and is convinced that if approved would lead to immediate and irreconcilable misunderstandings and conflicts, which would retard rather than promote permanent organization; also that any temporary or probationary arrangement if accepted would prove unfair to those enrolled under such a plan, which in the end will be impossible of solution in a manner generally acceptable and satisfactory. We accordingly recommend non-concurrence in the resolution as submitted.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the committee's report.

Delegate Watt, Massachusetts State Federation of Labor: Mr. Chairman, although I think this is one of the most important questions that this convention has to decide, I am not going to take a great deal of the time of the delegates, because I have no illusions in regard to what the result is going to be. However, I come from the industrial east. I want you to know that we have a real problem in trying to carry out the mandates of the American Federation of Labor in organizing those workers who are now unorganized. I know that sitting in this convention we have a lot of parochial Pollyannas who are going to chant in response to this, "We came through 1837, we came through 1873, we survived 1921, and we are going to survive 1933," but what those men forget is that circumstances have vitally changed. We have reached the end of an epoch. We are in a position—and you don't have to take my word for it, take what the President of the United States said at the dedication just the other day, look at page 276 of the convention proceedings, the last paragraph, take what Father Haas said, and I am sure we will all agree that Father Haas at least is a friend of ours; take what General Johnson has said. It seems to me we are getting into the position of the old Scotch couple whose boy, Sandy, just joined the army and the regiment to which he belonged was marching by and the old Scotch couple were watching, and as the soldiers were going by the old lady said to the old man, "Why, look, they are all out of step but our Sandy."

It seems to me we are taking the position that they are all out of step but us. I have heard here every day since I attended this convention a plea from international presidents to adapt ourselves because we were living in a changed economic order. All this resolution asks, all that I ask in the resolution is that we give to the Executive Council which you heard eulogized yesterday the power in such instances where craft unionism is impossible to

grant probationary Federal charters. You know I represent a craft union, I am a member of a craft union, but we are inviting them to ride in a Rolls Royce when they only have a Ford income.

It is difficult in many, many instances to sell the initiation fee and the dues asked for, and rightfully so, by our craft unions. You might just as well ask for \$3,000,000 from the average worker who has passed through this crisis for four years as to ask for \$300.00. Some of you do not realize that in many instances the initiation fee in our organization is \$1,000, yes, \$1,500.

Now they say here, and they are right, it is a cheap organization. That is right, that is just what it is, it is a cheap organization, but I tell you now without any hesitation that no matter how good our plans may be, no matter how good the game is, no matter how good our equipment is, it takes the players to make this game, and we are not getting the players.

Of course some of the international presidents will say, in response to this, that you cannot unscramble the egg. That is not so. Some of the men who say that know that is a misstatement of facts. They know that in the city from which I come, the city of Boston, just some few years ago we had the largest industrial organization, or one of the largest in the country, and those same international representatives know that we unscrambled the egg and that today all of those international organizations have those men in their unions.

I am not surprised that this is the decision of the Law Committee. I am frank to admit that in my humble way this may not be the solution, but what I disagree with is this: I disagree with doing nothing; I disagree with taking the position that there is no problem. I disagree with the attitude of leave well enough alone. If we only want two and a half million workers out of forty million, let us say so and let us be courageous enough to say that we only want the highly skilled organized, but don't ask the state federations of

labor to try to organize the masses if we do not mean to do it, because after all it becomes a state federation of labor problem.

I think that this is a challenge flung right into our teeth in the year of 1933 by forces so elemental that unless we agree to face the issues we are leaving this convention, probably some time this week, and we are merely encouraging dictators and strengthening those who are setting up dual organizations, because, mark my words, those men and women are going to join some organization. If it is not ours it will be some other organization. The average American, the average citizen, is naturally a Bourbon anyway, whether we come from Manhattan or Main Street. We have always refused—and history proves this—we have always refused to agree that impending changes were necessary until some fine morning some one says, "Sir, there is a revolt," and if we have any journalistic humor we will say, "Hold it for the last edition."

I have only been to five of these conventions, and I know that some of the delegates here, realizing as I do that I have only one vote, feel that it is presumptuous on my part to take this stand, but I want to tell all of you, particularly the international officers, that I am right near the workers. My office is open all the time. They can come in and give me hell any time. I know what they are thinking; I have got their philosophy. I haven't got away from that yet. Yes, and there are scores of men who are absolutely honest who, if they could, would vote to put some flexibility into the constitution of the American Federation of Labor.

We have gone on for years and we are doing it now; we are trying to educate the workers of America and we are trying to warp them to suit the needs of our constitution, and I suggest that we go into reverse and start warping our constitution to suit the needs of the wage earners of America.

I have heard the word "revolution" mentioned here. I never heard it before on the floor of the American Federation

of Labor conventions. I think we will be spared from that, not because there has not been plenty of provocation to violence, but because our industrial cities where revolutions breed are thousands of miles apart. That is not any triumph of our ability, that is a gift from heaven—at least in my opinion it is.

We feel and realize that when many of our jurisdictions were granted America was a continent of prairies and mountain ranges. We did not have Frigidaires and marble bathrooms in those days. If we can get particularly our international officers to fix their eyes on the next generation and stand out on the next election, we're going to go somewhere out of this organization. We are going to write finis to the challenge—and it is a challenge—we are going to write finis to the challenge of international Communism. And if we do not, at least in my opinion, the battle is going to be won or lost before next winter is over, because, on the saying of an old sage, in my opinion, "There lies the Rubicon."

Delegate Horn, Blacksmiths: I don't want anyone here to think I am objecting to progress, but I am opposed to the resolution the brother there was speaking of, and so are some of the rest of us who have had a third of a century of experience in the labor movement, and who have had some education in that period of time.

I have heard a whole lot about the importance of educating men, getting them into Federal labor unions, and the brother who has just spoken is one that I heard speak on the question in a committee meeting. It was suggested that we take them in for about a year and then turn them over to their respective organizations after you had educated them along the lines of organized labor.

The first time I met Samuel Gompers was twenty-seven years ago, when I happened to be a business agent in St. Louis. I remember the lecture he gave us fellows at that time. He told us what our duties were as representatives

of organized labor and the importance of our explaining to the unorganized men that if organized labor was to be a success we would have to pay a reasonable amount of dues in our respective organizations. I have never forgotten that lesson.

Since that time I have served as an organizer for fifteen years in every state in the Union and in Canada. I believe I have some knowledge of what is necessary to bring men into an organization. The records of our own organization and about fifteen others that I organized local unions in will prove that to some extent.

We are told that those fellows cannot pay high dues, they cannot pay high initiation fees. Nobody has ever asked it of them. Let us not forget the fact that when we are talking to unorganized men we are giving them the NRA, which we bought and paid for. The labor organizations of this country, more so than any one else, through their activities in the last ten years, made possible the passage of the legislation which brought into being the NRA. We don't want to do anything to keep anybody out of this organization; we want to get everybody in it.

But we have had some experience ourselves, where we would answer an SOS to come out to a certain point and organize a lot of men. We would hold one meeting and write up fifty or one hundred applications, and about a week afterwards, after their pay day came, they would pay their application fee and the local union would be installed. What do we find? We find in the meantime somebody has told them that they have organized Federal labor unions in the same town and they can be taken in for an initiation fee of \$2.00 and 35 cents per capita tax, and you cannot get a corporal's guard at your meeting. If the international presidents who are here will speak up they will practically all tell the same story.

I have no objection at all to anything that will push the labor movement forward as fast as possible, but I have taken part in a great many organizing

campaigns. You all know what happened ten years ago to our railroad organizations in this country through the bungling of the Railroad Labor Board, when Judge Wilkerson, through the threat of President Harding, used the Army and Navy to lick thousands of men on strike, with the result that we have had company unions all over the country since. We have not been idle, we have been busy, and the railroad legislation that has been secured is the result of our activities. Now, when we have under way a campaign on some twenty-five or thirty railroads, we are being told by our people who are eligible to the six shop crafts that they understand they can join a Federal labor organization for two dollars—and in this connection I will cite the Railway Labor Department in this organization as one that works and functions in a way that is worthy the consideration of any other department or any one in this convention.

The vice president of another organization, not mine, if he will address this convention and tell his experience in the Pittsburgh district, can give you something to think of. I have worked with that man and Brother Morrison met him when he preached the Sermon on the Mount in Altoona, Pennsylvania, in 1911. Do you remember that, Frank?

Secretary Morrison: Yes.

Delegate Horn (continuing): You know the kind of men that were doing the organizing work, and I will say you have to have courage to go out and tell people the facts. Any man can go out and get a great herd of men for a couple of dollars apiece, but what do you get? That is the reason they drop out of your organizations. You have the check-off in the miners' organization and in some other organizations you have the "chuck-off." Those fellows stay in your organizations and pay dues and the very best you can do for them is to educate them to the fact that you cannot run the American Federation of Labor and the International organizations on wind.

I heard some former members of my own organization mention the other

night that we had to get those fellows in and educate them. Yes, and it cost us \$104,000 in strike benefits the last time we educated that crowd.

I am opposed to that resolution.

The motion to adopt the committee's report was carried.

Delegate Volz: Mr. Chairman, that completes the report of the Committee on Law, and the report is signed by:

MARTIN F. RYAN, *Chairman*,
EDWARD J. VOLZ, *Secretary*,
W. D. ROBBINS,
A. GORDON,
E. E. MILLIMAN,
THOMAS F. FLYNN,
EDWARD CANAVAN,
CHAS. W. FRY,
FRED J. DEMPSEY,
DANIEL P. HAGGERTY,
CHARLES ANDERSON,
Committee on Law.

Delegate Volz moved the adoption of the report of the Committee on Law as a whole.

The motion was seconded and carried.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

Vice President Woll, Chairman of the committee: Your Committee on Resolutions has had before it 83 sections of the Executive Council's report; it also has had submitted to it 71 resolutions. In submitting this report the Committee on Resolutions will, of course, first deal with the Executive Council's report. In that connection we have 17 sections dealing with the National Recovery Act. In addition to that we have several sub-sections. The committee will report on each of these sections of the Executive Council's report dealing with the National Recovery Act separately, and wherever a resolution is related to any of these sections we will also report on such resolution at that particular time. Of course there are a number of resolutions dealing with the same subject, but approaching it from different directions. The committee will

deal with each of these resolutions, regardless of its numerical connection. The committee does this because it will avoid useless discussion when the same question might again arise. With these understandings the committee will proceed with its report.

Delegate Olander, Secretary of the committee, continued the report, as follows:

Introduction

On the section of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, pages 27 and 28, the committee reported as follows:

In the "Introduction" of its report, the Executive Council expresses the opinion that "The adjustments now in the making require a shift in controlling motives from the spirit of selfishness and conflict to decision based upon scientific data indicating industrial and public welfare." Certain it is we are entering an era in which industry and commerce will be subjected to greater regulatory powers than in the past. The objectives may be well summarized in the statement by the Council that "We are trying to work out a revolutionary shift of concepts in a practical way—a shift from the idea that any one group can prosper at the expense of others, to an understanding that permanent progress for any group is interdependent upon progress for all other groups—that there must be balanced progress."

The changing conditions and increasing activities, demanding constant attention by the officers and the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, have added greatly to the work required of our Federation officials, and it is because of this, they remind us, that their report this year is directed mainly to the more urgent problems. Your committee recommends that they be given the hearty commendation of the convention for their

steadfast devotion to their duties and their good judgment in concentrating their attention and activities upon questions of immediate consequence.

The dedication of the Samuel Gompers Memorial is referred to briefly in this section of the report, but in view of the fact that another committee has been delegated to report on that subject, we refrain from making any comment thereon, other than to give whole-hearted approval and emphasis to the references made in this part of the report to the great life and splendid leadership of Samuel Gompers who, for more than forty years, led the great onward march of organized labor.

It is certainly true, as stated by the Council, that "Though many of the men and the women who were the pioneers in our movement are gone, the spirit of Labor goes on—love of fellow men, concern for their problems and services, the will to get them justice in daily living, to help them steadily and surely move upward and onward—these are the things that have given the labor movement continuity and purpose and endurance."

Your committee recommends approval of the section of the report of the Executive Council which we have discussed herein.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

National Recovery Act

On the section of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 41, the committee reported as follows:

Under the caption, "National Recovery Act," the Executive Council expresses the view that the act is the most important and far-reaching legislation ever enacted by Congress. The report describes the National Industrial Recovery Act in some detail. The law consists of three titles, the first of which

relates to the subject of industrial recovery.

The Council very properly places emphasis upon the terms of Section 7(a) of the Act, which declares the right of the workers, without interference on the part of the employers, to organize for purposes of "collective bargaining or other mutual aid or protection." The section, we believe, clearly recognizes the fact that the workers of America, though referred to as "employees," are not mere tools of commerce and industry, whose interests are confined wholly to the factory, the shop or other place of employment, but that they are citizens having broad interests, affecting life generally, and that therefore their right to organize is not merely for the purpose of bargaining with their employers, but also "for other mutual aid or protection," thus giving recognition in the law to the full scope of trade-union activities.

President Green and the Executive Council deserve the most sincere commendation of this convention for their alertness in safeguarding the interests of the working people of America when the National Recovery Bill was under consideration and we congratulate them upon the success of their efforts, especially as they are reflected in Section 7 of the Act. It remains now to the trade unions themselves, under the guidance and leadership of the American Federation of Labor, to take advantage of the opportunity thus offered to organize the unorganized and to utilize the machinery of the National Recovery Administration to the end that life and labor throughout the United States may be brought to better and happier levels. Success in this venture depends not only upon the exercise of rights but in the recognition of corresponding duties and responsibilities. We are confident that the affiliated unions will not be found wanting on any of these points.

Under the new law, and the direction and guidance of the National Recovery Administration, industry and commerce are being organized on a national basis. The term "trade or indus-

trial associations or groups," as used in the act, is, in the judgment of your committee, being given an unreasonably narrow construction by its use up to the present, as referring exclusively to associations of employers. If the construction, as placed upon the term, is correct, the initiative in originating codes under the law rests entirely with the employers, except in cases where the President undertakes, under Section 4, to act upon his own initiative or at the request of interested parties. We are inclined to believe, however, that a study of the act will develop greater possibilities under which the initiative can be taken by the trade unions in an industry when such action becomes necessary in any given instance.

The development of national codes of fair competition under the act, and the corresponding development of nationwide associations of employers and employing groups on a much wider basis than has ever been known in the past, have necessitated some changes in trade union methods. There must be a greater degree of direct cooperation and continuity of joint effort between the various trade unions within a given industry than was necessary under conditions wherein negotiations were largely limited to relatively small groups, or to local plants or a series of local plants.

It is to the credit of the officers of the American Federation of Labor and of the various national and international unions that no time was lost in giving recognition to this fact and in bringing the leaders of the various organizations affected in a given industry into conference and agreement to cooperate with each other in the interests of the entire membership which they represented.

It is obvious that this new condition of affairs materially enhances the importance of the American Federation of Labor and its officers and staff at national headquarters in practically all matters relating to the interests of the affiliated national and international and local unions. This was quickly recognized, and indeed actually foreseen by

President Green and the Executive Council and steps were taken to bring about the necessary enlargement of the scope of Federation activities.

Title II of the Act provides for a widespread program of public works and construction projects. An appropriation of \$3,300,000,000 is provided. Every effort should be made to develop this program on a sound basis as quickly as possible. Your committee desires to point out that in this respect much depends upon the officers of state and local governments. No project of any consequence can be approved without legal authorization and definite plans and specifications. The mere announcement that a town or city or state desires the development of a certain project, and the aid of the Federal government in connection therewith, is certainly not sufficient to enable the Federal authorities to act. The officers of state federations of labor and city central bodies, as well as of local unions and national and international unions, should take an active interest in promoting the public works program throughout the United States.

The expressions which have come from all divisions of the trade union movement, as represented by the American Federation of Labor, clearly indicate that it is the avowed intention of the American trade union movement as a whole to give unstinted support to the President of the United States in his great effort to lead the American people out of the pit of industrial depression into which they had fallen up to the sunlit heights of a renewed national prosperity. The President may rest assured of the whole-hearted support of the American Federation of Labor in his great undertaking.

Your committee recommends approval of the section of the report of the Executive Council herein discussed.

Delegate Martel, International Typographical Union: Inasmuch as this section of the committee's report deals largely with the NRA, I want to make an observation at this time that I think some one in this convention ought to

call to the attention of the public. I listened the other night to the splendid address of General Hugh Johnson. A great deal of his talk met with the approval of the delegates of the American Federation of Labor, but there is one thing that Mr. Johnson said the other night that I do not believe we can subscribe to under any conditions. That is where he made reference that you must admit governmental participation and control in reference to trade unions. I think it is time somebody voiced the sentiment that if these organizations are to remain free and independent organizations they will have to remain free from governmental control. I cannot get enthusiastic about the theory that we are going to have governmental interference in trade unions, particularly when these governmental officials are being selected by the business element of the country.

General Johnson made reference to the prevalence of strikes and asked that we try to keep from striking in an effort to help get the country back on its feet. I want to say to General Johnson, and to any one else having anything to do with the administration of the Industrial Recovery Act, that so long as its purpose is going to be proscribed in the interests of the business elements of the country we are going to have strikes; that if they are going to continue to set up codes placing wages for skilled mechanics at 40 cents an hour and expect the mechanics of the country to get enthusiastic about it, we are going to have strikes in industry. And we are going to have strikes if the officials of the NRA are going to allow the boards in localities to dilly-dally where complaint is made that discrimination is exercised against people who are trying to join trade unions.

The report of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

National Recovery Act in Operation

On the section of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 60, the committee reported as follows:

Under the subtitle "National Recovery Act in Operation," the report of the Executive Council sets forth certain reasons for the enactment of the law and the purposes which it is intended to achieve. "The principle of public interest," the Council reports, "was extended to all industries affecting interstate commerce. Where public interest is concerned, public participation in some degree must follow." In general, the purpose of the act, as described by the Council, is that of "carrying out the idea of voluntary cooperation under governmental leadership." The committee recommends approval of this section of the report of the Council.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Recovery Administration Procedure

On the section of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 60, the committee reported as follows:

Under the subcaption, "Recovery Administration Procedure," the report of the Executive Council outlines the general operating provisions of the National Industrial Recovery Act. Your committee especially commends this section of the report to the careful attention of all trade union officials. The enforcement of codes of fair competition will depend very largely upon the officers and members of trade unions who, alone of all persons engaged in industry and commerce, are free to report the facts as they come under their observation. They can be relied upon to perform their full duty in this respect. The committee recommends approval of the section of the Executive Council's report herein discussed.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Code Procedure

On the section of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 62, the committee reported as follows:

Under the subtitle "Code Procedure," the Executive Council outlines various steps in the presentation and approval

of codes of fair competition under the National Industrial Recovery Act. This section of the report is highly informative and should be read carefully by all who are interested. In connection with this discussion of code procedure, we quote the following particularly significant paragraph from this section of the report:

"From even limited experience two things are of outstanding significance to Labor: (1) The need of organization and (2) the need for sustained research regarding labor phases of production and conditions of work."

The need for organization is indeed ever present and the opportunities afforded under the National Industrial Recovery Act present no substitute for organization, but enhance that need and, as a matter of fact, the act itself is intended to encourage and promote organization. This is a fact that should always be borne in mind. Acceptable results in the labor field depend solely upon organization as in all other fields of human endeavor.

Your committee recommends approval of this section of the Council's report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Codes of Fair Competition

On the section of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 64, the committee reported as follows:

Under the subcaption "Codes of Fair Competition," the Executive Council presents summaries of codes relating to the following sixteen industries:

- Cotton Textile Industry
- Woolen Industry
- Electrical Industry
- Petroleum
- Photographic Industry
- Men's Clothing Industry
- Legitimate Theatres
- Steel
- American Lace Manufacturing
- Corset and Brassiere Industry
- Coats and Suits (Women's)
- Ship Building

Automobiles
Rayon and Synthetic Yarn
Lumber
Hosiery

This section of the report also makes references to "Child Labor Provisions of Codes" in a number of industries. The entire contents of the section of the Executive Council's report entitled "Codes of Fair Competition" is intended solely for purposes of information and the approval of this section of the report does not involve acceptance of the codes referred to as being satisfactory. It is with this understanding that your committee recommends approval of this section of the Council's report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Tendencies and Problems

On the section of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 69, the committee reported as follows:

Under the subcaption "Tendencies and Problems," relating to the National Recovery Administration, the Executive Council sets forth the following conclusions relative to codes thus far approved, namely:

"Hours of work are too long to secure absorption of the millions without jobs.

"Minimum wages are so low that purchasing power lags behind production."

The Council expresses the view that, "no longer than thirty hours per week should be allowed if we are to find jobs for all." Your committee is in full accord with the statement that "If the declared purpose of the Recovery Act is to be achieved, it is obvious that such codes must be reopened for constructive revision."

Your committee recommends approval of this section of the Council's report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Proposals of Policy

On the section of the Report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 70, the committee reported as follows:

Under the subtitle "Proposals of Policy," the Executive Council, referring to the National Recovery Act, makes the following particularly significant observation, namely, "Industry is a living thing and can not have two years' experience under any system without being definitely changed in its habits and procedures." Again the Council wisely gives emphasis to the fact that progress for the workers is possible only through trade-union activity; "Organization of wage-earners in unions is the first step for Labor's participation in national planning and economic control, as it has ever been the first step in Labor's progress." The development of industry and commerce along proper lines, compatible with the general welfare of the people as a whole, will depend upon the extent to which trade-union organization is developed, recognized and enabled to function.

The committee recommends approval of this section of the report of the Council.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Collective Bargaining Under Codes

On the section of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 71, the committee reported as follows:

In the section of the report of the Executive Council appearing under the subtitle "Collective Bargaining Under Codes," especial attention is directed to Section 7(b) of the National Industrial Recovery Act, under which it is provided that "The President shall, so far as practicable, afford every opportunity to employers and employees in any trade or industry or subdivision thereof . . . to establish by mutual agreement, the standards as to the maximum hours of labor, minimum rates of pay, and such other conditions of employ-

ment as may be necessary in such trade or industry or subdivision thereof to effectuate the policy of this title." Here, again, the Council stresses the need for organizing the unorganized, it being apparent that no progress can be made in any other way.

Your committee heartily commends the President of the Federation and the Executive Council for the foresight and judgment they exhibited in calling representations of all affiliated unions into conference for the purpose of aiding each other in the work of protecting the interests of labor in connection with all codes that have been or may be presented. The outline of the recommendations of the conference in this respect are included in the Council's report and give evidence of the thoughtfulness and care with which the officers of the American Federation of Labor and the affiliated unions are proceeding. The principles of collective bargaining through trade unions must not only be carefully safeguarded by vigorously resisting all attempts to prevent any modification or limitation of Section 7(a) through code clauses, but, in order that those principles may be made a living fact, they must be put into actual practice under the various codes. Extreme care must also be used to guard against the modification of the section by improper interpretation or construction. Your committee recommends approval of this section of the Council's report.

Delegate Colleran, Operative Plasterers: I want to call the attention of the delegates and the officials of the American Federation of Labor to the latter part of the report. As one of the committee, I am not rising in opposition to anything that has been read by the Secretary, but I want to call your attention to the fact that for three months we have been in the city of Washington, particularly those of the building trades, trying to present briefs in reference to objections to codes, and about 90 per cent of the building trades have reached agreements with the contractors in their industry, and we find ourselves con-

fronted today, after three months, with a new element in the building industry called The Construction League, whose purpose is to drag down all that has been done by the representatives of labor, and also the representatives of industry on the employers' side. Not only are they attempting to destroy the wages that have been agreed upon between the representatives of labor and the employers, but they are also attempting—and only as late as last night—to boldly tell us they are going to try to bring in something that will be less than that agreed upon, in the only agreement in existence between labor and the Government, that agreed upon by the Public Works Program. They are going to attempt to make them take less than that.

I think it is the duty of this Federation and the officials thereof to force the officials to bring those codes out and not allow them to rest there until the morale of the building trades is broken down. I think this is a very vital issue to all the trades connected with this Federation. We are waiting now for the Federation to finish their work. This Construction League has been very active, and even had the nerve last night to submit a proposition that is much less than that contained in the public works program. I am asking you to force the issue within forty-eight hours with General Johnson to bring those codes out of the camphor.

President Green: The Chair will gladly respond to the suggestion made by Delegate Colleran. I know something about the progress that has been made in both the hearings that were held and in the interim that has occurred. There doesn't seem any justification for the indefensible delay. I want to assure the delegates of the building trades organization that it will be our purpose to present the matter to General Johnson quickly, and insist upon these Codes of Fair Practice, as agreed upon between the contractors in the building trades industry and the building trades workers, for final approval. We will try to attend to that as quickly as possible.

Delegate Hutcheson, United Brotherhood of Carpenters: Is it the understanding of the President that those codes apply to work done under the Conservation Department of the Government?

President Green: No, not these codes that have been referred to this morning. Do you mean the Conservation Camp or the public works program?

Delegate Hutcheson: The Conservation Camps.

President Green: It is my judgment that the agreement entered into between the building trades organization and the Secretary of the Interior Department would cover that kind of work.

Delegate Hutcheson: There isn't a camp I know of in the country that has come anywhere near paying the established wage scale. We have hundreds of cases where we are told the scale has been set at 60 cents an hour, and the men are being told they will have to take a reduction of 15 per cent because they are Government employes.

President Green: Is it not a fact that in some of these conservation camps those who are living there are doing a lot of construction work at \$1.00 a day?

Delegate Hutcheson: That was true of summer camps. But now for the winter they are building permanent camps. In some instances they are hiring the men direct and in other instances they are letting the work to contractors, but they are not even paying the scale set by the Government for Government work.

Delegate McDonough, President, Building Trades Department: In the establishment of the Civilian Conservation Corps it is provided that all construction work will be performed, either by the enlisted corps or by mechanics at less than the established rate of wages, but in the establishment of winter camps we have, like the carpenters, had complaints about the wages paid. Mr. McIntee, of the Corps, who has assured us that in the construction of the winter camps the prevailing rate of

wages for the mechanics engaged in construction work will be paid. Numerous complaints have been presented to Director Fechner, of the Civilian Conservation Corps, within the last ten days, and in fairness to the officials of that Corps I will say they are using their best efforts to adjust the wage dispute and assure the building trades department that the prevailing rate of wages in the localities will be paid.

Delegate Hutcheson: If they keep on the way they are they will all be finished before they get any adjustment made. I have several complaints in my hand which we have received. One states that in Virginia they are paying the mechanics 45 cents an hour. It is all right for them to say they will adjust it, but if the work is completed before they pay it, what good will it do?

Delegate Soderberg, Journeymen Tailors: The Union Tailors have the same complaint as the building trades men. They filed a code which has been in Washington since August 3. We find, however, that a substitute code has been filed. The first was filed in August. On October 5 they called for another code. In the meantime the tailors of the country will have to wait for an increase in wages, which they have been cutting down for four years. I have been in Washington a dozen times, but it seems impossible to get any satisfaction as to when the hearings will be held. All our members are waiting, and they have a lot of faith in this NRA, but they are having the same experience the building trades have had with delays.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Labor Research

On the section of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 72, the committee reported as follows:

Your committee is in full accord with the section of the Executive Council's report appearing under the subtitle "Labor Research" and repeats with emphasis the statement of the Council

that, "To enable labor representatives to detect all loopholes, omissions and misleading implications and to provide statistical interpretation of Labor's case, the services of those who understand the compilation and use of statistics are necessary for union executives responsible for presenting Labor's case." We heartily commend the action of the officers of the American Federation of Labor in enlarging its research group.

Our Federal cost of living statistics are most unsatisfactory and inadequate. The cost of living index used by the Federal Government has not been revised since 1918. In addition, investigations have become less thorough and more spotty. There exist no Federal statistics adequately covering the number of employed in the manufacturing industries, the number of days worked per week, per month and per year, the number of man hours worked and the total of weekly, monthly and annual amount of wages paid. There should be available complete statistics, covering the number of days worked per week, per month and per year and the weekly, monthly and annual wages paid to all employes in the non-manufacturing industries and in the service of the Federal Government, the several states and all other political subdivisions.

Your committee therefore recommends that the convention instruct the Executive Council to have a measure or measures introduced into the Congress which will provide the necessary appropriations to bring the Federal cost of living index up to date, and for the adequate and more comprehensive collection of statistics covering the volume of unemployment, the hours of labor, the man hours worked and the weekly, monthly and yearly amount of wages paid in the manufacturing and non-manufacturing industries and also covering all civilian employes of the Federal Government, the several states and all other political sub-divisions.

With these observations and recommendations, your committee recommends approval of the report of the Executive Council on "Labor Research."

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Industrial Recovery and Public Works

On the section of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 73, the committee reported as follows:

Under the subtitle "Industrial Recovery and Public Works," there is contained a great deal of valuable information which we commend to the careful attention of all trade union officers and members. The Council points out, however, that "Notwithstanding the fact that funds are available, that excellent administrative machinery has been set up, that the best technical advisors are available, that construction undertakings are needed, and that building trades men and their families are actually hungry, according to the most definite information available approximately half a dozen contracts have been let giving less than 50,000 persons employment. Under allocations to public roads in the various states, 332,000 workers were employed on the last date for which information is available. This is a distressing situation. We urge in the name of humanity that the machinery be speeded up so that there may be work for building trades men before winter is upon us. Vigorous promotion of construction work is essential to our plans for recovery. We urge action."

The need for action, as urged by the Council in this respect, cannot be stated too emphatically. It is apparent on all sides and should meet with immediate response on the part of all who are interested or affected. The Council points out, too, that local unions, central labor bodies and state federations of labor can be of material aid in formulating definite plans for public works in their respective localities and in initiating campaigns to secure action. Your committee rec-

ommends approval of this section of the Council's report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Right to Representation

On the section of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 80, the committee reported as follows:

Under the caption "Right to Representation," the report of the Executive Council sets forth clearly and definitely that "The American Federation of Labor declares that labor representation in the drafting of code proposals in every stage of code hearing before the National Recovery Administration and in the enforcement and administrative agencies provided by the code, is essential to achieving the purposes of the National Recovery Act and to meeting the requirements of human justice." Your committee heartily concurs in this section of the Council's report and recommends approval by the convention.

Delegate Olander: May I say at this point that we are about to report now on four resolutions also dealing with this subject.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Suny, Cleaners and Dyers' Union No. 18233: I was the introducer of Resolution No. 100. I would like to know if Resolution No. 100 is included in there.

Vice-President Woll: That will be reported on in the proper order.

Delegate Suny: That will be reported on in the proper order later?

Delegate Olander: I have stated that four resolutions dealing with this subject are about to be reported on. One of them is Resolution No. 100.

The motion to adopt the committee's report was carried by unanimous vote.

The committee amended Resolution No. 17 by striking out the period at the end of the last paragraph and adding thereto the following: "and further that efforts be also made to arrange

for adequate labor representation on all other boards and committees of the National Recovery Administration in cases where the interests of labor require such representation."

The resolution as amended reads:

Labor Representation on NRA Committees

Resolution No. 17—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L.

WHEREAS, Certain continuing as well as compliance committees are being established by the National Recovery Administration; and

WHEREAS, These committees are assuming authority to regulate labor conditions within the scope of the codes; and

WHEREAS, The National Industrial Recovery Act specifically provides for the application of collective bargaining; be it

RESOLVED, That the Fifty-third Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor request the Executive Council to use its influence so that all such boards may be composed of an equal number of labor representatives and employer representatives, so that an equal balance of representatives of both labor and management will be established, and further that efforts be also made to arrange for adequate labor representation on all other boards and committees of the National Recovery Administration in cases where the interests of labor require such representation.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Representation of Organized Labor on NRA State Committees

Resolution No. 58—By Delegates Louis P. Marciante, Mercer County, N. J., Central Labor Union, and A. W. McIntyre, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers.

BE IT RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, that the National Chairman, General Hugh S. Johnson, and the various State Chairmen of the NRA be requested to appoint representatives of organized labor on the various State Committees to the end that organized labor may do its full part in putting into the fullest effect the recovery program outlined by our President; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the various State Chairmen throughout the United States be requested to urge the appointment of representatives of organized labor on the various local committees in their respective States; and he it further

RESOLVED, That this Convention commend any and all State Chairmen who have adopted this policy, and that it be the sense of this convention that such action of the National Chairman and the various State Chairmen is a fitting recognition of the part that organized labor will take in this vast industrial recovery program; and be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution be forwarded by the Secretary to the State Chairman of each State.

Your committee recommends approval of Resolution No. 58.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Representation of Organized Labor on NRA Investigating and Compliance Boards

Resolution No. 67—By Delegates J. A. Franklin, J. N. Davis and William E. Walter, International Brotherhood of Boiler Makers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America.

WHEREAS, The National Recovery Administration seeking to further the intent and purposes of the National Recovery Act is now formulating and establishing investigating and compliance boards in every city and State of the Union; and

WHEREAS, Little attention is being paid to the necessity of having Labor constitute part of these investigating and compliance boards; and

WHEREAS, We believe a letter of instructions should be sent to Central Labor Unions advising that they immediately interest themselves in such investigating and compliance boards and, if unable to get proper representation thereon, to immediately establish investigating and compliance boards to be conducted entirely by Labor; be it

RESOLVED, That this American Federation of Labor in convention assembled instruct its officers to immediately circularize by letter all Central Labor Unions on the necessity of Labor representation on all National Recovery Act investigating and compliance boards as outlined above.

Your committee recommends the adoption of the following self-explanatory

resolution as a substitute for Resolution No. 67:

WHEREAS, The National Recovery Administration, seeking to further the intent and purpose of the National Industrial Recovery Act, is now formulating and establishing local committees and investigating and compliance boards in every city and state of the nation, and

WHEREAS, Under date of October 2, 1933, President William Green of the American Federation of Labor addressed a letter to all state federations of labor and city central bodies stating:

"The officers of the American Federation of Labor have insistently demanded and are still demanding that representatives of organized labor selected by labor organizations shall be appointed on all local N. R. A. Committees and Boards. At the recent meeting of the Executive Council we considered the subject further especially in the light of various reports which have been received at headquarters regarding the manner in which such local committees and boards are appointed as well as their personnel.

"The Executive Council directed that a communication should be sent to the state bodies and the central labor unions urging upon them the importance of seeing to it that accredited representatives of the local labor movement in every town, city, and locality are appointed on all local N. R. A. committees and boards. If you have not already done this I most earnestly hope that immediate steps will be taken to assure the proper representation of labor on your local N. R. A. committees and boards." Therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That all state federations of labor and city central bodies are urged to give prompt and continued attention to the subject of proper and adequate labor representation on all state and local National Recovery Administration committees and boards, in accord with instructions of the Executive Council, and in event of failure in any case to secure such representation to immediately notify the president of the American Federation of Labor and the National Recovery Administration.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Representation of Organized Labor on NRA Compliance Boards

Resolution No. 88—By Delegate Frank X. Martel, International Typographical Union.

WHEREAS, Those charged with the responsibility of administering the Na-

tional Recovery Act, have set up certain Boards known as local National Recovery Administration Compliance Boards for the purpose of "conciliation, mediation and education" in connection with the administration of the National Recovery Act; and

WHEREAS, The machinery for the establishment of these local Compliance Boards is of such a nature as to deny to labor proper representation on these Boards; and

WHEREAS, Most of the complaints of non-compliance with the National Recovery Act against those who have signed the President's Re-employment Agreement are complaints of non-compliance with hours and wages provided and the right of collective bargaining provisions of the National Recovery Act; and

WHEREAS, These local Compliance Boards constituted as they are without adequate labor representation have failed in their purpose of securing immediate one hundred percent compliance with the President's Re-employment Agreement; be it

RESOLVED, By this Convention, that we hereby demand of the National Administrator of the National Recovery Act that these Compliance Boards be revised and that labor be given equal representation with the commercial and business element of the community on these Boards for the purpose of bringing about a fulfillment of the mission for which they were created.

Your committee recommends adoption of Resolution No. 88.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

**Opposing Service of A. F. of L.
Officials on NRA Boards**

Resolution No. 100—By Delegate R. Suny, Cleaners, Dyers, Spotters and Pressers' Union No. 18233.

WHEREAS, The gap between the workers' income and the cost of living has been widened and continues to widen under the N. R. A., so that the standards of American workers are being lowered systematically and legally toward the European level; and

WHEREAS, Section 7 (a) of the N. R. A., which supposedly guaranteed the workers the formal right to organize, turned out in practice to be a withdrawal of this long-possessed right—a withdrawal through brutal use of armed force against workers, through mass arrests on picket lines, through clubbings and gassings of strikers; and

WHEREAS, The leaders of the American Federation of Labor who are on the Labor Advisory Board, the Mediation Board and local N. R. A. Administration Boards have agreed, in cooperation with employers and government representatives, to industrial codes which do not stipulate a guarantee for an adequate income to the workers—codes which do not provide raises in wages to meet the mounting cost of living—codes which do not provide unemployment insurance at the expense of employers and the government—codes containing "merit" clauses which give employers the ultimate right to hire and fire at will—codes such as the Automobile and Soft Coal Codes, that give the employers the privilege of maintaining open shops by anti-labor regulations; and

WHEREAS, The service of American Federation of Labor officials in behalf of the N. R. A. means sanctioning the putting of the union label upon a system of enforcing compulsory arbitration, thereby invalidating rights acquired by United States workers in the long years of organized struggles; and

WHEREAS, This policy of collaboration between the American Federation of Labor leaders and the employers tends to create illusions and to disarm the workers, leading them away from real struggles to safeguard their interests; tends to discredit genuine unionism; and completely contradicts the spirit of the preamble of the American Federation of Labor constitution, which reads as follows: "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 benefits"; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor at its 53rd Annual Convention, in Washington, D. C., demands the withdrawal of all officials of the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated unions from posts in the N. R. A., both executive and advisory capacities, and from all sections of the N. R. A., local, district, state and national.

Your committee recommends that Resolution No. 100 be non-concurred in.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the committee's report.

Delegate Suny, Cleaners and Dyers Union No. 18233: Resolution 100 has for its purpose the defense of the fundamental principle of the trade union movement, that is, the maintenance by

the working class and its union organizations of complete independence from the employers and their organizations and independence from government which, under one guise or another, represents the interest of the employers.

There are already scores of instances in the last four months in the USA occurring in practically every strike of workers, for the right to organize, the right to picket, for better wages and working conditions, which prove that the so-called right to organize, under Section 7(a) of the NRA, is purely a formal right. It is as it has always been, a right that has to be won by a united action of workers.

Without the right to the strike weapon, which is being forbidden under the NRA, labor is helpless. Organization under such conditions is a meaningless term. Yet we have had appearing at this convention, presuming to advise, as friends of labor, Government officials, like Senator Wagner, General Johnson, Secretary of Labor Perkins, and even the President himself, asking us to surrender the strike weapon. This advice has even appeared in the form of a demand. It is said by some of these advisors, acting in their capacity as government officials, that strikes are economic sabotage. But it would be very easy to prove here that the only consideration which labor has received from the NRA has been through strikes or the fear of strikes.

The hint is also made, it also appears from time to time as a demand, coming from the spokesman of the government, and voiced here as well by the officials of the American Federation of Labor, that our unions and the American Federation of Labor itself shall become part of the machinery of the government. This is the way straight to suicide for independent trade unionism. It means nothing less than the use of the unions to compel the acceptance of whatever compromise is worked out between employers and the government on the

question of wages, hours and working conditions.

It means that our unions become merely loud speakers for broadcasting decrees of a government which is still a government of wealth and entrenched in private and corporate privilege.

It has been known and recognized by the organized labor of the world that workers get only what they have the power to wrest from the employers by their organized strength. The final test is always in the withdrawal of labor power, the strike struggle. To take any other view is to pave the way for complete surrender of the most elementary and vital rights of labor and its organizations.

The presence of American Federation of Labor officials, and officials of national and international unions in government posts on NRA boards, either in executive or advisory capacities, is a challenge to the integrity of the unions as independent organizations.

The evil effects of this practice are to be seen already in the merit clause in the auto code and the anti-strike and compulsory arbitration clauses of the supplementary agreement to the bituminous coal code.

Delegate Hutcheson: I rise to a point of order. Is the delegate talking on the report of the committee or is he making an address?

Delegate Suny: I am speaking on my resolution, No. 100.

President Green: It is very difficult for the Chair to decide.

Delegate Hutcheson: I agree with some of the things the delegate says, but I don't understand that he is talking on the committee's report.

President Green: The delegate will please confine himself to the resolution.

Delegate Suny: I think I am confining myself 100 per cent to the resolution.

President Green: It is not what you think, it is what the Chair thinks. Now confine yourself to the resolution.

Delegate Hutcheson: What is the ruling on my point of order, Mr. Chairman?

Delegate Olander: Mr. Chairman, on behalf of the committee I would like to ask that the delegate be permitted to continue.

Delegate Hutcheson: I suggest that he come up on the platform so all the delegates can hear him. He is only doing that to get in the record anyway.

President Green: Is your speech about completed?

Delegate Suny: I have another page or two.

President Green: Proceed then, and the Chair will rule on the point of order as soon as I can determine the matter.

Delegate Suny (continuing): It can be said with complete truth that the evil effects are to be seen right in this convention. With hundreds of thousands of coal miners, steel workers, textile workers, auto workers, agricultural workers, etc., engaged in heroic struggle for the right to live like human beings, met as they are by martial law, tear gas attack, wholesale arrests, outright murder, and armed terror of all kinds, many of them killed while this convention is meeting, brutality—which in many instances exceeds the brutality of Hitlerized Germany, the only resolution calling for support of these advance guards of the working class interests was objected to and ruled off the floor. Not a single union official, nor a single member of the Executive Council of A. F. of L. in this convention has called for support of these great masses of workers or hailed them as fighting for the interests of the entire American labor movement.

Delegate Wharton, Machinists: I would like to rise to suggest that the delegate be asked to speak from the platform. I do not like to be the sole recipient of that discourse. I want all the delegates to share it.

President Green: Come up on the platform, please.

Delegate Suny (continuing): The only mention made of these struggles has been in connection with an official demand that the union officers act still more decisively and to end them, at any cost, in the name of the will-o'-the-wisp "National recovery."

These facts are beyond dispute. They show the grave danger that the labor movement faces of having its integrity lost by official incorporation into the machinery of production for profit, because I would like to remind you, fellow delegates, that in spite of all the fine phrases of the NRA it is still a system of production for profit.

The first and most necessary immediate step to avoid the danger of losing the independence of the American labor movement is the withdrawal of all union officials from the government NRA posts. Our union officials being now part of the machinery for the enforcement of NRA which, so far as the workers are concerned, legalizes the starvation wages and living conditions forced upon them by the four years of crisis, the continual attack of the employers, their organizations and government agencies; attacks which have been met by an official policy—that these terrible conditions are merely temporary, shoving into the background the basic demand for compulsory, federal unemployment insurance for all workers, and which now puts official posts in NRA—as victory for labor.

To represent the interest of the toilers of America, the labor movement has to organize and lead the working class independently of employers and their government. The NRA demands the subjection of union organizations under the guise of giving Labor a place in the sun. As always, the proposal is to cure the crisis at the expense of the workers and their organization.

Just as in 1929 the cooperation and agreement between President Hoover and the American Federation of Labor of "No strike, No wage cut," in prac-

tice turned out to be a one sided affair, so today all the sugar-coated phrases about NRA will turn in practice a one sided affair—more profit to employers, higher prices to the consumer, same starvation wages for the workers—without even an increase to meet the mounting cost of living, and left without this elementary right—the right to strike.

The answer to the problem is the restoration of independence to the labor movement. The American Federation of Labor officials and those of its affiliated unions have either to withdraw from NRA posts or to admit that they have abandoned the traditional policy of the American labor movement. The surrender of the independent role of union organization already has been more than hinted in the conclusion of the Executive Council Report, where it speaks of the New Deal as follows: "As unions, we have no choice but to obey the law and to serve as agencies for putting it into effect. Our immediate problem is to function so as best to advance justice and economic progress for all concerned in carrying on industry and all those served by industry."

The duty of the American labor movement, as is true of all labor movements honestly working and fighting in the interest of its members and the exploited population as a whole, is not and never has been, to be concerned with justice and economic progress for all employers, their agents and other beneficiaries, as well as workers. Workers are the great majority. It is upon them that all society rests. Their interests are paramount for any honest trade union movement.

If this view has been changed to one in which labor becomes a mere appendage to the profit-making machine, to government primarily interested in maintaining profits, then the labor movement is no more independent, no longer represents the toiling population and has no right to call for its loyalty and its support.

In such case a new labor movement actually representing the separate interests of the working class is bound to arise in challenge to a conception that surrenders the independent right of the movement and in challenge to a system and its government which demands such surrender as the price of the right for the labor movement to exist. Withdraw all Union officials from N. R. A. posts.

President Green: I just asked Delegate Suny, who represents a local union of dry cleaners from the city of Philadelphia, if it was not a fact that his local union sent a delegate or a representative to Washington to present the case of the local union of dry cleaners at the hearing on the code for industrial fair practice for the dry cleaning industry, and he advised me that his local union was properly represented at that hearing on the code. Now, he proposes that all labor representation upon boards and the code hearings be withdrawn and that we have nothing whatever to do with the N. R. A.

Vice President Woll: I wish only to offer this one comment. Your committee has presented the Executive Council's report on this subject. It has, just preceding this resolution, presented three resolutions calling for greater representation on these boards, and all these recommendations have been adopted unanimously by the convention, including the delegate who has just talked on this resolution.

Delegate Suny: I said no at every resolution.

The report of the committee on Resolution No. 100 was adopted with one dissenting vote.

President's Reemployment Program

On the section of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 81, the committee reported as follows:

Under the title "President's Reemployment Program" and the subtitle "President's Reemployment Agree-

ment," the report of the Executive Council outlines the reasons for the procedure under the so-called "blanket codes" which employers throughout the country are asked to agree to pending the submission and approval of codes for the various specific industries. These blanket codes, as stated by the Council, are recognized as only temporary expedients to be replaced by the code of each separate industry. It is a well-known fact that there has been widespread disregard of the President's Reemployment Agreement by a great number of business concerns which, nevertheless, did not hesitate to make use of the Blue Eagle insignia of the National Recovery Administration in a manner to enhance their own profits and to parade before the public an allegation of loyalty which they failed to practice in dealing with their employes. Of even greater consequence, however, is the delay on the part of whole industries in the presentation of tentative codes for the consideration of the National Recovery Administration. There are indications that certain seasonal industries, which do relatively little business during the winter months, are deliberately withholding the submission of codes for the purpose of delaying action so that little or nothing can be done in relation to those industries until the new season arrives. All this, of course, serves to shorten the time in which codes may be effective under the National Industrial Recovery Act which automatically expires, under its own terms, at the end of two years after its enactment. There are developments which lead to the suspicion that relatively large groups of employing interests are in a conspiracy to hamper the National Recovery Administration in its efforts to apply the law. It may be well for the leaders of those industries to remember that Congress, having enacted the National Industrial Recovery Act as a temporary measure, may, because of the failure on the part of business interests to promptly cooperate wholeheartedly with the Government, extend the act beyond the time now set for its expiration. The possible need of this course will, if further developments are

such as to warrant it, undoubtedly receive the earnest attention of the Executive Council. The committee recommends approval of this section of the Council's report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

National Recovery Act and Agricultural Adjustment Act

On the section of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 84, the committee reported as follows:

Under the title "National Recovery Act and Agricultural Adjustment Act," the Executive Council reports upon certain complications which have arisen, due to the fact that the Agricultural Act covers processes that, although relating to agricultural commodities, are, nevertheless, essentially industrial. The Council reports that an agreement has been reached allocating the distinctively agricultural workers to the Agricultural Adjustment Administration and the industrial workers to the National Recovery Administration. The agricultural workers are defined as those employed by farmers on the farm when they are engaged in growing and preparing for sale the products of the soil and/or livestock; also, all labor used in growing and preparing perishable agricultural commodities for market in original perishable fresh form. When workers are employed in processing farm products or preparing them for market, beyond the stage customarily performed on the farm, such workers are not to be deemed agricultural workers.

It appears, however, that the plants or process establishments in all instances continue under the Agricultural Adjustment Administration and this, as the Council points out, raises a problem which requires attention. Your committee is confident that the officers of the American Federation of Labor will be able to solve this difficulty in due time. The matter should be left in their hands for such action from time

to time as in their judgment may seem wise. The committee recommends approval of this section of the Council's report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

National Labor Board

On the section of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 84, the committee reported as follows:

The Council reports that the National Labor Board has been established as a part of the administrative machinery of the National Industrial Recovery Act and will function continuously and be available for service in the settlement of industrial controversies which cannot be settled directly between the representatives of the employers and the employees. The Board consists of nine members appointed by the President of the United States. It is our understanding that the National Board intends to establish local boards. We must insist that such boards shall have equal representation of labor and industry and care must be exercised to provide for thoroughly adequate labor representation. Your committee ventures the opinion that developments up to the present in relation to the National Labor Board warrants the belief that the Board is a highly essential part of the Recovery Administration. We recommend approval of this section of the Council's report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Unemployment

On the section of the report of the Executive Board under the above caption, page 85, the committee reported as follows:

Under the general title "Unemployment," the Executive Council presents tabulations and graphs dealing with unemployment and employment statistics, entitled "Unemployment," "Ex-

planatory Note on Unemployment Estimate," "Trade Union Unemployment and Part Time Work," "Employment in Producer and Consumer Industries," and "Employment by Industry." The extent of the grim problem of unemployment and some indication of its appalling effect upon the country at large is indicated in the tabulation on unemployment, which shows a rise from January, 1930, when the unemployed numbered 3,216,000, to the peak of unemployment which was reached in March, 1933, when the number had reached the tremendous figure of 13,689,000. The decline since March, as shown by the tabulation, has been steady, but the preliminary figures for July, the last month covered in the report, show a total of 11,781,000 still unemployed. In addition to this there are, of course, great numbers who are employed only part time.

The Council reports that the decline since March has been the result chiefly of the increase in industrial production and that it is not yet possible to determine how much reemployment has been the direct result of industrial codes already established or of the President's re-employment program.

The report also points out that "While much of the present unemployment is due to depression, there is no question that a large proportion is a result of technological improvements in industry, both before the depression and the years since 1929." The Council here again urges that "For the coming winter there is no question that work-hours should not be over 30 a week."

The need for more statistical information covering all sorts of industrial occupations is stressed, and trade unions are urged to maintain records of employment and unemployment relating to their respective memberships. Unemployment is the result of business and commercial stagnation, due to the lack of purchasing power on the part of the masses of the people, resulting from over work and under pay. Shorter hours and higher wages as a means of spreading employment and increasing purchasing power are economic essentials, as necessary to trade and com-

merce as they are to the workers themselves.

Your committee recommends approval of this section of the Council's report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Relief

On the section of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 91, the committee reported as follows:

In the section of its report under the title "Relief," the Executive Council reports that the present national relief cost is about \$1,000,000,000, according to the July report of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration. Of the total bill, the Council reports, "about 5 per cent is now being furnished by private funds, 95 per cent by public funds; and of the public funds approximately 70 per cent is from the Federal Government, 10 per cent from the states and 20 per cent from local governments." There is a great deal of statistical and other information in this section of the Council's report which we commend to the careful attention of the delegates.

In view of the great need which faces the unemployed this winter, the Executive Council makes the following recommendations:

"1. That the American Federation of Labor insist on adequate relief appropriations from Federal funds by Congress immediately after its reconvening in January, so that funds may be available by February when it is expected the present appropriations will be exhausted.

"2. That we insist that the surplus agricultural product be made available for distribution to the unemployed.

"3. That the American Federation of Labor and all state and local federations of labor do all in their power to educate public opinion to the immensity of the relief need this winter. There is danger that taxation and appropriations for relief may not have the necessary public support, since there is wide-

spread belief that the reemployment of millions has greatly reduced relief needs, and that relief needs are therefore less than last winter.

"4. That special consideration be given to the character of taxation which is being passed by state governments in order to raise funds for relief. Higher incomes and surplus profits should be made to bear their fair share of the burden."

Your committee recommends that the report and recommendations of the Executive Council on the subject of "Relief" be approved.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Discrimination Against the Older Workers

On the section of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 93, the committee reported as follows:

Under the title "Discrimination Against the Older Worker," the Executive Council presents a fitting protest against the practice of establishing an age limit for hiring workers. There is no more tragic picture than that of a competent, able and well man or woman barred from employment for no other reason than that they have reached the age of forty-five years, and in many cases only thirty-five years. The practice must be stopped. It is cruel, it is unreasonable, uneconomic and brutal. Your committee is in hearty accord with the statement of the Executive Council that, "The American Federation of Labor is opposed to discriminating against workers in industry on a basis of age as well as in other unfair discriminations." It is unreasonable to insist upon a high standard of efficiency and competence and perfect health on the part of the older workers or indeed any one else, as a condition of employment under all circumstances. For all must live and unless they are to be a burden upon society, they must have an opportunity to earn a living. Therefore, places must be found for them in

the working life of the nation and its business and institutions.

In relation to the general subject of discrimination against workers because of age or condition of health, your committee desires to direct attention to certain extremely dangerous and unfair practices which are developing in various sections of the country. Our attention has been called to the practice of some insurance companies which are requiring employers to force workers to submit to physical examinations and are demanding their discharge under guise of refusing to issue industrial insurance in cases where health has been undermined as the probable result of some industrial processes. Upon the refusal of such insurance companies to accept the insurance risk, these workers are discharged. Afterwards they discover that they have difficulty in obtaining employment elsewhere. There are thus indications that a new form of blacklisting workers has made its appearance.

Your committee recommends that the Executive Council be instructed to make a thorough inquiry and study of this subject with a view of developing legislation calculated to remedy the evil, and your committee further recommends approval of the section of the report of the Executive Council herein discussed.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the committee's report.

Delegate Watt, Massachusetts State Federation of Labor: Mr. Chairman, I want to comment briefly on this part of the Executive Council's report because it seems to me it is gathering rather serious consequences for those of us who are engaged in what the insurance companies term hazardous occupations. The report of the Executive Council in a general way tells what the insurance companies are doing. I am going to name the insurance companies. I am going to be quite specific and tell you at least what has happened in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

On April 27, after the American Mutual Insurance Company, with headquarters at 142 Berkley Street, Boston, had carried a policy with the Glenwood Foundry Company in Taunton since 1926, after they had collected premiums based on the risks which would inevitably occur, demanded that that employer have his 140 employees physically examined and X-rayed by a doctor of their choice. The doctor's name was Poplac. The men proceeded to be physically examined and X-rayed and within one week 42 of those 140 men were fired and notified by their employer that the X-rays disclosed that they were suffering from silicosis. In other words, they had committed the crime of getting that deathdealing disease during the course of their employment, and without hesitation they were fired.

I have appealed to the Governor, I have appealed to Commissioner of Labor Perkins, but those 42 men and their wives and families are still in the position they were in on April 27. We have a strange system in the Commonwealth that I represent. We spend millions of dollars a year in seeing that the pigs of our State do not contract cholera. We spend thousands of dollars to free our poultry from lice, and we have spent a million dollars in the last three years catching mosquitos down on Cape Cod. We know them all by their first names now. And yet 65 out of every one hundred men in the granite and foundry industries are dying from silicosis and pneumonocosis, and we are not doing anything about it. There is the problem.

We have reached the point, whether we like it or not, where the insurance companies have set up a blacklist and they will tell you in the future whether you are going to work or not. I had a resolution in here last year and I know that the N. R. A. made it difficult to do anything about it, but you are using up pages every day in your daily press pointing out what a grave situation the racketeers have brought about, but I want to tell you now without any hesitation that Capone in all his glory

was just a ten-cent, cheap, chiseling piker in comparison to our insurance companies.

Those 42 men are perfectly all right, they are not ill, they did not know they were suffering from silicosis, but our insurance masters come along after collecting premiums based on that risk and discharge these men. It is just like giving any of you men sitting here a life policy at the age of eighteen, and when you reach 45 years, when you are subject to some disease they cancel your policy. A beautiful lot of shibboleths and generalities is not going to cure this evil—we need the mailed fist, we need the development of a consciousness that the insurance interests are a menace to the wage earners of America, not only in the casualty field but in the field of weekly premium policies.

I hope that the pronouncement contained in this report means more than just some beautiful words. I hope it means the starting of a campaign. It is so easy for us to sit back smugly in our seats, when all of us have our bellies full, and just pass this on as one more complaint from a fellow who doesn't know very much, but I tell you, men and women, with all the emphasis that I have, this is a sad story, because it means the lives of these men and women, it means the lives of all of them, and mark my words, I am coming back next year if I am alive and well and I am going to tell the painter, who is susceptible to lead poisoning, I am going to tell the granite cutter, who is susceptible to pneumonococcosis, I am going to tell all the crafts here whose men are susceptible to occupational diseases that they are either going to make this fight now, they are either going to help us or they are going down with us. Now is the time to make our fight, when the insurance companies say, we want you to forgive. As long as we have this passive attitude we are not going to get anywhere. I plead with those of you who are here to go back to your home states and cities and make a fight, a militant, aggressive fight against the insurance companies

who are writing the blacklist into our social set-up.

Delegate Olander: I listened very carefully to the statement of Delegate Watt, and I assume he is in favor of the report of the committee. I am in hearty accord with the appeal he makes to the convention of the American Federation of Labor for action, but I would like to direct attention to the fact that this a subject in which the responsibility rests primarily upon the officers and the conventions of state federations of labor. It must be dealt with mainly through state legislation, and I am sure that in appealing for action on the part of this convention the delegate did not lose sight of the fact that the question is one which must also be studied and acted upon by the various states.

Now, the duty of this convention, it seems to me, is not so much to give emphasis in language on the problem presented to you, but to aid in furnishing to the state federations of labor the means of carrying out the work that you want done, and those of us who have had the responsibility of bringing state bodies through the present era of depression do not have quite the wholehearted support from all officers of international and national unions in attempting to do this. There are organizations represented in this convention who have failed utterly in giving any support whatsoever to the state bodies who are charged with attending to such duties as you are here discussing.

I don't make that statement in a spirit of criticism only, but in the hope that they will bear in mind that in matters of this sort, and indeed on many other questions, the primary responsibility for applying the remedy lies with the state branches, and in many cases with the city central bodies, and if this convention and the delegates here representing their various national and international unions want to get better results, one of the essential things that they must do is to see to it, to what-

ever extent they can, that their respective memberships are at least informed through the national and international officers of their state and local duties.

I just want to take this opportunity of giving you this reminder.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

National Legislation—Government Economy

On the section of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 100, the committee reported as follows:

Under the general caption "National Legislation," the Executive Council reports that the "special session of the 73rd Congress was perhaps the most notable ever held in time of peace during our entire national life." The outstanding achievement was, of course, the National Industrial Recovery Act. It has been dealt with at length in the consideration of other divisions of the Council's report.

Under the subcaption "Government Economy," the Council presents a comprehensive statement of the efforts of the officers of the American Federation of Labor to prevent the reduction of wages and salaries of Government employes which, notwithstanding their efforts, has taken place. The report concludes with the statement that, "The American Federation of Labor is driving ahead for the purpose of restoring the pay of the Government employes. During our meeting at headquarters in September the members of the Executive Council in a body called upon the President to urge him to restore the salary reduction at the earliest date possible. We urged that the restoration of the full salaries of the Government employes would be in conformity with the purpose of the recovery program."

Your committee is in full accord with the report of the Council on this important subject and heartily commends the officers of the American Federation of Labor for the vigorous persistence

they have exhibited in the defense of the Government employes. We recommend that the report of the Council on this subject be approved and that the efforts for the restoration of the full salaries and wages of Government employes be continued.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Civilian Conservation Corps

On the section of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 102, the committee reported as follows:

Your committee recommends that the report of the Executive Council under the above sub-caption be approved.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Emergency Relief for Unemployment

On the section of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 102, the committee reported as follows:

Your committee recommends that the report of the Executive Council under the above subcaption be approved.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Immigration

On the section of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 103, the committee reported as follows:

Under the subtitle "Immigration," the Executive Council points out that there has never been a time when restricted immigration is more necessary than at present and that therefore we must strive in every way to prevent any modification of the immigration laws. Your committee is in hearty accord with the report of the Council on this subject.

In connection with the exclusion laws, it is well to remember that in some respects, as at present constituted, they are geared with the naturalization laws in a manner which makes it possible to

modify exclusion by changing the provisions of the laws relating to naturalization. The Executive Council of course can be relied upon to be alert to deal with this subject.

Your committee recommends approval of the report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Vice President Woll: The committee now reports on three resolutions, separately, however, dealing with this subject matter, as follows:

Oriental Labor Immigration Restriction

Resolution No. 43—By Delegate Paul Scharrenberg of California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has, throughout its existence, maintained a consistent policy for the rigid exclusion of Oriental labor and has cooperated with other national organizations to make such exclusion effective; and

WHEREAS, Notwithstanding the frequently expressed demand of the American Federation of Labor for the exclusion of all Oriental labor, including Filipinos, it is a regrettable fact that the latter are still admitted to the United States and its territories without any restriction whatever; and

WHEREAS, The only Filipino exclusion measure that has to date been adopted by the Congress of the United States is contained in the Filipino independence bill which, however, requires approval of the Filipino people before it becomes effective; be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, in 53d Annual Convention assembled, that we demand immediate effective immigration restriction of Filipino laborers without having to wait for the approval of an independence bill by the Filipino people; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That we reaffirm our policy of upholding immigration quotas and urge Congress to resist any attempt to liberalize same.

Your committee recommends that Resolution No. 43 be adopted.

Delegate Scharrenberg, California State Federation of Labor: I am not coming here because I desire to grace the platform, but to present to you some important facts concerning Oriental

immigration. I wonder how many of you realize that we have more Filipinos in the United States than we have Chinese. The Japanese population of our country in 1930 was 278,000; one-half of those, 50 per cent, of those you regard as Japanese are fellow citizens, native born, with all the rights and privileges which you enjoy. There are 102,000 Chinese, and of that number only 40 per cent are native born. The Chinese have been excluded from our country since 1882, and yet today only 40 per cent of our Chinese population are native born. The Japanese have only been excluded since 1908, and already 50 per cent of the Japanese population are native born.

There are no restrictions whatever with regard to the admission of Filipinos, they may come and go at their sweet pleasure, in any number. At the present time we have in the United States and in Hawaii, a part of our territory, 108,260 Filipinos and, as I stated, they are still coming. Now the Filipinos are raising the question that no longer presents itself with the Japanese and Chinese.

In California we have 30,473 Filipinos, according to the census. We believe we have at least 40,000, because it is impossible for the census enumerators to catch the Filipino, who is always moving about. Out of these Filipinos there are only 1,845 women. The others are males. I do not need to tell the danger and the menace of such a situation. The Filipino enjoys an extraordinary status. He is not eligible to citizenship in the United States because he belongs to the yellow race. In all other respects he is treated as a citizen. During the last year of the previous administration a vigorous protest was presented to the War Department because of the employment of Filipinos on the Army transports. We found that 364 Filipinos were employed on the transports, and that at a time when many of our own citizens were unemployed. A certain number of Filipinos may become citizens if they have rendered service during the war. The generals in the War Department did not know how many of these Filipinos came

under that category. We have made some progress with the present administration in changing that policy.

I need not continue except to remind you of the fact that the Filipinos have struggled for freedom for centuries. They carried on a battle that is worthy of admiration against the old Spanish government, and they have struggled for freedom since we gave them freedom. Now they are struggling about our independence bill. In Manila, according to the newspapers, they are going to reject the freedom we offered them. They want their freedom and they also want the right to come into our country in unlimited numbers, and they also desire to retain the special tariff privileges which they now enjoy. They want freedom and they want special privileges and for that reason I have presented the resolution on behalf of California, where a majority of Orientals reside.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Violation of Exclusion Laws by Shipping Immigrants as Seamen

Resolution No. 54—By Delegates Andrew Furuseth and Victor Olander.

WHEREAS, Neither the Exclusion Act nor the Contract Labor Law have any application to seamen; and

WHEREAS, This exclusion has left an open side door through which thousands of excluded persons obtain an easy entrance to the United States; and

WHEREAS, Those who either racially or for other reasons are unable to obtain a visa to land in the United States are using this exemption of the seamen to violate the Exclusion Act and Contract Labor Law thus largely destroying the purpose for which those two laws were enacted; and

WHEREAS, The King bill, S. 868, and Dies bill, H. R. 3642, (identical) "To provide for the deportation of certain alien seamen, and for other purposes," provides a remedy for this evil; be it

RESOLVED, That the 53d Convention of the American Federation of Labor re-indorses and strongly urges the passage of this bill by Congress; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council exert all proper pressure upon

Congress in order that the Exclusion Act and Contract Labor Law may thus be properly obeyed.

Your committee recommends approval of Resolution No. 54.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Restriction of Canadian Immigration at Detroit

Resolution No. 89—By Delegate Frank X. Martel, International Typographical Union.

WHEREAS, The depression, with its attendant unemployment, has possibly taken a greater toll, and been more far reaching in its devastating effect on the people in the City of Detroit than any other community in the country; and

WHEREAS, Detroit struggling with its problem has exhausted its local means of relieving, feeding and housing the unemployed; and

WHEREAS, During this period there has been a lack of proper enforcement of the Immigration laws at the City of Detroit which has resulted in a continued condition whereunder thousands of workers domiciled outside of the City of Detroit in a foreign nation have been permitted to commute daily for purposes of employment to the detriment of legally domiciled labor, both as to wages and preference in employment, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor in previous conventions has recognized the principle that if a country was good enough to earn a living in, it was good enough to live in, and has urged upon the Federal Government that it extend to the people of the City of Detroit, the full protection of the Immigration laws of this country; be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in Convention assembled call upon the United States Department of Labor, Immigration Service, for a more vigorous enforcement of the Immigration laws at the port of Detroit to the end that workers of the community be placed on an equal basis with workers in other industrial centers who are not so unfortunate as to be located on the International Border, and that we call on all patriotic American employers to refrain from the practice of giving preference in employment to labor not domiciled in the country.

Your committee recommends that the preamble of Resolution No. 89, each paragraph of which refers specifically to

only one city or port, be referred to the Executive Council in order that the Council may have before it the information therein contained; and your committee further recommends that the resolve paragraph be amended by striking out the words "the port of Detroit" and inserting in lieu thereof the words "all ports" and that the resolution, as thus amended, be adopted.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Home Mortgage Relief

On the section of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 104, the committee reported as follows:

Your committee recommends approval of the report of the Executive Council contained under the above subtitle.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Muscle Shoals

On the section of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 104, the committee reported as follows:

Your committee recommends approval of the report of the Executive Council under the above subtitle.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Bank Deposits Guaranteed

On the section of the report of the Executive Council, under the above caption, page 106, the committee reported as follows:

In dealing with the section of the Executive Council's report under the caption "Bank Deposits Guaranteed," your committee was prompted to include consideration of Resolutions Nos. 26 and 38, which read as follows:

Credit Unions

Resolution No. 26—By Delegate Robert J. Watt of the Massachusetts State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The economic life of the United States cannot be stabilized until mass consumption is coordinated with mass production; and

WHEREAS, Such coordination requires an increase of consuming buying power on the part of the laboring masses of this country, employed as well as unemployed; and

WHEREAS, The great defect of our present Federal Reserve Banking System is the lack of power for the granting of consumer credit parallel with the granting of production and distribution credit; and

WHEREAS, Credit unions hold forth the possibility of, when and if granted with the Federal Reserve Banking System, of materially assisting in the achievement of balance between production and consumption of goods; be it

RESOLVED, By this convention, that the incoming Executive Council be and is hereby empowered, to consult with experts in consumer finance for the purpose of securing enactment of remedial legislation in this regard; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor immediately request the President of the United States to set up with the assistance of the present financial machinery of the United States interim facilities of consumer credit.

Nationalization of Banks

Resolution No. 38—By Delegates Selma M. Borchardt and Florence Curtis Hanson, of the American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, The power of banks has been increased and abused to an extent that makes their control by irresponsible individuals a public menace; and

WHEREAS, Bankers have so far departed from their traditional occupation of safeguarding and loaning money as to include:

(1) A control of the business and industry of the country through their power to withhold credit,

(2) The manipulation of the sale of stocks and bonds, many of them worthless,

(3) The flotation of highly speculative real estate securities,

(4) A conspiracy to control governments through their power to withhold credit, and

(5) Bribery of public officials by the issuance to them of stock in corporations under their control at less than the actual value; and

WHEREAS, The departure from sound banking practices due to the improper interests of the bankers in various business ventures has caused the failure of many banks and the resultant loss to millions of depositors; and

WHEREAS, The collapse of the banking system and the failure of many banker-controlled business enterprises have brought about a great loss of confidence in banks, as well as suffering to the general public; and

WHEREAS, The bankers have used their power to curtail constructive activity of government and especially of appropriations for public education and for salaries—often too low; be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor urge the national government to establish a system of national banks under federal ownership and control, and that as immediate steps, remove the limit placed upon the amount that may be deposited by any one depositor in the Postal Savings Bank, arrange for checking accounts in this bank and permit the use of money deposited in the Postal Savings Bank to be used for financing government costs.

In its report, the Executive Council calls attention to the enactment of a law by the last Congress creating a Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, designed to insure depositors of all banks entitled to the benefits of the law.

Resolution No. 26 would authorize the Executive Council to make a further study of "consumer finance," which your committee interprets to mean Credit Unions. It would further authorize the Executive Council to take such action as its investigation and best judgment thereafter would warrant. Your committee is in sympathy with the purport of this resolution as thus understood.

Resolution No. 38 calls for the creation by the Federal Government of national banks under Federal ownership and control, and would liberalize and extend the functions of the Postal Savings Bank. We are in accord with the thought of further liberalizing the Postal Savings Bank, but are likewise of the opinion and judgment that in the proposal to create national banks grave constitutional and fiscal questions are involved, which should first receive our most careful and thoughtful study be-

fore venturing into definite commitments.

In dealing with these subjects, your committee cannot refrain from making reference to its report of a year ago on this subject and which made clear that, in our judgment, banks must be made safe for the safe-keeping of funds, banking control over industry and business not essential to protect loans must cease, popular sale of foreign securities must be subject to strict regulation and supervision, and other banking abuses and influences were condemned.

In view of the complexities involved and the extreme care that must be exercised in a matter so highly technical and all embracing in its consequences, your committee deems it best that Resolutions Nos. 26 and 38 be referred to the Executive Council as herein reported on and that the Executive Council's report on this subject be approved.

Supplementing this report of the Executive Council, your committee has likewise considered reference of President Green's opening address to the convention wherein he referred to the development of opinion and demand on the part of some groups in favor of unrestrained and unregulated inflation of currency. He made clear that he did not look with disfavor on credit expansion and the development of a wise financial policy that would tend to increase the volume of money in circulation so that business activities could and would be encouraged to carry on in proper and progressive business-like order.

Your committee expresses the conviction that the warning noted is timely and the suggestion offered most fitting to the occasion. Currency inflation can least of all benefit the wage earners, but will reflect upon them the greatest possible harm. Whether minimum wages are fixed by codification through the National Recovery Act, or by voluntary collective agreements between organized workers and associated employers, the fact remains they are fixed and subject to change only after the most persistent and aggressive pres-

sure on the part of wage earners. If our currency is to be allowed to fluctuate at random, and the level of money values is permitted freely to lessen, it must be apparent that with wages remaining at their fixed denominational value, there will then be experienced a corresponding lowering of the wage levels and earnings. To the extent this takes place, all of our years of struggle, energy, and sacrifice will have been for naught. Such a condition must not be allowed to take place. Wage standards attained, money values involved, stabilization of an exchange medium must be safeguarded and protected at all hazards, regardless of the developments and requirements. We are fully aware that foreign governments have resorted to currency inflation to lessen, if not repudiate, their financial obligations, but in so doing the greatest burden has been shifted onto the shoulders of wage earners, their families and dependents. Indeed, we must, under no circumstances, permit our government to saddle this additional and unbearable burden upon our wage earners and salaried employes under any fiscal policy or any arrangement or procedure that will lessen the exchange value of the monetary standard used to fix wages.

For these and other reasons, your committee not only recommends con-

currence in the attitude expressed by President Green on this subject, but in addition recommends that the Executive Council be directed to resort to every possible and practicable means at its command to prevent currency inflation as herein defined and reported on.

Delegate Allfas: I rise for the purpose of submitting an amendment to the committee's report. I move in the consideration of this subject that the Executive Council be directed to give consideration to two bills introduced by Senator Shipstead, of Minnesota, on May 1, 1933, bearing on this subject. One is S-1640, which authorizes the Federal Reserve Banks to receive deposits from credit unions, and the other is S-1641, which authorizes the Postal Savings System to receive deposits from credit unions.

Vice President Woll: The committee has no objection to incorporating the amendment in its report.

Delegate Allfas: My reason for not calling this matter to the attention of the committee was that it was not called to my attention until this morning.

The report of the committee, as amended, was adopted by unanimous vote.

At 12:30 o'clock p. m. the convention was adjourned to 2:30 p. m.

Ninth Day—Thursday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order at 2:00 o'clock by President Green.

President Green: I deem it appropriate to announce that President Bowen, of the Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers International Union, who has been seriously ill in this city for quite a long while, is now on his way to recovery. He is recuperating safely from a prolonged and serious illness at the Washington Sanitarium. He was stricken with toxic poisoning on the day following the National Recovery parade. For a while his life was despaired of. He is now recovering, and I know it will make you very happy to

receive that information. You all know Brother Bowen and you know of his long service to the labor movement.

Amalgamated Clothing Workers

President Green: The Chair desires to submit a supplementary report of the Executive Council at this moment. A short time ago an understanding regarding a jurisdictional controversy was reached between the representatives of the United Garment Workers of America and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, and since that time a number of conferences have been held with representatives of both or-

ganizations and the Executive Council has given the matter consideration on several occasions. Finally an agreement was worked out and an understanding reached governing all questions in dispute. The Amalgamated Clothing Workers made application for charter affiliation with the American Federation of Labor. Perhaps I can first present the matter to the convention by having read a letter received from President Hillman of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, as a result of the Executive Council deciding to grant the request of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers.

Secretary Morrison: This is the letter:

Amalgamated Clothing Workers of
America
The Willard Hotel,
Washington, D. C.
October 5, 1933.

Mr. William Green, President,
American Federation of Labor,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Brother Green:

Replying further to the request of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor for a declaration of the definition of jurisdiction requested by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers from the American Federation of Labor, I am pleased to make the following statement:

First: I request the exercise of jurisdiction over workers employed in the men's clothing industry, etc., as agreed upon and defined in an agreement entered into between the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and the United Garment Workers of America on August 18, 1933, and as supplemented by an agreement entered into on October 5, 1933.

Second: The Amalgamated Clothing Workers will neither accept nor retain in its membership teamsters, machinists, engineers, firemen, electrical workers, or any other workers

who come under the jurisdiction of other national and international unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. Any and all workers herein referred to who may now be members of locals affiliated with the Amalgamated Clothing Workers will be immediately transferred to the different organizations granted jurisdiction over them by the American Federation of Labor.

I wish to assure the Executive Council that the Amalgamated Clothing Workers make application for membership in the American Federation of Labor, imbued by the spirit of cooperation with all the other national and international unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

Sincerely yours,
SIDNEY HILLMAN,
General President,
Amalgamated Clothing
Workers of America.

**Application for Charter, Amalgamated
Clothing Workers of America**

This organization was formed in 1914 by a group of delegates withdrawing from the convention of the United Garment Workers of America, an affiliated organization of the American Federation of Labor, at the Nashville Convention of that organization, because the local unions represented by the withdrawing delegates were not paid up in per capita tax as required by the laws of the United Garment Workers of America, in some cases in arrears for as much as a year or longer, and for that reason were refused representation and seats in the Convention.

Recently, in an effort to work together under the NRA program of the Government, both organizations reached an agreement which provides:

That both organizations are to retain the firms and membership they now have, and which makes certain other provisions as to the field of jurisdiction in the clothing industry of each of these two organizations.

It is definitely understood that the charter of affiliation is granted upon the written assurance that the Amalgamated Clothing Workers will neither accept nor retain into membership teamsters, machinists, engineers, firemen, electrical workers or any other workers who come under the jurisdiction of other International and National Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. Any and all workers herein referred to who may now be members of locals affiliated with the Amalgamated Clothing Workers will be immediately transferred to the different organizations granted jurisdiction over them by the American Federation of Labor. Copies of agreements signed are on file as a part of the records of the Executive Council and of the permanent records of the American Federation of Labor.

Both organizations have agreed with the Executive Council that it is the ultimate purpose of the officers of both organizations to organize the men and boys' clothing and furnishing industry, including men and boys' suits, shirts, work garments of all kinds, uniforms, etc., completely and to definitely establish the line of jurisdiction between the two organizations so that conflict and controversy may be avoided. They agree further with the Executive Council to set up a tribunal by mutual agreement within the American Federation of Labor at the earliest possible date, to which jurisdiction disputes which cannot be settled directly may be referred for final decision.

The Council decides that in issuing the charter to the Amalgamated Clothing Workers it defines and limits the jurisdiction of this organization to the jurisdiction conceded to the Amalgamated Clothing Workers by the United Garment Workers of America in an agreement entered into between both organizations on August 18, 1933, and in an addenda agreement entered into on October 5, 1933.

The Executive Council submits this report with a feeling of deep satisfaction. The fact that the representatives

of two organizations functioning in the same industrial field have brought about the termination of conflict and jurisdictional controversy which existed for a number of years, is deeply significant and indicative of the new spirit which seems to, and which ought to influence both the representatives and membership of organized labor.

The Council commends President Rickert and his associates of the United Garment Workers of America and President Hillman and his associates representing the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America upon the consummation of an agreement which makes it possible for the American Federation of Labor to issue a charter of affiliation to the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. Only an unselfish desire to promote the highest and best interests of the workers associated with the men and boys' clothing industry could inspire the officers of the two organizations affected to subordinate personal considerations in order to reach an agreement defining their respective jurisdictions.

The Executive Council interprets this highly important step which has been taken by the representatives of the United Garment Workers of America and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America as constructive in character and as having been made in the interests of the working people directly involved and of the officers and members of the American Federation of Labor.

We welcome the thousands of new members who as a result of this agreement will take their place in affiliation with the membership of the American Federation of Labor.

The Executive Council feels that the delegates in attendance at the Fifty-third Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor and the millions of workers represented will share with the members of the Executive Council the deep satisfaction which they feel over the agreement which was reached between the representatives of the two organizations involved.

President Green: As I say, based upon the agreements referred to between the two organizations involved, the Executive Council decided to grant a charter of affiliation to the Amalgamated Clothing Workers' International Union.

A motion was made and seconded to concur in the action of the Executive Council.

Delegate Soderberg, Journeymen Tailors: I rise at this moment to say, first, that as far as the Journeymen Tailors' Union is concerned, we have no objection to the Amalgamated Clothing Workers coming into the American Federation of Labor. I wish to state that the Journeymen Tailors of America were organized as a national organization in 1887, and at that time there was neither the Garment Workers nor the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. They are the offspring of the Journeymen Tailors of America. If our members in times back had taken the advice of our departed brother John B. Lennon, who was first secretary of the Journeymen Tailors' Union of America, there would have been no more than one organization in the men's clothing industry today. But our members had the question up three times at that time and voted on it, and they voted down the proposition.

Before the admission of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers we want to state our line of demarcation, under which we have been working by charter from the American Federation of Labor. Our jurisdiction covers all men's clothing made to order. That also includes the tailors that work in all clothing stores doing alteration work. We make this statement so that there will be no misunderstanding in the future, and so that you may understand that when alterations are made—commonly known as busheling, that also belongs to the tailors.

In regard to the bushelmen in the clothing stores, that might be something you do not understand, but that means they have to be tailors, that is, those men doing the alterations.

Of course in the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and in the Garment Workers they cover the ready-made trade, and almost everything is made by machines. You will understand a bushelman in the operation of the department has to be a practical tailor, and sometimes he will have to rip up the whole garment and make it over again. The men who work in the ready-made line only make one part of the garment and may not be able to do this work, and the journeymen tailors have done this work and are doing it now. That is why we make this statement so there will be no misunderstanding in regard to these things in the future.

Now we have what we call the special order. It is a peculiar game, because these wholesale houses have agents out all over the United States. They send a picture for them to mark up and take the measure, usually only taking the breast measure and the length, and then they send that in to these stores and that is what they call special orders. Now that comes in the category of what we call the cut, make and trim shops, and there is deception in this, because when people give these orders they believe they are going to get a suit made to order. In fact, they are made up exactly the same as they do in the ready-made shops.

In that respect I am glad to see that the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and the Garment Workers, in the hearing they had on the 26th of July, tried to outlaw these contractors from the business, but there was no mention made of the special-order business, and they are practically the same thing. Of course the people who buy these suits naturally believe they are getting a custom-made suit, but they do not, and I know that you have a better chance to get better clothes by going into a store and buying ready-made suits than through this deception which has been going on for several years.

The Journeymen Tailors' Union realizes that our trade is more or less of a luxury, because the cost of production in having a hand-made garment naturally runs very high and not

everybody can afford to pay the price to have a suit made to order. But I do know this, that if you once get used to having clothes made to order you will never go back to the ready-made line in case you have the price to pay.

Now, Mr. Chairman, I hope that some day, even though we did not take John B. Lennon's advice, there will be only one organization in the whole clothing industry, or at least some kind of co-operation, so that a whole lot of misunderstanding and expense might be saved, especially in the line of organizing. It has been the case that the three different organizations have sent out their organizers in the field wherever they had a chance to organize. Of course that creates dissatisfaction.

Insofar as the Journeymen Tailors are concerned, we are a small organization at the present time, but we will have an organization as long as there are any journeymen tailors left.

I make this statement so there won't be any jurisdictional dispute. We haven't had any so far and I hope we will not have any.

President Green: May I say that the jurisdiction of the Journeymen Tailors' Union, in my opinion, is not involved, because the agreement, as well as the letters state that the officers of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers will neither retain nor accept to membership those who come under the jurisdiction of any other international union.

The supplemental report of the Executive Council was unanimously adopted.

Delegate Hynes, Sheet Metal Workers: I desire to make a motion on the settlement of the controversy between the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and the United Garment Workers. My motion is, Mr. President, that it be the sense of the delegates attending this convention that a vote of appreciation be extended to the officers of the United Garment Workers, the officers of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, the officers of the American Federation of Labor and the Executive Council for

the good work done in bringing those two organizations together, to the extent that the Amalgamated Clothing Workers have joined the American Federation of Labor after a twenty-year fight.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

ELECTION OF OFFICERS

At 3:00 o'clock P. M. President Green stated that the hour for the special order of business had arrived.

Delegate Gorman, Meat Cutters: Before we proceed with the election of officers I would like to make an announcement. Since the first day of the convention the friends of Dennis Lane have been making a quiet campaign to elect him as fraternal delegate to the British Trades Union Congress. We have learned that there is considerable business before the convention and it is not our desire to lengthen the convention in any way. I take this opportunity, before withdrawing the name of Brother Lane, to thank those delegations who were supporting him and also to make the announcement that at the coming convention next year we will present his name again. We want to withdraw the name of Mr. Dennis Lane as a candidate for fraternal delegate to the British Trades Union Congress.

President Green: The Chair asks President William L. Hutcheson, of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, to come forward and preside,

Delegate William L. Hutcheson in the Chair.

Chairman Hutcheson: Nominations are now in order for President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing year.

Delegate Lewis, United Mine Workers: The name of my candidate is Green. I don't want to get mixed up on that question, like the young political orator who had been told to go out on the platform and entertain the audience, extolling the virtues of his candidate while the committee sat in

the ante room and decided who he would be. During the course of the young man's oration a representative of the committee came in and handed him an envelope with a name written on it. He placed it in his pocket, not wanting to reveal to the audience that this paper contained the name of his candidate. So after a while, when he came to the climax of his speech he said, "The name of this great citizen whom I place in nomination for this office is Hart, Schaffner and Marx."

So in placing the name of my candidate before the convention today I want to do it in the first sentence, so that there can be no misunderstanding.

I am quite happy every year that I have the opportunity to attend the convention on election day to place in nomination the name of a man for President of the American Federation of Labor, because it does seem to be about the only proposition that I can place before the convention where I am absolutely sure of getting any support. Being human, like most other delegates here, I want to assert that I certainly appreciate the opportunity of being on the popular side of the question once in a while.

But, seriously, it is a great pleasure and a matter of pride to be able to present to this convention for reelection to the office which he now holds the name of William Green. Born in Ohio, growing to manhood's estate in a mining community, honored by his fellow craftsmen to become an officer of their organization and honored by the citizens of his own state to represent them in a legislative capacity, honored by all of the workers of our own great country for years past as President of the American Federation of Labor, William Green needs no introduction and no defense, neither in the councils of labor nor before the people of our country. A proud record, and one in which any good citizen of our republic can testify as a character witness for William Green.

Like a lot of other people, I have never been President of the American Federation of Labor, but from the dis-

tance from which I view the obligations and the duties of that office I am convinced that he who holds that office carries a heavy load and bears grave responsibilities, not alone responsibilities to those whom he primarily serves as their spokesman and their leader, but responsibilities to the Republic and to all of the citizens of the Republic. No one can say what the discharge of those obligations and responsibilities costs the holder of that proud office. He must draw freely upon his reservoir of strength and he must give freely of his intellectual strength and of his nervous force in order to withstand the criticism which accrues to one who labors in that field, and in order to carry on unceasingly the fight for the attainment of those ideals to which the great labor movement is committed, and which the rank and file of organized labor throughout the length and breadth of America stand unflinchingly behind him to carry on. No man can measure the price which the President of the American Federation of Labor in normal times, let alone the present troubled days, must pay in order to serve those who would be benefited through the carrying out of the policies of the organized labor movement.

And our great Republic today, like the major nations of the civilized world, is enduring a crisis greater than many of us know. There have been and there are now ahead of us troubles and perils, the outcome of which it is impossible for anyone to forecast. It is eminently fitting that the American Federation of Labor in this convention, if you please, should undertake to again select for its great leader a man who in recent times and who in recent years has demonstrated his fitness so to lead and has demonstrated his untrifling energy, his initiative and his capacity in every way to carry on in the forefront of the ranks of labor, marching toward that goal from which we hope that labor and the people of our Republic will be the beneficiaries.

It has been given to me to know, along with many others within the sound of my voice, that there is no man in America today, save perhaps the President

himself, who has given more to this great task of saving our American Republic than has been the case of our own William Green. Through long days and nights he has labored with his associates in the ranks of organized labor, in the councils of the nation upon which he has sat and held membership, endeavoring at all times to promulgate policies, to point and chart the way in the interests not alone of those who give adherence to the standards of organized labor, but in the interests of all of the people of our great nation. Suffice to say that in this convention at this time, faced with the problems which we know are before us, it is fitting indeed that organized labor again by its vote in this convention demonstrate to the world at large that labor has faith in its leaders and labor has again elected to the proud office of President of the American Federation of Labor that great champion of human rights, that great proponent of the ideals of labor, and that great defender of human liberty—William Green.

I offer William Green in nomination for the office of President of the American Federation of Labor.

Chairman Hutcheson: You have heard the nomination of William Green. Are there any further nominations? Hearing none, nominations are closed.

Delegate Connors, Switchmen: I move that the secretary of this convention be instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the delegates for William Green as president.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous rising vote.

Chairman Hutcheson: Mr. Secretary, you will carry out your instructions.

The secretary complied with the instructions, and William Green was declared elected to serve during the ensuing term.

Chairman Hutcheson: President Green, it gives me great pleasure, on behalf of the delegates here assembled to inform you that by unanimous vote of

the delegates you have been elected to succeed yourself as president of the American Federation of Labor. I express the hope that during the tenure of your office you will enjoy good health and that you will continue to receive the undivided support of the labor movement in carrying out your duties.

President Green: President Hutcheson, officers and delegates in attendance at this convention, I very deeply appreciate this high honor which you have once again conferred upon me. I know that you fully understand that in conferring upon me this honor you have charged me with great responsibilities. I accept the election and I accept all the responsibilities that go with it. It is indeed a great honor to be selected in these trying and troublous times to lead the hosts of labor.

For more than nine years, since our beloved leader Samuel Gompers passed away, you have, year after year, called upon me to lead our great organized labor movement in the United States and Canada. I have endeavored to serve conscientiously and honestly. Your demonstration today, this unanimous election, heartens me, and I accept it as compensation in full for the services which I have tried to render.

We are in the midst of one of the most important periods, in my judgment, in the history of our nation. There is so much at stake, so much hanging in the balance. For that reason I observe on the faces of all attending this convention an expression of seriousness. You understand full well that there is more at stake even than the preservation of our great organization. Under the administration of the National Recovery Act we have been moving forward in the great field of economic experimentation, and as we view the situation now with hope and confidence we are apprehensive, even now, as to the outcome of it all. We cannot see, we cannot tell. We take our steps forward in the light as it was given us to see it, step by step, but I am one of those who believes we cannot fail, we must not fail and we will not fail. So

labor must meet the issues in the days to come in a courageous, constructive spirit. We must stand with those who are administering the Industrial Recovery Act; we must work with them, we must support them, we must point out errors which may be made and wrongs committed, with a voice that will be heard in the councils of the nation. If we fail the Government will fail, and we must not permit that to occur.

So it is with that sense of deep responsibility that I accept the honor which you have conferred upon me. I pledge again the best I have. The days that have gone recently have exacted the maximum of energy, of service and of strength, but my motto is to serve, serve with all the power I possess, and that service will be unflinchingly rendered, and with the light I have and the power I possess I am going to lead this army of organized labor forward until all of us enjoy the privileges to which we are entitled.

I thank you, my friends, for the honor you have conferred upon me. I appreciate the friendships I have made; I appreciate the loyal devotion and service which the officers and members of the organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor have given me, and, inspired and heartened by that service and by the consciousness of the fact that it will be given unreservedly during the coming year, I am going forward, as I said, giving the best I have in your service and for the workers of the country. I thank you. (The entire audience arose and applauded.)

President Green: Now the Chair calls for the nomination of a First Vice President of the American Federation of Labor.

Delegate Hutcheson, President, United Carpenters and Joiners: It gives me great pleasure to once again present to this convention as a candidate for First Vice President one who needs no introduction to the labor movement, one who for over thirty years has served

the United Brotherhood Carpenters and Joiners as Secretary-Treasurer, one who for twenty years has served the American Federation of Labor as Vice President, during which time no one can honestly point the finger of criticism toward him so far as his trade unionism is concerned, and I take great pleasure in presenting to you the name of Brother Frank Duffy for First Vice President.

Delegate Flynn, Carpenters: It gives me great pleasure at this time, having known of the activities of Frank Duffy for the past thirty years, to second his nomination for First Vice President of the American Federation of Labor.

No other candidates were nominated, and upon motion of Vice President Woll, the Secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for Frank Duffy. The Secretary complied with the instructions, and Frank Duffy was declared re-elected First Vice President for the coming term.

President Green: The Chair now calls for nominations for Second Vice President.

Delegate Manning, Secretary, Union Label Trades Department: Mr. President and delegates, fifteen years ago I was privileged to place in nomination before the St. Paul Convention of the American Federation of Labor the man who at that time, while young in years, was old in experience. I pledged to the delegates at that convention that if my choice was accepted they would never have cause to regret it. This man has never sought the limelight. He has given unselfish devotion to the cause of labor. At that time we faced a tremendous crisis in the last days of the war. Today we are facing an even greater crisis after four years of depression. I have it from his associates that during that long period his services have been invaluable to the labor movement as well as to his associates on the Executive Council. It is with

this in mind that I have the pleasure to offer to you for your favorable consideration the name of T. A. Rickert, General President of the United Garment Workers of America, for Second Vice President.

No other candidate was nominated, and upon motion of Delegate Weaver, Musicians, the Secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for T. A. Rickert for Second Vice President. The instructions were complied with, and T. A. Rickert was declared unanimously elected as Second Vice President for the ensuing term.

President Green: The Chair now will hear nominations for Third Vice President.

Delegate Olander, Secretary-Treasurer, Illinois State Federation of Labor: Years ago, when the weight of time rested far less heavily upon my shoulders than it does at present, I became acquainted with a rising young trade unionist in my own home town. In the years—and they are many—that have intervened since then we have been associated together upon a great number of occasions. During the war we served together on the War Labor Board. At this time we are both trustees of the Century of Progress Exposition in Chicago. That sort of association has gone on for all these years. It is for that reason I have been requested by the officers of his own organization to present his name. During all these years I have witnessed the untiring and splendid service he has rendered to the labor movement of America. As I know him, you all know him. I deem it an honor to place in nomination for Third Vice President of the American Federation of Labor, Matthew Woll, of the Photo-Engravers.

Delegate Volz, Photo-Engravers: I desire to support and second the nomination of Matthew Woll as Vice President of the American Federation of Labor.

No other candidate was nominated, and upon motion of Delegate Koveleski, of the Hotel and Restaurant Employes, the Secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for Matthew Woll for Third Vice President. The instructions were complied with, and Vice President Woll was declared unanimously elected.

President Green: Nominations will now be received for the office of Fourth Vice President.

Delegate Maloney, Glass Bottle Blowers: It has been my very great privilege to have been permitted for the past several years to place in nomination the distinguished member of the Executive Council that now holds his present position. When he was first elected to this position much was expected of him, and our hopes have been fully realized. When the President of the United States looked around for a labor representative to the London Monetary Conference my candidate was selected to represent this Republic, and I can assure you fellow delegates that he filled that position with distinguished honor.

Now, the very brilliant fraternal delegate from the British Trades Union Congress said only the other day, in discussing the National Industrial Recovery Act and the attitude of the labor movement towards it, the cooperation we have given to our country, that the eyes of the masses of Europe were upon us, and I desire to say to this brilliant and distinguished guest that today, sir, we are placing the torch, not only of political liberty but of economic liberty, in the hands of leaders that have been with us for many years, and I can assure you that they will carry that torch until the banner of success rests, not only upon the people of this United States Republic, but upon the masses of the people of the entire world.

Never in the history of civilization, to my mind, have we been confronted with such complex and perplexing problems, and never has the need for officers of good character, honest, true and with ability, been greater than at

the present time. We are at the cross roads, gentlemen, and above all, there must be iron in the blood of our leaders.

And now, Mr. Chairman and friends, the candidate whose name I am about to mention, to my mind—and he is known to all of you—is blessed with all of these virtues, and it is a great pleasure and an honor indeed to be permitted to place before you for the office of Fourth Vice President of this great American Federation of Labor the name of the distinguished President of the Pattern Makers' League of North America, Mr. James Wilson.

Delegate Fry, Machinists: I don't understand where Maloney got all of his information. However, I take a great deal of pleasure in seconding the nomination of James Wilson.

No other candidate was nominated, and upon motion of Delegate Canavan, Musicians, the Secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for James Wilson. The instructions were 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, Secretary-Treasurer, United Association of Plumbers and Steamfitters: It gives me the very greatest pleasure, and it is an honor, to place in nomination for Fifth Vice President of the American Federation of Labor the present incumbent in office, John Coefield, General President of the United Association of Journeymen Plumbers and Steamfitters of the United States and Canada.

Delegate McDonough, President of the Building Trades Department: I desire to second the nomination of that sterling son of California, John Coefield.

No other candidate was nominated, and upon motion of Delegate Howard, Typographical Union, the Secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for John Coefield for Fifth Vice President. The Secretary complied with the instructions and

John Coefield was declared duly elected for the ensuing term.

President Green: Nominations are now in order for Sixth Vice President.

Delegate Posschl, President Steam and Operating Engineers: May I again enjoy the privilege of presenting to the delegates of this convention the name of a candidate for Sixth Vice President of the American Federation of Labor and a member of the Executive Council, a man who has been a very capable worker industrially, serving the interests of the trade union movement and a member thereof for a great number of years. I present for your consideration the present incumbent of the office for Sixth Vice President, Brother Arthur O. Wharton, President of the International Association of Machinists.

No other candidate was nominated, and upon motion of Delegate Henning, Machinists, the Secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for Arthur O. Wharton. The instructions were 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: Times like these demand strong men. Strength that is born of natural sympathy with human need. Strength that is less concerned with temporary expediency than that which is just and true and right. Strength that is quick to discern that zeal, untempered with patience, can serve no worthwhile purpose in any righteous cause.

The American Federation of Musicians, in whose behalf I venture to speak, an organization as militant and far-seeing when the somber clouds of depression hang low, as it is joyous and exultant when the sunlight of prosperity radiates the valleys and illumines the hills, presents a candidate for the office of Seventh Vice President of the American Federation of Labor, as it has done in several preceding years, who exemplifies in his own indi-

viduality the elements of strength we have sought to enumerate.

For a third of a century his name, his unsullied character, and his outstanding personality have been as a pillar of cloud by day and of fire by night, ever leading us a little nearer in the direction of that promised land which is the Utopia of all human aspirations, hopes and dreams.

And so again, in this beautiful city whose very atmosphere is vibrant with inspiring historic tradition; this city which Washington planned and whose soil was sanctified with Lincoln's sacrificial blood; a city which is the cynosure of the eyes of eager, anxious multitudes; a city whose name is daily made articulate on uncounted lips—not only in our own land, but beyond far-flung horizons as well—we offer a candidate who has faith in humanity, faith in his cause, and faith in "the Divinity which shapes our ends, rough hew them how we will," and who, standing upon the ramparts of the battle-line, and hearing the tremulous query, surging upward like plain music from a mighty human sea, "Watchman, what of the night?" will be able to answer with the boldness and assurance of the prophets of old—"Be patient; behold the morning cometh!" and who can be depended upon to do more than his full part in ushering in the glad new day—Joseph N. Weber, of New York.

No other candidate was nominated, and upon motion of Delegate Lindelof, Painters and Decorators, the Secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for Joseph N. Weber for Seventh Vice President. The instructions were 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 Tracy, President, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers: Mr. President, my candidate needs no introduction to this group. I don't believe that there is anything now I

could say in behalf of my candidate, because the previous speakers took every speech that I had in his behalf. I take great pleasure for the first time in nominating the Secretary of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers for Eighth Vice President to succeed himself, G. M. Bugniazet.

No other candidate was nominated, and upon motion of Delegate Connors the Secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for G. M. Bugniazet for the office of Eighth Vice President. The instructions were complied with, and G. M. Bugniazet was declared duly elected for the ensuing term.

President Green: The Chair now calls for nominations for the office of Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor.

Delegate Franklin, President, Boiler Makers and Iron Ship Builders: I have the very high honor today in nominating a candidate for Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor. I have a man in mind, a man that I have known for over thirty years, a man that I have traveled with over this great country of ours, visiting almost every city, hamlet and village. I have had the pleasure, I think, of knowing this man perhaps better than any other man in the labor movement outside of his own associate officers. I have known him when it required real courage, real manhood to announce the fact that he represented an organization that carried a union banner. He has always met every test, he was equal to all occasions.

In presenting his name to you today for the Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor, I know I will have your unanimous endorsement of the man whose name I will present. I think he is known by every delegate in this convention, and not only known, but held in highest esteem. If I was capable of extolling all of the virtues of this man, I do not know that I could say any more than that he is a man who is respected and esteemed by everyone, Martin Francis Ryan, President of the Railway Carmen of America.

No other candidate was nominated, and upon motion of Delegate Manion, Telegraphers, the Secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for Martin Francis Ryan for Treasurer for the ensuing year. The instructions were complied with and Treasurer Ryan was declared duly elected for the ensuing term.

President Green: I now call for nominations for Secretary.

Delegate Howard, President, International Typographical Union: Mr. President and delegates to the convention, I am confronted with a very difficult, even though it may be a pleasant task. Once each twelve months for thirty-six years there has arisen upon the floors of conventions of the American Federation of Labor a delegate who has placed in nomination the name of a man for Secretary who is known by every delegate that has attended any convention during that period of time. And in all of these thirty-six years the services he has given to the American Federation of Labor were of such a quality that not once has there been any voice raised against his election to this position.

I fully appreciate that no word which could be uttered by me would add to or detract from that record of service. The record stands for itself. And perhaps no man in the American labor movement has rendered service to the same extent or in the same quality. The American Federation of Labor in this year 1933 is confronted with new problems. The future holds problems which we cannot forecast and which must be analyzed and met as they arise. I am sure the delegates sitting in this convention appreciate the value of experience; I am sure you realize the value of wise counsel in this congress of labor, and I am sure that you approve of the service that has been rendered by the man I am about to nominate for Secretary of the American Federation of Labor.

Speaking for the International Typographical Union, of which organization he is an honored member, I present to you the name of the perfect secretary,

Frank Morrison. (The entire audience arose and applauded.)

Delegate Hesketh, Hotel and Restaurant Employees: I rise to make a motion that the President of our American Federation of Labor cast a ballot of acclamation for the election of Secretary Morrison. I want to preface that by just a few words. Some twenty years ago or more, when I was a delegate to the American Federation of Labor convention in St. Louis—and I think we are going there again next year—Brother Morrison and I differed somewhat on the advancement of our international union. And I am talking now as one secretary to another who have their grievances. If it were not for the secretaries some of the organizations would be in hard sledding. I want to correct myself at this time and say that Secretary Morrison, notwithstanding his personal ideas, has come along with our organization, and in the near future we expect to show you an increase of 25,000 members. So I pay this compliment to the secretary, cold blooded and business-like, like the President of the Typographical Union. In my younger days I was a printer in the composing room for three and one-half years, and was an apprentice in the printers' organization before some of you were born. I say if we used more printer's ink in supporting the labor movement of the country we would get along better.

I therefore move that we elect Secretary Morrison by acclamation and that the President cast the white ballot.

The motion was seconded by Delegate Martel and unanimously carried.

The President complied with the instructions of the convention, and Frank Morrison was declared unanimously elected Secretary to succeed himself.

Secretary Morrison: Mr. President and delegates, I know that you will forgive me if I trespass upon your time to express my keen appreciation of the good will that has always been mine at the hands of the delegates and officers of the various national and international

unions. I am particularly grateful that I am here as Secretary of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term. It has been my great privilege to have been Secretary in three great organization waves that have passed over this country—the first from 1901 to 1904, when there were added to the affiliated organizations 800,000 members. The second time was from 1916 to 1920, when 2,000,000 members were added to the affiliated organizations. And today there is a great sentiment, a stronger wave of organization than in 1920, and I feel that within the next few years these affiliated national and international unions will add to their membership so that we will go beyond the peak of 1920.

We must be patient, because after all it is only by patience and perseverance on the part of the international officers and their organizers that they can build up their international unions. I see a bright and wonderful future for the labor movement. During the last year we have had two striking instances—first, the great effort carried on by the Government to shorten hours and increase pay; second, practically in a day the wiping out of child labor.

Then again, we have participated in the dedication of a wonderful memorial to our departed chieftain, Samuel Gompers—something that will stand for years and years to come as a monument to the work that was accomplished in the early days. My friends, I want to say to you that I shall give in this coming year every ounce of my strength and faithful service to the end that when we come back to the next convention, wherever it may be held, we will come with a membership far in excess of what it is today.

President Green: That completes the election of officers of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing year. Before proceeding with the election of fraternal delegates I deem it most appropriate to make an announcement to the delegates that I know will be pleasing and highly appreciated. The officers and members of the American Federation of Labor possess a keen sense of appreciation,

and that is supplemented by a devotion created through years of association, through the development of fraternity and brotherhood. Trade unionism becomes a religion, and as a religion it holds men fast together. We can differ in this congress of labor as we have in others, but when the debate is over and the decision has been rendered, we are union men, united in heart and in spirit.

We are always pleased when one of our own is honored. And so it occurred to me when my good friend whom I admire so much, Chauncey A. Weaver, a member of an honored organization, the American Federation of Musicians, made his beautiful presentation when he nominated my good friend, Joseph N. Weber, that I should say to this delegation that he, too, has been highly honored while in attendance at this convention. It is a distinct honor that has come to him, a rare honor that comes to few labor men.

I am going to tell you what happened to him this week. He is not only a member of the musicians' union, an officer of that organization, one who has served the musicians and the trade union movement well for many years, but through his tireless efforts and persistence he was admitted to the bar, and this week he was honored by being admitted to practice in the Supreme Court of the United States. As my good friend, the British fraternal delegate said, that is the King's counsel. That is the honor that was conferred upon him, and we hail Brother Weaver, we share with him his feeling of happiness and satisfaction over the attainment of these high honors and we wish him God speed and good luck.

The next thing in order is the nomination of fraternal delegates to the British Trades Union Congress. Two are to be elected. One will be elected on the first ballot and the second one on a succeeding ballot. There will be no difference so far as standing is concerned, but in order to facilitate the work of the convention two elections will be held, and one fraternal

delegate will be elected on the first vote and one on the second vote.

Delegate Donlin, Plasterers: Mr. John Lewis has it on me in lots of ways, especially since it devolves on him once a year to nominate a man in this convention. That privilege only comes to me about once in twenty years. This time I have the honor of nominating a man. For the last two years I thought I would be privileged to bring his name before the convention, but others were nominated. Today I have that privilege, and the name of my man is Michael J. Colleran, of the Plasterers' Union.

Delegate Hynes, Sheet Metal Workers: I rise at this time to second the nomination of Delegate Colleran for delegate to the British Trades Union Congress.

No other candidate was nominated, and upon motion of Delegate Franklin, Boiler Makers, the Secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for Michael J. Colleran for delegate to the British Trades Union Congress. The instructions were complied with and Delegate Colleran was declared unanimously elected.

President Green: The Chair now calls for nominations for his colleague.

Delegate Maloney, Glass Bottle Blowers: Mr. Chairman and delegates, I trust you will indulge and pardon me for a few moments for appearing here in this very happy picture this afternoon. I desire to place in nomination for the second position which our esteemed President has advised you means no distinction or difference whatever, they are both on equal terms, a man who very graciously withdrew last year in Cincinnati. He is a man who has served his own International Union and has been a member of his executive board for twenty-seven years and international president for twenty-two years. Consequently he has been in attendance at these conventions of ours for the full twenty-two years. Now you all know him. At one time his international

union was one of the strongest international organizations affiliated with this great body.

Due, as you know, to the adoption of the 18th Amendment, that organization became greatly weakened, but I desire to assure you, men and women here today, that this organization is coming back, and coming back strong. Only the other day one of his fellow delegates announced from this platform that they had secured 2,000 new members in New York City alone. If you in your wisdom decide to send this member of the Federation of Labor across the seas as our fraternal delegate, it will serve two purposes. He will not only serve you with distinction and honor to himself, as well as to the American labor movement, but it will give him an opportunity to study labor conditions abroad and also to study the manner in which our proposed new industry that will shortly be legalized is handled and managed in foreign lands.

If I may be permitted to digress for just a moment or two, those of you who sat in the beautiful night club a year ago in the Netherland Plaza Hotel in Cincinnati will recall that I suggested to our distinguished President and brother here that perhaps when the road became rough and stormy and he felt that that period of depression had set in with himself, a highball or two would help him over the rough spots. I also predicted at that time that a year from then his industry would be legalized.

And so aside from our great movement it does seem to me this would also give our friend an opportunity to study perhaps something else besides plain highballs, and naturally, when he returns his members would be very glad to receive that information. Perhaps some of you men here sitting in this audience will also benefit thereby.

Now, Mr. Chairman, without taking up any more of your valuable time I desire to present as my candidate for fraternal delegate to the British Trades Union Congress the name of that lovable character, Mr. Edward Flore, Gen-

eral President of the Hotel and Restaurant Employes and Beverage Dispensers' International Alliance.

Vice President Woll: Prior to the nomination and election of officers a delegate arose and withdrew the name of one who had been aspiring to the position of fraternal delegate to the British Trades Union Congress. Moved by the same spirit and actuated by the same purpose, I arise now upon the gracious request of the Secretary-Treasurer of the International Photo-Engravers Union, Mr. Henry F. Schmal, and advise the convention that he does not desire to have his name presented at this time. In so doing he requests that I express to the delegates who have assured him of confidence and support that he is extremely thankful for those expressions and trusts that he may merit like confidence and support a year hence.

No other candidate was nominated, and upon motion, duly seconded, the Secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for Edward Flore for delegate to the British Trades Union Congress. The instructions were complied with and Delegate Flore was declared unanimously elected.

President Green: The next is fraternal delegate to the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.

Delegate Tracy, Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants Union No. 11773: On behalf of the trade unionists of Washington, D. C., and the State of Maryland, it gives me great pleasure to place before this convention the name of a valiant trade unionist who has been prominent for years in his local union, in his city central body, and who for the past three years has merited the confidence of the state branch by being elected to the presidency of that office. I am sure that if he is the choice of this convention that he will merit the confidence expressed in him and that he will fulfill the duty with honor and dignity to this organization. Without further ado I present to you the name of Mr. Joseph P.

McCurdy, President of the Maryland and District of Columbia Federation of Labor.

No other candidate was nominated, and upon motion of Delegate Swick, Painters and Decorators, the Secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for Joseph P. McCurdy for delegate to the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress. The instructions were complied with and Delegate McCurdy was declared duly elected.

President Green: That completes the elections with the exception of the convention city.

Delegate Weaver, Musicians: May I have the opportunity for just a brief statement?

President Green: Yes sir.

Delegate Weaver: A few moments ago I was presented to this audience by our good friend, President Green, and reference was made to an honor which came to me this week. I cannot sit silent in the face of that fine manifestation of your good will when a colleague of mine who has been my associate in the labor movement for a quarter of a century shares the same honor. I should have called attention to that fact at once, but I was so flabbergasted by the sudden dangling which I received in the publicity spotlight that my sensibilities forgot to function, and I want now to introduce my colleague, Charles L. Bagley, my friend and associate in the music line for the last twenty-five years, who shares with me the honor that we received on Monday last.

President Green: I think both of them are better musicians than they are lawyers.

Now we are up to the point where we must select the next convention city, and the Chair recognizes Delegate Morrin.

Delegate Morrin, Bridge and Structural Iron Workers: Mr. Chairman and delegates, the trade unionists of St. Louis are very anxious and would like very much to have the next convention of the American Federation

of Labor in 1934 come to St. Louis. It is a well organized territory, not only in the building trades but in the miscellaneous trades, and we are equipped and prepared to handle the convention in a good, first-class manner. Invitations have been extended not only from the St. Louis Central Trades and Labor Council, but from the Building Trades Council, the Mayor, the Chamber of Commerce, and the other civic bodies in that territory.

St. Louis is just completing a wonderful civic center, composed of a lot of permanent buildings that will house the public institutions of that city. All of these buildings have been built 100 per cent union, under union conditions by all building trade mechanics, and the building tradesmen of that city are specially anxious that the next convention come to St. Louis. The powers that be in the city administration are friendly to labor. Labor is represented on the various committees and the various boards, on the Compliance Board, the Mediation Board, and the Supervisory Board which has had supervision over these buildings as they have been erected under an \$37,000,000 bond issue. On that board has sat the president and secretary of the Central Labor Union, as well as the president of the Building Trades Council, and myself during the ten years this project has been under construction. I assure you that the trade unionists of St. Louis will be glad to have you come and we will do the best we can to entertain you. We will at least assure you that you will not have a repetition of the unpleasant experience you passed through back in 1910, when the last convention of the American Federation of Labor was held in that city.

You men are all familiar with St. Louis, you know that it is conveniently located in the center of the United States, easily accessible to everybody, and we earnestly invite you to come there for the next convention.

Delegate Miles, Middletown Trades and Labor Council: Mr. President and delegates, I do not intend to make any lengthy speech because there is nothing I could say that would do justice to

the city I am about to nominate. I am going to nominate one of the greatest convention cities in the United States, with one of the greatest convention halls—one of the greatest cities in the world, Atlantic City.

Delegate Brandt, St. Louis Central Trades and Labor Union: Mr. Chairman and delegates, at the meeting of our St. Louis Central Body held on September 9, a motion was passed by unanimous vote to invite this organization to hold its 1934 convention in the city of St. Louis. In our opinion we have all the accommodations necessary for a successful convention. We believe, and our Central Body brought this out in a general discussion, that it is now twenty-three years since the American Federation of Labor held a convention in our city. Today we have wonderful hotel accommodations, built in the last ten years, and as Brother Morrin has said, we have a wonderful new auditorium there with a number of halls that will seat anywhere from three hundred to fifteen thousand people.

In the name of our labor movement of St. Louis I take pleasure in seconding the nomination of that city for the 1934 convention.

Delegate Manning, Label Trades Department: Today several delegates in this convention approached me and asked me to carry out what is a real pleasure. Those of you who have ever been in the city I have in mind need no introduction to it. Those who never have been there will more fully appreciate what they see and what they read about when they go there. We have not visited this city in eighteen years. It is a staunch trade union center and I feel sure that the welcome to this convention will be wholehearted and generous.

I therefore offer for the consideration of the delegates the city of San Francisco.

Delegate Beisel, Bakery and Confectionery Workers: Mr. Chairman and delegates: I rise at this time to support the nomination of St. Louis for the next convention city. In doing so I do not feel that when we decide on

a meeting place for the American Federation of Labor we should emphasize the amusement features or the things we can see. As far as that is concerned, we can show you just as beautiful things in St. Louis as any other city can show you. But what I have in mind to say to the delegates is that if you decide to meet in the city of St. Louis you will find conditions as far as organized labor is concerned as good and much better than in many other cities where I have attended conventions of the American Federation of Labor.

I do not feel that when it comes to selecting a convention city we must be invited by the Chamber of Commerce or that we have to be induced by the seashore at Atlantic City. The labor movement should be considered first and all the time. I say that conditions I have found in other cities where our conventions have been held do not exist in St. Louis. The hotels, as has been mentioned, may not be organized at the present time, but that is not saying that the organized labor movement in St. Louis has not tried to do everything possible in the past to have some of the hotels organized there, and we will continue in the next year to try further, so as to have the delegates housed in a union hotel. But if we do not succeed we know that you can find all you want to eat in union restaurants in St. Louis, and you won't have to eat in non-union hotel restaurants. There are hundreds of women and men who are organized in the Waiters' Union there and they will be able to serve you.

As far as the industry with which I am affiliated is concerned, I know that in the majority of cities in which we hold our conventions you have to contend with non-union bread. You won't have to do that in St. Louis, and that holds good for most of the trades.

As far as the Label Department is concerned, we have one of the most active label sections in any part of the country, and when you come into the city of St. Louis you won't have to throw on the searchlight to find union goods, you will have ample opportunity to find them without searching the en-

tire city. I know that the labor movement of St. Louis will appreciate having you with us next year, and as far as hospitality is concerned, when you get to St. Louis you won't be sorry for having selected it as your next convention city.

Delegate O'Connell, San Francisco Labor Council: Mr. President and delegates. I find myself here today in a rather embarrassing position. I came here as a delegate from the San Francisco Labor Council fully instructed to seek the convention of the American Federation of Labor in 1934 for the city of St. Francis. In interviewing the various representatives of the International Unions, as well as of the State Federations and Central Bodies as represented in this convention, and hearing of the inability of most of the organizations to balance their budgets so as to make it possible to make that long trip to the coast, I accepted their dictum and was willing that the name of San Francisco should be withdrawn, on the promise that we would get favorable consideration for the convention of 1935.

And to my surprise, today the name of San Francisco has been placed in nomination. But be that as it may, whatever this convention elects to do, if you come to San Francisco we will take care of you in a manner calculated to make you all talk about the city by the Golden Gate—one of the best organized cities in this country, one that every trade unionist representing his organization in this convention can well be proud to visit. I came here fortified in extending the invitation, if I was permitted to do so first hand, to tell you that the entire city and county of San Francisco commissioned me, in the name of that city, by its mayor, by the Chamber of Commerce, by the Downtown Association and by all of the civic bodies in that great city, to invite you, and I am true to my word to the President of this Federation, that we would take into account the financial ability of the organizations to make that long jump, and I reiterate that I was willing to withdraw the name of my city, providing that I could get favorable consideration for that city in 1935.

I don't know that I will be able to attend the next convention, wherever it may be held, if it goes east, but we will send a representative. The San Francisco Labor Council, comprised as it is of 150 unions with 60,000 men and women who toil and whose representative I have been for the last twenty-two years, trusted to me to use every endeavor at my command to bring you to San Francisco, where you can sleep nights, where you can wear an overcoat, and where you can imbibe the salt air from the Pacific Ocean, and where you will have no difficulty as to your housing or the catering ability of the best cooks, waiters and dish washers in the world—and my good friend Joe Weber can listen to symphonic music, too. We have everything there from the accordion to the finest there is in musical instruments—and I see my old friend Joe smiling at me.

Whatever you do it is immaterial to me, but if you come to the city I will give you entertainment that will knock your eye out.

Delegate Hutcheson, Carpenters: I recall with pleasure that eighteen years ago the American Federation of Labor met in San Francisco and I recall to mind the wonderful climate, the wonderful people and the wonderful time we had out there, so I take great pleasure in seconding the nomination of San Francisco.

Delegate Manion, Telegraphers: I wish to give my full endorsement in seconding the nomination of the city of St. Louis for the next convention, and I hope the delegates will bring the convention to our city.

Delegate Howard, Typographical Union: I want to add my voice in settling this most important question, and I want to make doubly sure that I am with the majority in the decision that is to be reached. For that reason, Mr. President, I desire to second the nomination of San Francisco, St. Louis and Atlantic City.

Delegate Wharton, Machinists: I desire to convey to this convention a message I received from some 4,000 mem-

bers of the International Association of Machinists residing in San Francisco, Vallejo and Oakland, California, and that message is that they want the convention, and our delegation will support that request.

Delegate Haggerty, Machinists: As a delegate from the International Association of Machinists coming from the city of San Francisco I take great pleasure in substantiating the words expressed by Secretary O'Connell of the San Francisco Labor Council, and I appreciate the opportunity here this afternoon of seconding the nomination of San Francisco for the next convention of the American Federation of Labor.

Delegate Weber, Musicians: I desire to advise the convention that the delegation of the American Federation of Musicians has likewise received a telegram from two thousand members of their organization in San Francisco exploring, advising, and requesting them to bring the next convention of the American Federation of Labor to San Francisco.

President Green: The Chair will declare the nominations closed on the cities of St. Louis, Atlantic City, and San Francisco.

Delegate Manion, Telegraphers: How will this be determined, by plurality or majority vote?

President Green: It will require a majority vote of the convention to select the convention city.

Delegate Manion: The city getting the lowest number of votes on the first ballot will be dropped and another ballot taken unless one gets a majority?

President Green: Yes, sir. We will proceed to call the roll, and the city that receives a majority vote will be selected as the next convention city.

Delegate Hutcheson, Carpenters: I move that on the roll call the city receiving the largest vote be declared the city in which to hold the next convention.

The motion was seconded and carried.

President Green: Delegate Miles authorizes me to withdraw the name of Atlantic City. The vote will therefore be taken on the cities of St. Louis and San Francisco.

Secretary Morrison proceeded to call the roll, and when it had progressed far enough that the result of the vote was no longer in doubt, Delegate Morrin asked for the privilege of the floor.

Delegate Morrin, Iron Workers: In view of the result of the vote already taken up to this time I respectfully request the privilege of withdrawing the city of St. Louis, since there is apparently no chance. We will all go to San Francisco and enjoy ourselves next year, and we will ask you then to give St. Louis consideration in 1935.

I move that San Francisco be selected by acclamation.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

President Green: I declare San Francisco, California, duly chosen as the city in which to hold our 1934 convention.

ANNOUNCEMENTS

Secretary Morrison: I have been requested to announce that there will be a meeting for Central Labor Union delegates this evening in the Willard Room of this hotel at 8 o'clock to consider programs for workers' education in the Central Bodies, under the auspices of the Workers' Education Bureau.

President Green: The Chair desires to remind the officers and delegates of the visit of the National Commander of the American Legion to the convention tomorrow at 11 o'clock. We will have a full day's work tomorrow, I am sure, and it may be that we will be required to hold a night session tomorrow evening in order to complete the work of the convention. For that reason I ask that the officers and delegates keep tomorrow evening free of engagements so that you can attend the night session if it seems that one is absolutely necessary.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

Delegate Olander, secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

Philippine Independence

Upon that section of the Executive Council's report under the above caption, page 107, the committee reported as follows:

Your committee recommends approval of the section of the Executive Council's report under the above subtitle.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Federal Employment Service

Upon that section of the Executive Council's report, page 107, under the above caption, the committee reported as follows:

Your committee congratulates the Executive Council upon the enactment of the Wagner Bill to provide for the establishment of a national employment system as reported under the subcaption "Federal Employment Service" and recommends approval of this section of the Council's report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Anti-Injunction Law

Upon that section of the Executive Council's report under the above caption, page 108, the committee reported as follows:

The subject of state anti-injunction laws is reported on by the Executive Council under the general title "Anti-Injunction Laws." Progress is being made. The committee is of the opinion that a careful check of the laws in the various states might indicate somewhat greater progress than is shown by the present report. The effort to secure the passage of anti-injunction laws in the various states will, of course, be continued with the utmost persistence and vigor. Care must be exercised to guard against the enactment of legislation on

other subjects which may or does tend to circumvent the progress made and the safeguards provided in national and state anti-injunction laws. Your committee recommends approval of this section of the report of the Executive Council.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the committee's report.

Delegate Scharrenberg, California State Federation of Labor: In order that the record may be straight, I desire to call attention to the fact that California did not pass the anti-injunction bill, as is indicated in the report. We passed an anti-yellow dog bill. The anti-injunction bill passed the Lower House and was defeated in the Senate.

The motion to adopt the committee's report was carried by unanimous vote.

Old-Age Security

Upon that section of the Executive Council's report, page 110, under this caption, the committee reported as follows:

It is with extreme gratification that we note, in the section of the report of the Executive Council under the general title "Old-Age Security," that twenty-five states now have old-age security laws. The Council presents the following specific recommendation on this subject, namely:

"We urge, as a social obligation, that adequate provisions be adopted so that every producing worker may be assured, after his production years, of an adequate income at least equal to the income earned at the time of retirement. By providing honorably for our citizens who have served us in their prime, we shall make social and economic adjustments necessary to the maintenance of business prosperity. We recommend that plans be developed to carry out these suggestions."

Your committee recommends approval of this section of the report of

the Council and concurrence in its recommendations.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Radio Advertising

Upon that section of the Executive Council's report, page 111, the committee reported as follows:

Your committee recommends approval of the section of the Executive Council's report appearing under the general title "Radio Advertising."

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Non-Partisan Political Policy

Upon that section of the Executive Council's report, pages 113 and 114, the committee reported as follows:

In connection with the Executive Council's report, entitled "Non-Partisan Political Policy," your committee has also considered Resolution No. 1, which reads as follows:

Independent Labor Party

Resolution No. 1—By Delegate M. F. Tighe, of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers.

WHEREAS, During the past few years Labor's fight to organize has shifted from the factory to the courts; and

WHEREAS, Social legislation is becoming more and more necessary to the workers in the United States; and

WHEREAS, Neither the Republican nor the Democratic parties can be counted upon to further the aims or to advance the conditions of labor; be it

RESOLVED, That the 53rd Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record as favoring the formation of an independent Labor Party, and that it abandon the traditional non-partisan political policy and sponsor a genuine Labor Party.

In the section of the report of the Executive Council referred to, attention is directed to the Senatorial and Congressional primaries and elections of 1934, and that in the next year thirty-five Senators and four hundred and thirty-

five Members of the House of Representatives are to be chosen. Our attention is likewise directed to the commonly accepted belief that 1934 will be an "off year" and it is therefore most urgent that the wage earners be aroused, alert and responsive, not alone to their civic duties and responsibilities, but manifest extraordinary interest in their own behalf and in the cause represented by us.

It is not sufficient, as the Executive Council indicates, to await the entering of the final election campaign. It is imperative that our members and friends assume active participation in all preliminary conferences and primary selections and elections, to the end that only such Senators and Members of the House of Representatives be chosen and elected as have evidenced and will assure our members and all wage earners of their friendship, good will, definite and unequivocal and unevasive support.

Your committee is in full accord with the Executive Council in its advice and counsel that if we are to secure remedial legislation from Congress and defeat malevolent legislation, we must unite efficiently and effectively and be guided intelligently and militantly on the political field, and united on economic and social lines, free from any and all elements of party-political considerations and attachments.

Experience here and abroad has demonstrated again and again that Labor can only rest secure and hold gains made by the permanency and growth of our economic organizations uninfluenced by party-political considerations and that the political power of the labor movement can best be exercised along traditional lines heretofore followed by the American Federation of Labor.

For these and other reasons, your committee recommends non-concurrence in Resolution No. 1, and concurrence in the Executive Council's report hereinbefore dealt with.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Coal

Upon that section of the Council's report under the above caption, page 115, the committee reported as follows:

Under the caption "Coal," the Executive Council reports upon the developments of a code of fair competition under the National Industrial Recovery Act for the bituminous coal industry and its approval by the President of the United States and, also, reports that basic wage agreements covering large mining areas of the country have been negotiated between representatives of the coal operators and of the United Mine Workers of America. We congratulate the officers of the American Federation of Labor and the officers of the United Mine Workers of America upon the substantial progress which has been made in the coal industry, and recommend approval of this section of the Council's report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Developments for Railroad Workers

Upon that section of the Council's report under the above caption, page 116, the committee reported as follows:

Under the general title "Developments for Railroad Workers," and the subtitles "Wages," "The Canadian Situation," "Employment," "The Shorter Workday and Workweek," "Legislation," and "Organizing Activities," the Council reports at considerable length upon developments in the railroad field in connection with the problems and progress of railroad workers under the guidance and leadership of the trade unions whose members are employed on the railroads of the United States and Canada. The report is highly informative and of an interesting character and we commend it to the careful attention of all trade union officials and members.

Your committee recommends approval of the division of the Executive Council's report herein referred to as relating to the railroad workers and their problems.

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Delegate Hynes, Sheet Metal Workers: I want to make a statement, followed by a motion, that in order that there be no question in so far as the legality of electing the officers of the Federation today is concerned, we do not adjourn this evening at the regular time, but that we take a recess until tomorrow morning at 9:30 o'clock. I so move.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

Delegate Hesketh, Hotel and Restaurant Employees: I would like to state for the record that on behalf of our International Union I thank the convention delegates for the honor they have conferred on our Union this afternoon.

At 5:30 o'clock P. M. the convention recessed to 9:30 o'clock Friday morning, October 13.

Tenth Day—Friday Morning Session

Washington, D. C., October 13, 1933.

The convention was called to order at 9:30 o'clock by President Green:

President Green: I present Dr. Simpson B. Daugherty, Pastor of the United Brethren Church, for the invocation.

INVOCATION

(Rev. Simpson B. Daugherty, Pastor, United Brethren Church)

Oh God, our Heavenly Father, we come this morning for Thy inspiration that shall take us through the tasks of this day. We thank Thee that Thou hast placed that high value upon our lives and upon our service and that Thou has placed upon our souls that urge to go forth in that mighty conquest over all that seems to destroy our happiness and peace. And we thank Thee, oh God, that Thou hast privileged us to bring hope where there is despair, to bring songs where there is sorrow, and to change the darkness that has deepened in the souls of men, our fellow pilgrims, into the light and the glory of Almighty God.

We thank Thee, oh God, for this great organization, we thank Thee that these men and women in their tireless efforts have broken the relentless grip of property and monetary values and are bringing us into the realm of human values. We thank Thee that Thou hast lifted us out of the depths of sorrow, out of confusion and out of all the dark spectres of remorse to the highlands of peace and joy, where we are privileged to sit in the door of the carpenter shop and listen again to the great blazing words that droppeth from His august lips, so that as we take great courage and go forth we can see these prodigious hosts with the shackles of slavery broken, marching on to the tuneful music of prosperity and peace.

We pray Thy blessing upon the one who presides and upon all of the delegates and visitors and every member of this organization. We thank Thee that through their deliberations we are at least freed from the darkness of unjust dealings and we are brought out again into the glory of a brotherhood that shall march triumphantly in that van of all humanity, and in His name we ask it. Amen.

COMMUNICATIONS

Secretary Morrison read the following telegram:

Tupelo, Miss., October 12, 1933.

William Green,
Willard Hotel,
Washington, D. C.

Regret previous engagements make it impossible for me to accept your kind invitation to address the Fifty-third Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor. Appreciate that during recent months the cost of living has increased and that the spirit of the recovery movement demands the repeal of that portion of the economy act which reduced salaries of government employees and in the coming session of Congress I will favor restoration of this reduction to these employees immediately. Please convey to the convention my sincere interest in its success and their efforts towards the restoration of prosperity retaining for yourself my personal good wishes and highest esteem.

PAT HARRISON,
United States Senator.

ANNOUNCEMENTS

President Green: The Chair wishes to remind all the officers and delegates of the visit of the newly elected National Commander of the American Legion to the convention this morning at 11:00 o'clock. I also wish to announce that our good friend, Senator James J. Davis, was triumphantly acquitted in his trial in New York yesterday. The hosts of labor and all his friends are happy over this, what we believe a justifiable vindication. He came over from New York last night and is in the city and will come to meet with us today just for a few moments. I should like to have him appear at the convention this afternoon about half past two o'clock. I will appoint as a committee to escort Senator Davis, Brother M. F. Tighe, Brother James Maloney and Brother John Donlin.

There is a fine little lady who comes to our conventions each year selling

union-made neckwear. She is a very active and loyal trade unionist and I have been promising her every day since the convention met that I would give her a minute to tell the delegates about her union-made wares. I am going to give her that minute this morning, otherwise I may not be able to do it.

I present to you Mrs. Mary Gordon Thompson, President of the Women's Trade Union League of Boston, Massachusetts.

MRS. MARY GORDON THOMPSON

(President, Women's Trade Union League, Boston, Massachusetts)

Mr. Chairman and delegates: I am going to be very brief because I realize you are busy. In Boston at the present time the neckwear workers are in a very bitter fight. Up to this year we have gone along very well since we organized them, and that was six years ago. The employers, despite the fact that we have the National Recovery Act at this time, have made up their minds that they are going to get out from under, using all the arguments that are usually used in such cases and telling these people that they will get their pay any way without belonging to a union.

The police in Boston are using our girls in very bad fashion, and despite the fact that we have assured them that they have no need to be afraid to join any union, that it will not be used against them, that the employers will not dare, yet in Boston our girls are being arrested one at a time. These girls come from nice, respectable families, they have never had records in the police court, and today, because they are fighting for what is right, they are being taken where there is no need or justification for it and they are getting police court records.

The profits from the sale of the neckwear that we have here goes to the Women's Trade Union League in Boston, making it possible for us to do organizing work. I happen to have been busy as an organizer for the Boston Women's Trade Union League, and up in Springfield, Massachusetts, we recently organized a plant, putting into the ranks of labor no less than 3,000 people. A great many women were involved in this.

Just before I came to the convention here I was in Hartford, where there is a possibility of at least 2,400 people

coming into the organization under a Federal charter. This covers two plants. And so I am going to ask you delegates not only to patronize us in the neckwear, but to buy hose from the young man who is selling them at the door, both for yourselves and for your women folks, and you will be doing something for labor and making it possible for us to carry on the work that we all consider especially important at this time. We have an opportunity to organize such as we have never had before since war times and we must make the most of that opportunity. Thank you, Mr. President, for allowing me to address you this morning.

Delegate Soderberg, Journeymen Tailors: I have received a letter this morning by special delivery from St. Louis which I wish to read to this convention, because I think it concerns every organization. It has reference to the NRA.

The letter is as follows:

St. Louis, Missouri,
September 25, 1933.

Mr. F. Peters, Secretary,
Journeymen Tailors Union, Local
No. 11,
St. Louis, Missouri.

Dear Sir:

Your letter of September 20th addressed to Mr. William Romer, President of the Merchant Tailors' Association of St. Louis, was presented at their meeting on Thursday evening, September 21, for consideration. Same was carefully considered, and the consensus of opinion was that they have given you recognition for collective bargaining and have agreed to increase wages and do such other things as are required under the NRA Code.

We are trying to conform to the code of fair competition with the hope of increasing volume of business and the employment of more people, which, as we see it, is the purpose and intention of the NRA laws.

Referring to your agreement we have, through our committee and your committee, practically agreed to Points 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8 and 9. Point 1 in your agreement is practically prohibited under the NRA law, which gives employees the right to choose for themselves their affiliation or non-affiliation with any organization, the employer having no right whatever to interfere with them.

Your agreement provides for a strictly union shop. This is a plain discrimination which the NRA law does not permit, and which may lead to controversies which would be difficult to settle and might bring us into a violation with the government NRA code.

Therefore, it is our opinion that we cannot sign your agreement.

Hoping that this will be satisfactory, we are,

Respectfully yours,

Merchant Tailors' Association,
St. Louis, Missouri.

By Labor Committee.

Delegate Soderberg: I wish to state that we have had the same trouble everywhere in the United States. In fact, in Boston, we have had a strike for about six weeks in an attempt to put our agreement into force.

You will note this letter says that the NRA forbids any signed agreements for a closed shop with the Journeymen Tailors' Union. I would like to get information if that is true or not.

President Green: Brother Soderberg asks me if, in my judgment, the employers and employes can enter into an agreement providing for a closed shop. I have always contended that employers and employes have a perfect right to enter into an agreement providing for a closed union shop and a closed union agreement. That right has been conceded and recognized by the courts in all their decisions. We will not surrender that right, we will contend vigorously for the recognition of that right, and we will never yield in the acceptance of any interpretation that denies us that right—the right to negotiate a contract with employers, providing for a closed shop in case they wish to establish such an agreement.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

Vice President Woll, Chairman of the committee, continued the report as follows:

The committee amended Resolution No. 2 by striking from the last "Re-

solve" the following words: "Hearing on the office workers' code filed with the Administration at Washington, D. C., July 29, 1933," and inserting in lieu thereof the words "Hearing on such codes as relate to the wages and conditions of employment of office workers." The amended resolution is as follows:

Office Workers N. R. A. Code

Resolution No. 2—By Delegate Ernest Bohm, of Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants Union No. 12646.

WHEREAS, The National Industrial Recovery Act was created for the purpose of increasing employment and purchasing power; and

WHEREAS, The industrial codes thus far adopted increase the work week of office workers to forty hours per week, and the minimum salary decreased to fifteen dollars per week; and

WHEREAS, the 39-hour week and a minimum wage of twenty-one dollars per week has been the prevalent condition of employment in offices, we fail to understand how the increase in the hours of labor will decrease unemployment, and the reduction will increase the purchasing power, and

WHEREAS, This legislation affects the economic condition and welfare of four million office workers in the United States, we register our protest against such undemocratic procedure which prevents those directly concerned and not benefited, from having a voice or vote in the consummation of such codes; be it

RESOLVED, That the 53d Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor at Washington, D. C., October, 1933, extend to the unionized and chartered locals of office workers its support in securing a hearing on such codes as relate to the wages and conditions of employment of office workers.

Your committee recommends that the resolution as thus amended be adopted.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

The committee amended Resolution No. 4 by striking out the following paragraphs:

"WHEREAS, In these days of struggle and strife for improved working conditions and employment, many of the af-

affiliations of the American Federation of Labor are found patronizing hotels, restaurant 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."

The resolution as amended, is as follows:

Patronage of Fair Hotels, Restaurants and Catering Establishments

Resolution No. 4—By Edward Flore, Robert B. Hesketh and Emanuel Koveleski, Hotel and Restaurant Employees' and Beverage Dispensers' International Alliance.

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, restaurants and catering establishments within their jurisdiction, and call upon all its affiliates when holding banquets, functions, or patronizing hotels, restaurants or catering establishments, to see that said establishments are fair to organized labor and employ members of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees' and Beverage Dispensers' International Alliance.

Your committee believes it is the obvious duty of all affiliated organizations and members to refrain from patronizing hotels, restaurants and catering establishments which are unfair to organized labor, but also believes there are many other very good reasons, which must be apparent to all, for endorsing the efforts of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees' and Beverage Dispensers' International Alliance to organize all workers within the field of its jurisdiction.

The committee recommended adoption of the resolution as amended.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

A. F. of L. Commended for Support of Movement for the Modification of Volstead Act and the Repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment

Resolution No. 5—By Delegates Edward Flore, Robert B. Hesketh and Emanuel Koveleski of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees' and Beverage Dispensers' International Alliance.

RESOLVED, That with a deep feeling of appreciation we, the Hotel and Restaurant Employees' and Beverage Dispensers' International Alliance, express to this the 53d Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, our thanks for the loyal and effective support given to the movement for the Modification of the Volstead Act and the Repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment.

Resolution No. 5 is an expression of thanks to this convention for services rendered by the American Federation of Labor and requires no action other than to be received in the same kindly spirit in which it is offered.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Urging NRA Code for Telegraph Communications Industry

Resolution No. 8—By Delegate Frank B. Powers, Commercial Telegraphers' Union of North America.

WHEREAS, The substituted President's Re-employment Agreement under which the telegraph communications industry has been working since August 30th was so unsatisfactory that General Johnson declared, "The hours and wages here are wholly unsatisfactory and there are other circumstances which require an immediate public presentation," and

WHEREAS, General Johnson's expressed wishes have been circumvented in some unknown manner and up to this time not even a deputy administrator has been assigned to this code; be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor demand that the telegraph communications industry be placed under a permanent code of fair competition at the earliest possible date.

Your committee recommends that Resolution No. 8 be approved.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

The committee amended Resolution No. 9 by striking out the paragraph which reads:

"RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor extend all moral and financial assistance possible to the Commercial Telegraphers' Union of North America during the period of organization," and inserting in lieu thereof:

"RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor extend the fullest degree of wholehearted moral support to the Commercial Telegraphers' Union of North America in support of the effort of that organization to bring all commercial telegraphers within the scope of its jurisdiction into the trade union movement."

The amended resolution reads as follows:

Commercial Telegraphers' Union Organizing Campaign

Resolution No. 9.—By Delegate Frank B. Powers, Commercial Telegraphers' Union of North America.

WHEREAS, Employees of the telegraph communication industry for the first time in history have been given the right to organize for agreement with the telegraph companies under the National Industrial Recovery Act; and

WHEREAS, Many employes even yet are unaware of the rights conferred on them by the Act, because of misrepresentation of the President's Re-employment Agreement by officials of the companies, and also because of the inability of the Commercial Telegraphers' Union of North America to reach all sections of the country because of limited funds and organizers; and

WHEREAS, The poorly paid telegraph employes must be granted exceptionally low dues rates, making the process of building up a strong organization a prolonged one; therefore, be it

"RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor extend the fullest degree of whole-hearted moral support to the Commercial Telegraphers' Union of North America in support of the efforts of that organization to bring all commercial telegraphers within the scope of its jurisdiction into the trade union movement."

The committee recommends the adoption of the resolution as amended.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Powers, Commercial Telegraphers' Union: I rise to give the delegates some information about the Commercial Telegraphers, because it has been a very great many years since we have appeared before this convention, and so many delegates have asked me about the conditions today that I believe it would be well to make some sort of a statement.

Every one of the delegates comes in contact with telegraph workers in all parts of the country. You may have noticed that there has been a complete change in the personnel in the last ten or twelve years. A few years ago at least 90 per cent of telegraphers were male; today about 70 per cent are women. It is a new problem, and the movement should realize that we have an industry of women to deal with. They have come in within ten or twelve years and have no education in the trade-union movement. We will have to have the assistance of the central bodies and state federations to help educate them in unionism.

The Commercial Telegraphers' Union has gone through the same situation all of you have in the past four years. I do not want to say anything about that, but I want to say something about the fight we made on the Communists in Canada in 1925 and 1927. The Commercial Telegraphers were the object of attack of the Communists in 1925 and it took us two years to clean them out of our union. I believe the Railway Telegraphers, the Maintenance of Way organization and the Railroad Clerks from Canada will agree the Commercial Telegraphers helped to put down the Communist movement when it spread into their ranks a few years later.

I want to express the thanks of the organization I represent to the Maintenance of Way and the Railroad Telegraphers and the Railway Department for the help given us in Canada. We asked for no financial assistance at that time. We poured thousands of dollars into the fight and we beat the communist movement. We have been able to carry on for the past four years only because of the loyal membership that

we have. Today we find ourselves in the position where some 35,000 telegraph workers have had the chance to organize. They are asking for a chance to organize and we have got to get the message to them through personal contact. You know how many organizers that would take, and that is why we are calling the attention of the delegates to this portion of the report, so that when you talk to telegraph workers in various parts of the country you will do your share in organizing the new type of feminine workers who have had no previous education in the movement.

I want to say a few more words about the condition of these employees and the urgent need of speedy organization and a hearing on the code. Suffice to say that when General Hugh Johnson refers to the conditions in the telegraph industry as "highly unsatisfactory" it was well to refer to some of the conditions on which he based his statement. When I tell you that telegraph messengers are working for as low as 10 cents an hour under the Blue Eagle, you know what kind of industry we have. These messengers at 10 cents an hour are taking business away from the advertisers and distributors that are working under the Blue Eagle. Skilled telegraph girls working in the hotels in Washington under the Blue Eagle are making only \$54 a month, 48 hours a week. That is one of the reasons why General Johnson declared that this P. R. A. was "highly unsatisfactory." Just what is holding up the date of an early hearing we cannot find out.

I am glad the committee reported favorably upon this part of the resolution. I do not want to take up any more of the time of the delegates except to assure you that the Commercial Telegraphers' Union is going to respond to this call and we are going to do what we can for these employes whether they are actually dues-paying members or not.

I think it should be called to the attention of the public that a great many organizations in this American Federa-

tion of Labor are not interested in this NRA as a golden harvest for collecting initiation fees and dues. A majority of them look upon this movement as an opportunity to serve. It is a chance for us to do something for our fellow workers. You hear employers talk in the hearings about their inherent right to collect 10 per cent plus on their investment; they want 6 per cent net on their investment, but you do not hear the representatives of labor talking about 6 per cent. The labor men are not asking for anything of that sort. Why should there not be a little more reference to the unselfish and self-sacrificing movement among the labor men on behalf of this NRA movement?

When you run across telegraph workers in any part of the country, tell them the NRA means just what it says. You have a right to organize and bargain collectively with representatives of your own choosing. Some of them do not believe it yet, and naturally the telegraph officials do not tell them, "Yes, you have a right to join the Commercial Telegraphers' Union," but, "lay off and do not be in a hurry to do it." Give us a little help and we will put this thing over.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Resolution No. 14 was amended by the committee by striking out the words "the compulsory unemployment insurance issue into a Federal or State law," and substituting in lieu thereof, "such compulsory unemployment insurance legislation as may be permissible under the constitution, including provisions for Federal aid to the states, and to urge the enactment of compulsory unemployment insurance laws in every state of the Union."

As amended the resolution reads as follows:

Unemployment Insurance

Resolution No. 14—By Delegate Phillip Ickler, of the Central Labor Union, Pensacola, Florida.

WHEREAS, The unemployment situation is still a great menace to our coun-

try and if it is not curbed to some extent very soon the reaction might be disastrous to our nation; and

WHEREAS, The unemployment problem will be a permanent one to a certain degree due to the many new labor-saving devices and machinery constantly being invented; and

WHEREAS, Our last convention of the American Federation of Labor held at Cincinnati, Ohio, voted almost unanimously in favor of an unemployment insurance; and

WHEREAS, The NRA movement with its tremendous working force in cooperation with the public has thus far been able to bring back to work only about two million men, leaving about ten million still unemployed, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in its 53d Annual Convention held in Washington, D. C., beginning October 2, 1933, urges every possible means and power available to make the necessary arrangements to fight during the next session of the Congress of the United States for the enactment of such compulsory unemployment insurance legislation as may be permissible under the constitution, including provisions for Federal aid to the states, and to urge the enactment of compulsory unemployment insurance laws in every state in the union.

Your committee desires to direct the attention of the convention to the report of the Executive Council at the Cincinnati convention a year ago in which it was clearly stated that Federal constitutional limitations were such as to make the enactment of a compulsory unemployment insurance law applicable to all workers throughout the United States impossible and that in the absence of a constitutional amendment, state legislation was the only means through which such laws could be enacted.

The committee recommended the adoption of the resolution as amended.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Federal License Law

Resolution No. 18—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L.

WHEREAS, The Vancouver Convention, 1931, of the American Federation of Labor requested the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor

to have a bill prepared for introduction into the Congress of the United States which would provide for a Federal License Law; and

WHEREAS, The Cincinnati Convention, 1932, of the American Federation of Labor again called upon the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to prepare a Federal License Law; and

WHEREAS, Under existing industrial developments it has become more necessary than ever that this subject should be presented to the Congress of the United States; be it

RESOLVED, That this 53d Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor request the Executive Council to have a thorough study made of the legal and constitutional aspects of such a law, and that this convention respectfully request the Executive Council to have a bill providing for a Federal License Law introduced in the coming session of the Congress of the United States.

In connection with Resolution No. 18, your committee directs attention to the license feature of the National Industrial Recovery Act, which, however, automatically expires by limitations of the licensing sections of the law within a relatively short time. We believe it urgent that a permanent license law of the sort contemplated by the resolution be enacted by Congress before the expiration of the licensing provisions of the National Industrial Recovery Act. Your committee therefore recommends that, as a substitute for the resolution, the Executive Council be instructed to prepare and introduce in Congress a Federal License Bill relating to individuals, firms and corporations engaged in interstate business.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

President Green: It was announced at a previous session that the National Commander of the American Legion would bring to us a message of good will and greeting. He is here this morning. We welcome him. We are very glad to have him here, and we await with great interest the address which he will deliver.

It might be appropriate just now for me to remark that it has been indeed

pleasing to all connected with labor, and I think to all connected with the American Legion, because there has been developed between these two organizations a cooperative understanding. We have exchanged visitors at each convention and we have cultivated an understanding and good will. We have so many things in common, and upon any point of controversy we have met them like men, endeavoring to find a basis of accommodation and understanding.

Commander Hayes was elected about ten days or a week ago to this honorable position. We congratulate him upon his election. We wish him success in all his work and wish to assure him of our continued cooperation and earnest support. I am glad indeed to present to you the National Commander of the American Legion, our good friend Edward A. Hayes, of Illinois.

MR. EDWARD A. HAYES

(National Commander, The American Legion)

Mr. President, Delegates of the American Federation of Labor: Gratitude dwells within me for the expressions just given by your President. Certainly there are many subjects regarding which our organizations have a singleness of purpose that mere mention of some of them will suffice. It is pleasant to say that the humanitarian bases upon which the American Federation of Labor is founded are similar to those of the American Legion. We see eye to eye on the subject of immigration. The future of our beloved country and the welfare of its people find mutual expression in the ranks of both labor and the Legion. Steadfast adherence to our form of government, vigorous opposition to those with communistic tendencies, and insistence upon the maintenance and transmission to coming generations of the ideals upon which this country was founded and developed, all find the organizations which we represent in complete harmony.

In fact, as I scan this audience I see the faces of many who probably served and who serve side by side with those of us who make up the Legion. Just the other day, at our Chicago convention, we were honored by the presence and inspired by the sound, patriotic utterances of your representative, our distinguished comrade, George Berry, of Pressmen's Home, Tennessee.

Ever since my official participation several years ago in the installation ceremonies at Chicago Union Labor Post of the American Legion I have felt, as certainly our organization feels, the need for continued and even closer cooperation with the ranks of labor.

With knowledge, therefore, of the mutuality of interest in the objectives of labor and the Legion, may I recount here some of the most recent expressions of our representative body, the Chicago convention.

First of all I want to say that just as the American Legion stands for the highest ideals which we know as American, we also stand for a sound and stable currency—we want to know just what our dollar is worth. At the great convention at Chicago just closed the delegates representing the more than ten thousand Posts that make up our organization asked by formal resolution that our government give the most careful study to the dangers of inflation and reaffirmed its faith in a sound American dollar.

The average American soldier has never been called an ultra-conservative. The average former soldier may not be an economist, but there is one thing he does want to know—he wants to know just how much the dollar is worth to him and his family. The man earning a small wage or salary; the disabled man or his dependent is chilled with dread when he contemplates a fluctuating currency that may be worth one hundred cents to the dollar one day and but sixty-five a day or so later. There may be some advantage to be derived from this inflation and fluctuation, but certainly these advantages will not accrue to the great body of men who make up the membership of the American Federation of Labor and the American Legion. I reaffirm my faith in the soundness of the American Government and the soundness of the American dollar.

I would like to reiterate, if I could do so with the same eloquence, of which I am not capable, statements made by your representative to us relative to participation in the National Recovery Act. We of the Legion want to go along, hand in hand, in the things you will know, and we will learn, many of them from you, are the very best for this beloved country of ours.

We know the leader in the N. R. A., who is a comrade of ours, General Johnson, is devoted in his heart, of doing the very thing you men who represent labor and we men who represent the Legion desire should be done for this beloved country of ours. We know it is your objective, as it is our objective, to see to it that there is, as near as is humanly possible, a combined effort to

bring about the things you men want to do in the building up of this country.

For several years confusion has existed relative to the Legion's insistence that proper provision be made for men disabled by reason of their war service. After months of study the unanimous expression of the Legion can be stated with no possibility of confusion or misunderstanding.

Men disabled in the line of duty at no time received more than that to which they were justly entitled. Recent cuts in veteran expenditures took away payments from men who were actually disabled in line of duty, although the organization which insisted upon these cuts professed sincerity when they stated that nothing should be taken from men actually disabled in service, or by reason of injuries suffered on the field of battle. The Legion speaks as one man in demanding that these men so disabled—thousands and thousands of whom are actual battlefield casualties—be restored to the status existing prior to the passage of the so-called Economy Act.

We reiterate our stand that it is the responsibility of the Federal Government to provide adequate hospitalization for any veteran actually disabled who is not reasonably able to care for himself.

There is no opposition on the part of the Legion to any of the constituted authorities of this government, this beloved United States of ours. There will be cooperation, but when right must be stated, if the Legion believes that such and such a principle is right, we will state that principle as God gives us to see the light, and hope that the constituted authorities will see with us.

Certainly we cannot agree with the contention that one who has served his country in time of need should be abandoned by the country when he finds himself disabled and in need of hospitalization.

Thousands of our comrades whose lungs are gone and whose disabilities were recognized as due to their service are now being cut off because they cannot produce required technical proof. Men and women with shattered minds—memory gone—and with no means of adducing evidence which for ten years was not required, are now being advised that the beloved government which they served no longer recognizes their pitiable condition as being due to their service. It is our studied belief that every American citizen who will take the time to learn and understand the problem of these so-called presumptive cases will insist with the Legion that those who were properly on the rolls should have their compensation restored.

We have always insisted that the widows and orphans of the veterans who have died should receive the protection of their government. There are but few indeed who will disagree with this point and fewer still who would like to see these dependents of men who have laid down their lives for the perpetuation of the American government forced to ask alms or become the objects of private charity.

While we contemplate with pity and compassion our comrades whose health and whose lives were wrecked in the last war, the most destructive and the most devastating that ever scourged the earth, our thoughts naturally turn to ways and means to protect our children and our children's children from the horrors and suffering inflicted upon our generation. We seek to prepare for peace and to build for peace. We have seen war and its aftermath; the silent suffering more terrible than the wreckage of battle.

We believe that America will never seek a war and that war will never seek a prepared America. We believe in an America, peace-loving and intent on peace but strong enough to insure and enforce the peace. We know that the pitifully small army in existence at the start of every war has never kept us out of war. We are opposed to the disarmament of the United States for the purpose of economy or as an acclaimed means to bring about world peace or as an example which some persons hope other nations will follow.

Among the armies of the world the American ranks seventeenth in strength and among the navies the American ranks third, although this nation ranks fourth in population and first in wealth.

The Legion holds that national defense interests every man, woman and child in constant equal and vital degrees and should, therefore, be a constant quantity. It should be the last element of a nation's organization to be influenced by economic conditions. National defense must be absolutely and always divorced from politics.

The Legion has confidence in the soundness of the National Defense Act and having equal confidence in the war and navy departments, the agencies definitely charged with the application of this act—the Legion repeats in 1933 its demand made in the two previous national conventions for the appropriations calculated by the war and navy departments as the minima necessary for a reasonably effective application of the National Defense Act.

Mr. President and members of this conference: It is an extreme pleasure for me to convey to you the sincere greetings of the organization which I

have the honor to represent. We will go along with you, hand in hand, studying the various problems of this beloved Government of ours, realizing, as we do, that from your ranks came in the World War nearly 800,000 of those who served. In the labor organizations we find our own comrades, marching side by side with you in the application of the principles of your organization. It is a personal pleasure, one of the privileges of the high office to which they have elevated me, to bring this message to you. I got rid of another engagement to come here and express the appreciation for the opportunity to come and speak and commune with you and continue the spirit of cooperation which has so long and so beautifully existed.

President Green: Fellow delegates, I just wish to make this brief response to the eloquent and inspiring address of the Commander of the American Legion. I repeat again that we appreciate his visit, coming as he has from the American Legion convention which has just adjourned, setting aside a number of engagements to come here, which makes us understand more clearly his deep interest in the relationship which exists between the two organizations. We interpret his visit here as the evidence of a strong desire on his part to strengthen and cement the bonds of understanding, good will and fraternity which exists between our two splendid organizations.

He has referred to several matters affecting the social and economic interests of both organizations with which we are in common accord. There is a singleness of purpose on the part of the American Federation of Labor and the American Legion in the devotion which we all show to our great Government, its free institutions and the principles of liberty and freedom, guaranteed us all by the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States. We are in accord with the American Legion in their program to provide by legislation that degree of hospitalization, care and service which this Government ought to give to those veterans who are suffering from illness and disease. We shall stand with them in supporting such humane legislation.

And then in the protection of the children of the nation the American Legion and the American Federation of Labor stand solidly together. In the protection of America from being overrun by an immigration quota that would be injurious, not only to the immigrants, but to ourselves, we stand together.

Then, my friends, we stand together in our unrelenting and uncompromising opposition to Communism in the United States of America, and in the declarations which have been made by conventions of the American Federation of Labor we have set forth the opposition of the American Federation of Labor to the recognition of Soviet Russia until it disavows the Third Internationale and until it ceases its efforts to promote world revolution in our country as well as in other nations. We have stated our position on that subject. It is the position of the American Federation of Labor, and upon that basis we stand with the American Legion. It appears to me that there are at least these two great forces actually at work in the economic, industrial and social life of the nation that will ever serve as a guarantee to the protection of the liberties and the freedom of a peace loving nation.

And so, Commander Hayes, I want to express to you, following this brief reply I make to your splendid address, the assurance of the officers and delegates of the American Federation of Labor and its membership of our cooperation and support of your hospitalization program, of these great, humane ideals which you have so eloquently announced. We ask you to carry back to your membership the greetings of the American Federation of Labor.

I thank you.

President Green: The Chair now recognizes the Secretary of the Committee on Resolutions.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

Delegate Olander, Secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

German Labor Movement

Upon the section of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 141, the committee reported as follows:

In connection with the report of the Executive Council on "German Labor Movement," your committee has had under consideration Resolutions Nos. 93, 96 and 99.

To Combat Attacks on Representative Government

Resolution No. 93—By Delegates Florence Curtis Hanson and Selma M. Borchardt, American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, There has been in Europe an alarming attack on representative government with the consequential destruction of personal liberties of the people of these countries, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor pledge its full moral and economic support to combating these destructive movements in whatever form they may take, be they from the extreme right or from the extreme left.

Protest Against the Hitler Regime

Resolution No. 96—By Delegates Florence Curtis Hanson and Selma M. Borchardt, American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, The overthrow of the German Republic by the Hitler regime has resulted in the complete loss of personal liberty in Germany and consequently in the destruction of the trade union movement; and

WHEREAS, Under the present German government there has been a campaign of revolting sadist orgies, of direct cruelty inflicted on men, women, and even children; and

WHEREAS, The very peace of the world is again seriously menaced by the military and quasi-military activities of the present German government, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor express its profound sympathy for the splendid German citizens now being so mercilessly persecuted; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we pledge our moral and economic assistance in the fight against present German terrorism, and call upon the international unions, the state federations and the city central bodies, and liberty-loving citizens everywhere to refrain from purchasing goods produced or manufactured in Germany until this outrageous program of racial and political persecution ceases, and be it further

RESOLVED, That copies of this resolution be sent to the President of the United States, the Secretary of State, the United States Tariff Commission, and to the members of Foreign Relations Committee of the United States Senate and the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives.

Hitlerism

Resolution No. 99—By Delegate R. Suny, Cleaners, Dyers, Spotters and Pressers Union, No. 18233.

WHEREAS, The advent of fascism in Germany under the brutal dictatorship of Hitler is a dictatorship in the interest of the bankers and employers as against the toiling masses; and

WHEREAS, This brutal dictatorship has already proven in action its true color by suppressing the trade unions, cutting unemployed relief and insurance, putting the unemployed workers on forced labor without wages, giving them only a starvation meal, suppressing the elected shop councils, by prohibiting strikes; by suppressing all working-class political, cultural, and even sport movements; by the most bloody barbaric reign of terror directed mainly against workers and the working class; and

WHEREAS, This bloody barbaric dictatorship of Hitler in order to maintain its rule is doing the utmost to develop race hatred, anti-semitism and nationalism, which is causing to gather faster the war clouds in Europe, and brings closer the danger of a world war; be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor at its 53d Annual Convention held in Washington, D. C., goes on record to rally the membership in the American Federation of Labor for the fight against fascism in Germany and elsewhere, and for a fight against any fascist tendencies in the United States of America and for all possible support to the anti-fascist movement and the victims of fascism.

Resolution No. 93 relates to attacks upon representative governments in Europe and proposes that "the American Federation of Labor pledge its full moral and economic support to combating these destructive movements in whatever form they may take."

Resolution No. 96 is directed against the Hitler regime in Germany and proposes that a boycott be declared against goods produced or manufactured in Germany and that copies of the resolution be sent to the President of the United States, the Secretary of State, the United States Tariff Commission, and to the members of the Foreign Relations Committee of the United States Senate and the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives.

Resolution No. 99 proposes that the convention go on record to "rally the membership in the American Federation of Labor for the fight against fascism in Germany and elsewhere" and against "any fascist tendencies in the United States."

Under the title, "German Labor Movement," the Executive Council presents a vigorous protest against the suppression of the trade unions by the Nazi government in Germany and the persecution of trade union officials and members of the Jewish race in that country. In this section of the report, the Executive Council presents a very specific recommendation which should be given very earnest and careful attention by the convention. It provides that the American Federation of Labor boycott "German made goods and German service, this boycott to continue until the German government recognizes the right of the working people of Germany to organize into bona fide, independent trade unions of their own choosing, and until Germany ceases its repressive policy of persecution of Jewish people."

The recommendation of course involves the very grave issue of international relations, and raises the highly important question as to the extent to which the citizens of one nation may properly pass judgment upon and enter into definite campaigns against activities and practices taking place within the borders of another country under apparent governmental sanction and direction. The American Federation of Labor

has heretofore carefully guarded itself against such an uncharted course. In view of the dangerous tendencies that have and are taking place in Continental Europe and Asia, there may be justification for a change. However, in so doing it would seem unwise for the American Federation of Labor to enter upon a policy of that sort against the government and commercial interests of one nation, without at the same time adopting a similar policy as against the governments and commercial interests of other countries wherein the workers are being denied the right of free trade union organization, or where any people are being persecuted because of race, religious belief or political affiliations. These are problems involving the governments of Italy with its fascism, and Russia with its communism and China, with its chaos, all presenting a condition under which free trade union organization is impossible. There are other countries, too, which present problems of the same sort.

To take action affecting one nation, under such circumstances, without giving attention to the others, might lead to the belief, or at least result in the accusation, that we were unfriendly to a particular nationality, rather than that we were protesting and campaigning against a condition of cruelty and injustice.

The situation presents grave difficulties in which keen sympathy for the oppressed and indignation against the oppressors make it hard to maintain that calmness of mind which is almost always essential to good judgment. The candor which the committee feels it owes to the convention and the affiliated organizations and their general membership impels us to say frankly that it is only with hesitancy that we venture to recommend approval of the boycott proposal presented in this section of the report of the Executive Council, and we do so only with the understanding that the policy thus entered upon, if it be adopted by the convention, is not intended to be restricted to use against the unfair and cruel practices of the German government only, but also against any other government under similar circumstances.

We insist, also, that the words "German service" are not intended to relate to serv-

ice by Germans and other nationals within the United States and must not be so construed, but to relate only to such distinctly German and other national commercial interests as, for instance, steamship companies operating under a foreign flag, etc.

The American Federation of Labor and its constituent organizations have within their membership men and women of German and other national birth and ancestry whose services to the American labor movement are of the finest and whose loyalty to the movement and to American life and ideals cannot be successfully challenged by anyone. Extreme care must be used that in applying this new policy none of our people shall be mistakenly subjected to discourtesies or even worse through misunderstandings and misapprehensions.

The action proposed by the Council is of an entirely voluntary nature on the part of our trade union movement and its various divisions and members. It is strictly economic and non-political, free from governmental influences and does not contemplate or call for support or encouragement of the government of our country or any of its agencies. It must not be directed against any individuals in our own country, regardless of their nationality, race or political beliefs and affiliations.

The leadership, control and direction of all activities carried on in accord with the proposal of the Executive Council as herein described, must be retained by the officers of the American Federation of Labor and the Executive Council, without interference from or responsibility to any organizations or groups other than to the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated organizations and members. Finally, it must be clearly understood that the American Federation of Labor stands firmly for the principle of self-determination on the part of the people of each country in their choice and support of governmental systems within the borders of their own lands.

Your committee bases its recommendation for the approval of this section

of the report of the Executive Council on this subject upon the belief and understanding that the Executive Council has presented its recommendation on this subject only after the most careful consideration and study, and upon our faith in the judgment of the officers of the American Federation of Labor.

With these observations, and with such modifications and understandings as we have suggested, your committee recommends approval of the section of the Council's report herein discussed, in lieu of and as a substitute for Resolutions Nos. 93, 94 and 99.

Delegate Olander moved the adoption of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded by Vice President Woll.

President Green: I desire just to take advantage of this opportunity for a moment to present to you some information dealing with this subject referred to by the Committee on Resolutions. I don't know, I cannot tell just how the officers and the delegates in attendance at this convention may feel after they have read the reports which come to us regarding the persecution of our fellow trade unionists and the great trade union movement of Germany. I know how I feel, and no information has come to me that has hurt me and distressed me more than this information, indicating and showing the destruction, the absolute annihilation of one of the finest organized trade union movements ever established by the workers in any country under the sun. A situation of that kind is most extraordinary, and because it is extraordinary it requires extraordinary treatment.

We love the German people, we love the German trade unionists, and it is because we love them and admire them that I feel, as I think most of you feel, that it is the duty of this convention, the stern duty of this convention to make such a strong declaration as will hearten and strengthen and encourage our German trade unionists and their splendid officers who have led them so

well and who have administered their trade union affairs so ably.

We have here in the United States the American Federation of Labor. It has grown and developed during more than half a century. Our great leader, the mighty Gompers, served as our President for more than forty years. We have organized and chartered our national and international unions, and these organizations are officered by splendid men, upright citizens, men who stand in every community as above reproach, generals of our army of organized labor, functioning, carrying on, serving the workers of the nation. We regard the American Federation of Labor as a fixed part of the economic, social and industrial life of our nation.

And yet, my friends, is there anyone here who can appreciate the fact that over night this splendid union could be wiped out, its property confiscated, its bank accounts raided and its leaders thrown into prison merely because they belonged to our trade union movement. Such a situation is inconceivable, and yet that is the very thing that happened in Germany.

An organization as powerful as ours, as well officered as ours, led by men that measure up to the men here, trained from childhood as trade union leaders, thrown into prison, their organization wiped out, and not only the leaders but their relatives persecuted.

Let me read some facts. Perhaps you have read this statement that was presented on the tables for the consideration of the delegates in attendance at this convention by a number of outstanding trade unionists who are in attendance here. I am not going to burden you by reading all of it. I want to read just one or two paragraphs:

"One of the first official acts of the Hitler government was the destruction of the labor movement. From the start the Nazi officials began a campaign of calumny and physical violence against the German union. In the space of one week, from March 2nd to 10th, every trade

union publication in the country was suppressed. The result was that the leaders of the trade union movement were cut off from all contact with the rank and file.

"The Nazis did not stop at this. Nazi storm troopers, aided and abetted by the police, began a series of raids upon the offices of the various trade unions throughout the land. The storm troops insisted first of all that the union officers display the swastika emblem in their windows. In numerous instances storm troopers emptied the cash registers and took away with them whatever money they could lay their hands on. Hardly a labor union in Germany but was visited by the Nazi storm troopers. In scores of cases the storm troopers took actual possession of the union headquarters, converting them into barracks. All this was done ostensibly 'in the interests of the Third Reich and the protection of the German workers.' . . .

"On May 2nd the Hitler government finally outlawed the General German Trade Union Association, confiscated its property, arrested the prominent leaders, took over all the labor banks, cooperatives and similar organizations, lock, stock and barrel. Every president of the 31 International Unions comprising the General German Trade Union Association was arrested at the same time, in addition to the general secretaries and clerical help. Among the prisoners were the two outstanding leaders of the association, Theodore Leipart and Peter Grassman. In all several hundred union leaders were arrested that day, and hundreds more during the days that followed. For weeks the prisoners were kept in Nazi barracks, before being transferred to the regular city prisons and ultimately banished to concentration camps.

"On May 3rd the billboards throughout the country were plastered with posters signalling 'renaissance' of the German labor unions. The next day the papers car-

ried an official announcement to the effect that Dr. Ley had been appointed as Chief Comisar over all labor unions in Germany.

"For days the wives of the imprisoned union leaders were unable to ascertain the whereabouts of their unhappy spouses. In their despair they could not even turn for help to the legal advisers of the union, because the legal advisers had also been arrested along with the other officials as 'enemies of the Third Reich.' The unhappy wives ran from one police station to another beseeching aid, seeking information, but to no avail. Everywhere they were met with the same 'information' that their 'scoundrelly husbands would never leave the prisons alive.' They were given to understand that their husbands had been charged with embezzlement of trade union funds.

"In a majority of cases the arrested union officials were brought not to the regular police station but to the Nazi barracks and placed in a dingy cell. Among those who received such treatment were the aforementioned Leipart and Grassman, the latter of whom is fairly well known in this country. Several years ago it will be recalled, Grassman was a fraternal delegate of the German unions to the convention of the American Federation of Labor. Both Leipart and Grassman are elderly men; Leipart past 66, Grassman is 62. The two old men were forced to sing Nazi hymns. They were also compelled to spend hours in gymnastics. Leipart, who had been in an automobile accident and was not yet fully recovered, fainted time and again. Among the other prisoners was a trade unionist named Arons who was forced at the point of a gun to act as drillmaster for the two elderly union leaders, marching them around the courtyard for hours on end."

I cannot take time to read more of this distressing, ghastly story. I want to quote now from some newspaper reports and official documents. Here is one: the *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, May 2, 1933:

"The 'National Labour Day' of May 1st, when hundreds of thousands of workers were driven to participate in the official

demonstration by the threat of instant dismissal, served as a preparatory step to the occupation of all trade union offices by the Nazis on May 2nd. The dissolution of the trade unions in the form in which they had hitherto existed was proclaimed in the name of a 'Committee for the Protection of German Labour' which no one had heard of until that moment.

"It did not help the German General Trade Union Federation that it had called on the workers to participate in the Hitler demonstration of May 1st. The trade union offices were occupied, and the trade union leaders maltreated. The 'German Labour Front' took over the whole trade union apparatus. We give below a few documents showing the methods that were used in these attacks on the trade unions:

"The National Socialists take over the trade unions; the leaders arrested; action through the Reich."

(Headlines in the *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, May 2nd, 1933.)

"Yes, we have power, but we have not yet won the whole nation. We have not yet won you workers a hundred per cent. . . ."

(From the manifesto issued by Dr. Ley, May 2nd, 1933.)

"Cleansing of the free trade unions and creation of a Labour organization; storm troops occupy all trade union buildings; 50 trade union leaders arrested; the second stage of the National Socialist revolution."

(Headlines in the *Volkischer Beobachter*, May 3rd, 1933.)

Who is Dr. Ley, placed in charge of that splendid organization, builded through more than half a century, yes, a century, by the trade unionists of Germany? Well, here he is:

"It may be remarked in passing that Dr. Ley was never a worker, but in his seven years of employment with the I. G. Farbenindustrie, A. G. (the chemical trust), was a highly paid official of the company, and received a large sum when he left."

Then from the reports of the International Labor Office we find these words:

"The Lelparts and the Grassmanns may hypocritically declare their devotion to Hitler as much as they like, but it is better that they should be in prison."

Those are the actual words of Dr. Ley. (Reports of the International Labor Office, May 29, page 272.)

I am not going to take the time to read more. These are shocking reports. The facts are that the German trade union movement has been wiped out. It no longer exists. Its leaders are either in prison or driven abroad, and when outside of Germany these trade union leaders make declarations in opposition to the course pursued, the reports we receive show that their families in Germany are persecuted.

Now I do not believe that that is the desire of the German people. I believe the German people would, if they had the right and the opportunity, correct that very evil, but I recognize, as the committee has said, the right of the German people to exercise self determination. We have no objection to a form of government that any nation may seek to establish. That is the business of the people themselves, but when those who are bound to us by the bonds of fraternity are persecuted or thrown in prison, when labor organizations are destroyed, I cannot conceive of an American labor movement remaining silent.

And so, my friends, if I was writing the report of this committee I would have written it stronger, I would have made it more direct and to the point, I would have wiped aside all the line of reasoning indulged in and the logic presented and I would have said, "The American Federation of Labor protests against the action taken." It is not enough under extraordinary conditions of this kind that we merely voice our protest. That is not sufficient because it carries little weight, but I say to you, my friends, that if we declare that the people of America will refuse to buy

your goods and ride on your ships, we then strike at the heart of this terror.

The British trade unions have spoken in this instance. The organizations of Czecho Slovakia and of other countries have done the same, and because it is an extraordinary situation. How we would welcome a word of sympathy and help from our brothers abroad if our American Federation of Labor had been wiped out and the presidents of our international unions, 108 of them, were languishing in prison. We would want sympathy, we would need help, we would appeal for assistance under such circumstances, and it seems to me as I speak to you I can hear the voice of those leaders in Germany in their prison cells, and the voices of their wives and children weeping in their homes, appealing to us to do something for them. I do feel strongly, I cannot express my feelings, I am touched so deeply.

Then on the other hand, why should any person be persecuted in any land because he may belong to some particular race? The test of citizenship ought to be, do you obey the law, and are you a good citizen? It must not be whether you are a Gentile or a Jew, it ought to be what you are as a man. And do we sit still when the Jewish race in Germany is being persecuted merely because they are Jews? That to me is indefensible. Some of the most brilliant men the world has ever produced or that America, Germany, England or any other country has ever produced, men of genius, men of brilliant minds have been persecuted and driven out of Germany merely because they belong to a particular race. If there is one organization in the world or in America that stands for the protection of men, regardless of race, creed or nationality, it is the American Federation of Labor.

I could not, as a responsible leader here, allow this case to come up without registering not only my judgment, but attempting to convey to you my feelings. I hope, my friends, that the report of this committee will be adopted and that in ringing and clear tones will carry across the sea, so that those in charge of the persecution of our German friends, your brothers, your sisters and families who are suffering, will know

and understand what we say. Let the word go there that there is one great movement in America that will protest against the persecution of our trade union representatives in any land, wherever it may be. I believe such a declaration will encourage and hearten and strengthen the morale and the purpose and the determination of our German trade unionists abroad to fight for the re-establishment of the trade union movement in Germany. (The entire delegation arose and applauded President Green's statement for some little time.) "

Vice President Woll: In behalf of the committee, may I say that we most heartily, most fervently, and most enthusiastically and without equivocation or evasion heartily concur in the condemnation and in the utterances and the description laid before this convention by President Green. President Green has likewise exhorted this convention unanimously to adopt the committee's report. I would not rise other than merely to explain the work of the committee and because of a misinterpretation that might possibly be put upon just one utterance of President Green, to the effect that if he had written the report he would have approached it from a different point of view and would have made it stronger. It is only in that connection that I want to explain that this was one of the proposals that received perhaps the greatest consideration by your committee, that it called into conference with it President Green, that the allegations contained in the report, the situations set forth were discussed with President Green, and the matter agreed upon that the action proposed with the change of policy involved, might be so carried on, first, as to be most effectual in the objectives to be accomplished, and secondly, to avoid bringing about in our country a condition of confusion and of friction, if not of violence itself.

As Chairman of your committee, almost every day I have had presented to me letters and telegrams from those opposed to the action of your committee, and it is clearly evident—and I want to make this statement here and now—that there are forces organizing within our own country to carry on persecution against those of the Jewish race and other nationalities. It

is to safeguard our movement, it is to present a united front, it is to help guide our organization under the direction of President Green in the carrying on of this new policy that your committee made the explanations and statements it did, and heartily endorsed the report of the Executive Council on this subject.

There is no division of thought, there is unity of mind and of purpose, and your committee feels, after the most careful and deliberate consultation and conferences and thought on the subject, that our report does that which President Green has urged and in a manner best calculated to bring about the purposes and objectives desired speedily and effectually and saves our own people from possible dissension, possible confusion, if not violence in our own land.

Delegate Borchardt, Teachers: Mr. President, I rise to plead for the real Germany, for the Germany which gave the world Goethe, Schiller, Heinrich Heine, and Mendelssohn (whose works are now done away with in Germany). The world is indebted to Germany for its leadership in science and material progress, for its spiritual leaders of every faith that have come from that land. They have given us a labor movement inspired and inspiring, and it is for that Germany that I rise to plead.

I was over there this summer. Oh, you don't see anything in Germany. People will come back and say they saw no atrocities. You don't, you can't, unless you call the streets lined with marching men in uniform atrocities, and I do, because that is war. The streets of Germany are lined with marching men! You cannot take a step without running into someone in uniform.

Yes, I did see one atrocity. There was a little girl; she could not have been more than five years of age, a wistful little thing with blue eyes. She wore a six-inch placard which covered the baby's chest, bearing the words "Mein Vater het gesuendigt!" ("My father sinned").

Her father, a Christian, had married a Jewess, and there she was, with the Scarlet Letter in new form; not know-

ing why she was punished. Incidentally she happened to be a child that had been christened, and yet was marked by this atrocity.

I spent some time among the refugees outside of Germany, because it is only there that you can get the truth. You cannot get it anywhere else. I spoke with a Lutheran minister, a nice boy who looked sixteen but who said he was twenty-three. He had said, "I will not raise the cross and the swastika together," and they knocked part of his hand off.

I spoke with a Catholic priest who held the vows of his church as sacred and binding. He had granted the sanctuary of his church to those who needed its protection; so the government ran him out.

I spoke to the treasurer of one of the local unions. To mention his name would be to pass the sentence of death on him and his family. I asked him how it was that he escaped, and he said that at about two-thirty in the morning the storm troops came to the door and battered it down. He escaped through the back door and was able to get away because of the noise and confusion.

Perhaps you have heard the story of Philip Scheidemann. His crime was not even the crime of birth, because he was born a Christian. But he had sinned; he had tried to keep Germany a Republic. He it was who helped to establish the Republic of Germany. His sin was that he believed in the form of government to which you and I subscribe, and he thought that if he ran away his family would be safer. When he went they got his family, they drowned his son, they took his daughter and broke every major bone in her body, and they caught her husband; all because Philip Scheidemann believed in the Republican form of government and said so. I did not hear of the crime of Philip Scheidemann and the punishment meted out to him from any enemy of Germany. I got it from a representative of the Hitler

government seated in a compartment with me going into Spain. He boasted of it. I said to him, "Aside from the military and the quasi-military spirit of Germany, what is the essence of the new Germany?" His chest swelled and his eyes gleamed and he said, "Discipline, madam, discipline." He told me they have the actual registration of every working man and there isn't a D. A. R. record that goes back further in a genealogical way, showing that they have favored a Republican form of government, and if they do, the workers are blacklisted.

Then he told me that this discipline goes not only to those within the land but to those without as well. Said he, "Take the case of Philip Scheidemann; he thought he had gotten away but he had not, we got his family and they know now what discipline means." Then with a pride in his new culture he told me that they had certainly finished them.

As I have said, I was then going to Spain. There the teachers of the world were meeting. Teachers are probably the most conservative body of citizens the world knows, and they voted unanimously not to seat the Germans. Why? Because they were not delegates representing the German teachers, they were delegates of the Hitler government, absolutely and morally committed to spread the gospel of that government and not there to represent the teachers of Germany. They couldn't for the teachers are not allowed to elect their own representatives any more than any other workers can.

During the discussion of this question by the teachers from practically every nation in Europe, the Germans got up and marched out in military goose step. The last man in the line was Dr. Wolff, who for many years had been president of the Allgemeiner Deutsche Lehrerverein, the German teachers' organization, a very conservative organization. Dr. Wolff is now supervisor of the schools in Berlin and many other teachers, officers of that body, are in prison.

As he marched out Dr. Wolff, who is a short man, pulled down his arm, kicked up his legs and threw back his head in goose step style. I was shocked that a man who had represented the teachers' organization could do that. But he has a daughter. His daughter is alive but Philip Scheidemann's daughter isn't. I don't know what a person would do under those conditions. I have stopped condemning Dr. Wolff—because his daughter is still alive.

The schools of Germany are in an iron cast. They are trained for the Spartan state to conquer the world. I have here the statement of the German Kultur Minister, Rust, who said: "Let no one doubt but that we train for the Spartan state. We aim to mould an iron cast for everyone." The Spartan state to conquer the world! A devotion to peace has been mentioned here. I yield to no one in my devotion to peace and international good will; I yield to no one in my devotion to friendliness among men and nations; I yield to no one in a devotion to a lofty idealism which says that we, in consecration to the ideals of this country, must remain loyal to those principles which have guided us in seeking to serve humanity and promote justice. But I, as a trade unionist, have been brought up to believe in the boycott; a weapon free from physical force.

The boycott is an economic weapon which is characteristically a trade union weapon. When the question came up of boycotting the lumber camps of Russia that were being manned by slave labor, I was one of the people who was a party to the request for their boycott. At least, I have been consistent. The boycott is the only message that can get across to those Germans. Censorship prevents their getting any other message.

You read in our papers today that the protest of the American Government was not published in the German papers. How can the thousands of fine Germans know how we feel. We have got to help our fellow trade unionists. Because censorship prevents their knowing the attitude of the world in

any other way, we ask for the boycott. Furthermore, it isn't only we that are doing the boycotting; they are doing a little of it themselves. Here is an order, under the seal of Hitler, ordering German seamen to never buy anything in America. The order tells them it is a crime against their government.

In this plea for peace, in this plea for the trade unionists with whom we serve, I feel that I am loyal to the real Germans, to those Germans who were ancestors of mine; I feel that I am loyal to the ideals of this country, for which my father and brothers, as officers in the United States Army, have fought and I feel I am loyal to the finest ideals of the American Federation of Labor and of the trade union movement, which stands for the loftiest spirit of American idealism.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Secretary Olander continued the report of the committee as follows:

Conclusion

Your committee recommends approval of that section of the Executive Council's report appearing under the general title "Conclusion" and we join heartily with the Council in its statement that, "Unselfish devotion to Labor and the cause of human freedom is more needed now than at any time in our history and the challenge to help a world in dire trouble comes with compelling force. May every labor organization set itself to the task of Labor forward during the coming year and work with all constructive agencies for our common welfare."

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Proposed Legislation to Establish Federal Technological Research and Statistical Division

Resolution No. 19—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L.

WHEREAS, The displacement of labor by power, machinery, chemical and other processes constitutes a vital industrial problem; and

WHEREAS, There are no adequate statistics indicating the extent of those methods in modern industrial production producing so-called technological unemployment; and

WHEREAS, It is most necessary to the welfare of the wage earners, management, finance, and the country as a whole that there should be adequate investigations and reports which would indicate the character of technological changes in industrial methods, and the extent to which these displace labor; be it

RESOLVED, That the 53d Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor requests the Executive Council to prepare, and have introduced into the Congress of the United States, a measure which will provide that there shall be established, under the appropriate Department of the Government, a division whose duty it shall be to set up and to carry on the necessary research and statistical study which will supply all necessary information concerning the existing stage of technological development in the industries, and the changes which will occur in industrial methods and processes, and their effect in increasing per capita production in eliminating the number of wage earners required for production purposes.

Your committee recommends that Resolution No. 19 be approved.

Delegate Gainer: I would like to ask the committee just what that resolution proposes to do? It is fairly well stated in the preamble, yet I wonder if the Chairman of the committee would submit a more comprehensive explanation.

Vice President Woll: The committee has another statement which goes further into the question and gives the necessary information. It shows what is actually going on in the field of mechanical devices and laboratory processes which lessen the number of workers required to produce a thing. We hope that such information will lead to a better understanding and a solving of the problem involved.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

"Bedeaux System"

Resolution No. 23—By Delegate F. L. Phillips of the United Rubber Workers, Federal Labor Union No. 18319, Akron, Ohio.

WHEREAS, The "Bedeaux System" of regulating wages in the B. F. Goodrich Co., Akron, Ohio, is a speed-up system contrary to all rules and regulations of the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, The workers of the B. F. Goodrich Co., and General Tire and Rubber Co., Akron, Ohio, are unable to make out their daily wage report; be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor instruct the Executive Council to take immediate action to remedy this unfair and evil state of conditions.

Your committee recommends that Resolution No. 23 be referred to the Executive Council with instructions to make such inquiry into and investigation of the subject matter as in the judgment of the Council may seem necessary and to take such action in relation thereto as the Council may deem wise and proper.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

"Efficiency" Systems

Resolution No. 27—By Delegate Robert J. Watt, of Massachusetts State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The right to earn a living is fundamental in any form of civilized society; and

WHEREAS, The debacle of the past decade has demonstrated that man must be enabled to consume the goods he produces; and

WHEREAS, The bare theory of supply and demand in a capitalistic society collapsed as soon as a mechanized industry glutted the market on the one hand and destroyed the purchasing power of the masses through the consequent unemployment; and

WHEREAS, The prostration of industry and agriculture caused a stoppage of trade and created starvation as the consequence of overproduction; and

WHEREAS, The theory of laissez faire could lead only to disintegration of society and the state; and

WHEREAS, Production should be a servant to the needs of mankind rather than the object of the efforts of a people; and

WHEREAS, The National Recovery Program is based upon a reorganization of society so that the consuming power of the people will equal the production of its industry and agriculture; and

WHEREAS, Limitation of hours of work has been established to create a proper balance between production and consumption; and

WHEREAS, The speed-up system now widely in use directly defeats the explicit purpose and plain intent of the President's program; be it

RESOLVED, That the Federation of Labor oppose the attempt to force greater production per worker, and resolutely insist that no acceleration of production be permitted without an accompanying further reduction in weekly hours of work for workmen; that no speed-up or stretch-out system be permitted which will exceed the capacity of the competent workmen; that if any production schedule exceeds the capabilities of the present employees that the schedule be discharged and not the employees; that efficiency systems, so-called, be not permitted to serve as subterfuge for the discharge of the faithful older working people.

Resolution No. 27 touches upon a wide field of economic theory and relationships which is difficult to state fully and clearly within a single resolution. It is not always wise to attempt analysis by the use of extravagant generalities. It is true, of course, that many workers who have employment are required to produce too much, and it is equally true that those out of employment suffer for the lack of an opportunity to produce at all, while those in part time employment certainly desire and should have an opportunity to increase their production. The committee recommends the following as a substitute for Resolution No. 27:

WHEREAS, The right to earn a living is fundamental in any form of society; and

WHEREAS, Continuity of employment is dependent upon the use of the articles produced and the services available; and

WHEREAS, The increasing mechanization of industry and commerce and the steady progress of science and invention has developed tremendous powers of production and service; and

WHEREAS, An increase in the consuming powers of the people to equal their powers of production is the imperative need of the hour; and

WHEREAS, The driving of workers to their full capacity as producers by long hours and speed-up systems of various sorts renders them incapable, through fatigue and lack of leisure, of performing their proper function as consumers and thus, in effect, throws out of gear the economic relationship between production and consumption which is essential to the continuity of both; and

WHEREAS, Under such circumstances, the essential balancing of powers can only be attained through the shortening of the work period and the lengthening of the leisure period; and

WHEREAS, The essential right to earn a living cannot be denied to the older workers simply because they bear the weight of years, without at the same time destroying them as independent consumers and forcing them to rely upon others for aid; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor is opposed to all so-called speed-up systems of whatsoever character, and that it continues to insist upon the reduction of the work period and the extension of leisure time, and upon conditions that will give opportunity for continuity of employment at adequate wages for all workers as absolutely essential elements to national prosperity and well-being.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Elimination of Night Work

Resolution No. 28—By Delegate Robert J. Watt, of Massachusetts State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, There is not sufficient work in our present economic set-up to insure the employment of everyone desiring work; and

WHEREAS, It is increasingly important for the well-being of society to have as nearly as possible similar work hours and similar recreational hours for the members of every family; and

WHEREAS, Night work is inherently injurious and detrimental to the health as well as the welfare of the individual and the group; be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor strive earnestly and continuously to eliminate work after 6:00 o'clock for men and women in all industries and retail establishments, attempting to insert these provisions into codes awaiting acceptance and codes already accepted under the NRA and wherever possible enacting these provisions into permanent legislation throughout all the states.

Your committee is of the opinion that night work should be eliminated wherever practicable. We agree that as suggested in the resolution families and friends should be given ample opportunity for joint recreational activities, but we must point out the obvious impossibility of eliminating all forms of work "in all industries and retail establishments" after six o'clock in the eve-

ning, as proposed in the resolution without at the same time not only preventing the use of necessary recreational facilities but also seriously increasing unemployment. There are, of course, processes in many industries which require continuous human attention during the night, in order that the plant as a whole may operate during the day. There are industries in which more or less continuity of operation is required throughout the twenty-four hours in order to operate at all. Ships cannot put into port at six o'clock every evening. Morning newspapers cannot be published without night work. The points of public recreation very largely require the use of transportation facilities, and, by the way, would not be very satisfactory under all circumstances if neither food nor beverages could be bought at retail on the grounds. We might cite many other instances to show that the resolution as drafted is both impracticable and contradictory. We recommend therefore approval of this declaration of the committee as a substitute for Resolution No. 23.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Labor Injunctions

Resolution No. 30—By Delegate R. Suny of Cleaners', Dyers', Spotters' and Pressers' Union No. 18233.

WHEREAS, The employers through their government and the Courts at different periods have used injunctions to break strikes of the workers and to prevent the trades unions from organizing workers in the struggle for better conditions and through these injunctions the employers have been able to break many strikes of the workers; and

WHEREAS, At the present period of unemployment and speed-up, the injunction is being used by the employers and their government against the workers more than ever before despite all so-called "anti-injunction" legislation; be it.

RESOLVED, That this convention vigorously condemns the use of injunctions in strikes and joins with other militant organizations in fighting the injunctions as a strikebreaking weapon of the employers against the working class; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the convention repudiate the action of the officials of any union in utilizing injunctions for any purpose whatsoever because this can only be to the detriment of working-class interests.

Under the guise of protesting against the misuse of injunctions for strike-breaking purposes, Resolution No. 30 proposes, in effect, that the convention record itself as opposed to the use of injunctions "for any purpose whatsoever" by union officials. This is a rather startling proposal in view of the well-known fact that many trade unions not only have substantial treasuries but are the owners of buildings, land, and other properties which may become involved in legal proceedings in which there may be no way of protecting the interests of the union and its members other than through the exercise of the equity powers of the court. It is to be regretted that there are still to be found among members of trade unions, including, it would seem, some few, at least, who have been entrusted by their fellow members to serve as representatives at conventions of the American Federation of Labor, who have not thought it necessary to acquaint themselves sufficiently with the very complex problem involved in the proper use and division of the powers of the equity court, notwithstanding the fact that the records of the American Federation of Labor at each succeeding convention for many years past have contained highly instructive declarations on this important subject.

Injunctions and restraining orders have an entirely proper use in the field of property and property rights, as distinct from the domain of personal rights and liberties. This has been repeatedly and emphatically stated by practically every convention of the American Federation of Labor which has dealt with the subject. It is when these writs are used to restrain and deny the exercise of personal rights, such as those of free speech, free press and assemblage, that they become improper and dangerous, because then they transgress upon a jurisdiction reserved for the exercise of definite law in which there is little or no room for

the purely discretionary powers of a judge.

The interference with such essential constitutional rights and liberties as those which relate to the expressions of opinions, either by speech or press, of appealing for mutual aid and public support, and of meeting together with a purpose of helping one another, is a matter of such serious consequence to the working people generally that it ought not to be treated lightly or carelessly by any one.

The spreading of misinformation by ruthless and antagonistic associations of employers as to the use of injunctions has served to mislead a large part of the public, members of legislative bodies and, apparently, even some members of trade unions into a belief that the protests of the American Federation of Labor against the improper use of injunctions against working people during industrial disputes is, in effect, an attack upon the equity system of the courts as a whole. The American Federation of Labor has repeatedly issued clarifying statements on this subject in language which none who cared to read could possibly mistake.

Your committee recommends the emphatic reaffirmation of the declarations of the previous conventions of the American Federation of Labor against the practice of the courts, whether state or national, in restraining or denying the exercise of personal rights and liberties through the arbitrary discretionary powers of the equity courts in connection with industrial disputes and for the purpose of breaking strikes, or in connection with any other human activity in such manner as to substitute the personal views and discretionary powers of the judge for the provisions of the law and rights inherent under the constitution.

Resolution No. 30 is not in harmony with these declarations, is misleading in its terms and is plainly designed to pervert the protests of the American Federation of Labor and its constituent membership against the misuse of injunctions for strikebreaking purposes

into a wholly uncalled for repudiation of legal procedure exercised by trade union officials in matters involving the entirely proper exercise of the equity functions of the courts. The committee therefore recommends that the resolution be nonconcurrent in.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Unemployment Insurance

Resolution No. 31—By Delegate R. Suny, of Cleaners, Dyers, Spotters and Pressers' Union No. 18233.

RESOLVED, That a system of federal government unemployment insurance be immediately established by an Act of Congress and made immediately effective, guaranteeing the average wages in the respective industries and territories in the United States. The unemployment insurance shall not be less than \$10.00 weekly for adult workers, \$3.00 for each dependent, to all workers wholly unemployed thru no fault of their own, for the entire period of unemployment; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That for all workers, no discrimination; that unemployment insurance be paid to every unemployed worker, adult, and youth, whether industrial or agricultural, office employees, and all other categories of wage labor, native or foreign-born, citizen or non-citizen, white and Negro, men and women, and without discrimination against race, color, age, or political opinion. No worker shall be deprived of unemployment insurance because of refusal to take the place of strikers or to work for less than union rates of pay; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That insurance shall be provided at the expense of the employers and the government; that the full funds for unemployment insurance shall be raised by the government from funds now set aside for war preparations and by taxation upon incomes over \$5,000 a year. In no instance shall there be any contributions levied upon the workers in any form whatsoever for this insurance; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the unemployment insurance fund shall be administered and controlled by the workers through unemployment insurance commissions composed of rank and file members of workers' organizations. That unemployment insurance commissions be empowered to establish free employment exchanges for the registration of the workers, the payment of unemployment insurance, the hearing of contested claims for unemployment insurance and appeals from awards made; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That social insurance be paid to workers to the amount not less than \$10.00 weekly for adult workers, \$3.00 for each dependent to compensate for loss of

wages through sickness, accident, old age, maternity, etc; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That part-time workers shall receive the difference between their wages and the unemployment insurance benefit. No worker shall be disqualified from receiving unemployment insurance because he refuses to work at wages below what he was formerly receiving or below the prevailing trade union rates in that vicinity, nor shall he or she be disqualified for refusing to work because of strike or unsafe or unhealthful conditions, nor where hours are longer than the usual trade union standards in the particular trade or locality; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That an employee shall not be required to accept employment if the establishment where employment is offered is at an unreasonable distance from his or her home.

Resolution No. 31 proposes a federal system of unemployment insurance which is impossible of legal enactment because plainly unconstitutional and is therefore, in effect, a proposal to delay the demand for unemployment insurance until such time as the federal constitution can be amended to empower Congress to pass an unemployment insurance law covering the workers in all industries and occupations. The Executive Council, it will be recalled, made a careful inquiry into the subject before making its recommendation to the Cincinnati convention and reported to that convention that state action was necessary because of federal constitutional limitations. Your committee therefore recommends that Resolution No. 31 be nonconcurrent in.

Delegate Kennedy, Mine Workers: I would like to ask the committee if their report in any way could be construed as opposition to the bill of Senator Wagner?

Vice President Woll: On a resolution already reported we have approved the principle involved in the question asked. Frankly, I don't know what the Senator Wagner bill contains. The committee refers to the investigation and recommendation of a year ago, which states that the Federal Constitution made it impossible to enact a Federal law covering all workers in all industries. We therefore reiterate the policies of a year ago. We have not passed judgment on the Senator Wagner bill.

Secretary Olander: Resolution 14, upon which the convention has acted, has been sent to the printer and is not here now, but it was amended to provide for legislation through state legislatures, and for such national legislation, including Federal aid, as is constitutional. I am confident it covers the Wagner bill properly.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Vice President Woll: I presume what Delegate Kennedy had in mind was, did we favor the Federal Government aiding the state governments in unemployment insurance?

Delegate Kennedy: Yes.

Vice President Woll: That was definitely, favorably acted upon by the convention at the request of this committee.

Exemption of Dues Payment for Unemployed Members

Resolution No. 32—By Delegate R. Suny of Cleaners, Dyers, Spotters and Pressers' Union No. 18233:

WHEREAS, We are in the fourth year of the crisis and over 15,000,000 workers are unemployed in the United States among whom are hundreds of thousands of workers who are members of the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, The general constitution of almost every international union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor requires that a member who is in arrears three months or six months and in some cases a year shall be stricken off the roll of membership without a vote taken in the local union, and as a result of this during the period of one year hundreds of thousands of members, as well as local unions, were suspended from the organizations; and

WHEREAS, Only with few exceptions the various international organizations have not taken steps to safeguard these unemployed members who are unable to pay dues because of unemployment and thus they played directly into the hands of the employers by weakening the organization; at the same time they have not curtailed their expenditures; they have not reduced the high salaries of the international officers, general organizers, etc., and also in many cases in order that they might receive their fat salaries they have touched the sick, disability and death benefit funds; be it

RESOLVED, That all suspensions and expulsions for nonpayment of dues cease immediately; all members unemployed the major part of each month shall be exempt from payment of dues and shall remain in good standing in the local union with full rights; that the local union be exempt from paying per capita tax to the central bodies and remain in good standing; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That all expenditures of the international offices and other central bodies be cut accordingly and these demands be sent out for a referendum immediately to the membership of each international organization.

The allegations contained in Resolution No. 30 are entirely misleading and are evidently intended as propaganda to create suspicion and distrust among

trade unionists against not only the affiliated national and international unions, but also against the American Federation of Labor and its constituent central bodies. Your committee feels obliged, in all candor, to express the opinion that the resolution was conceived either in a spirit of monumental ignorance of the facts or in deliberate malice. The committee recommends for the reasons stated herein, that Resolution No. 30 be nonconcurrent in.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

At 12:30 o'clock the convention recessed to 2:30 o'clock.

Tenth Day—Friday Afternoon Session

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

COMMUNICATIONS

Secretary Morrison read the following telegram:

San Francisco, Calif., Oct. 12, 1935.
John A. O'Connell, care William Green, Pres., American Federation of Labor, Willard Hotel, Washington, D. C.

We are jubilant over the decision of the American Federation of Labor to hold the Nineteen Thirty-four Convention in San Francisco. We are proud of the honor and privilege to welcome and entertain the leaders of our great American labor movement. We congratulate our delegates who brought it about and tell them not to forget to invite everybody to come as we are going to have a banner year and a banner convention. Thanks to you all.

E. E. VANDELEUR, Pres.,
San Francisco Labor Council.

President Green: The Chair recognizes the Secretary of the Committee on Resolutions, Delegate Olander.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

Delegate Olander, Secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

Right of City, County and State Employees to Organize Under NRA

Resolution No. 33—By Delegates Fred W. Baer, George J. Richardson, John Heinz

and Vincent Kane, of the International Association of Fire Fighters.

WHEREAS, The Government of the United States has recognized, by the enactment of the law known as the National Industrial Recovery Act, the fact that all workers have the right to organize and bargain collectively through representatives of their own choosing; and

WHEREAS, The interpretations so far given of the President's Re-employment Agreement have been that workers employed by city, county, and state governments are not intended to be covered in the provisions of such agreement; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates here assembled at this, the 53d Convention of the American Federation of Labor, instruct the executive officers and the component parts of the American Federation of Labor to endeavor to secure an interpretation of the National Industrial Recovery Act to the effect that Section 7 of the Act shall apply to all city, county, and state employes, the same as it does to all other workers.

The committee recommends approval of Resolution No. 33.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Preventing Further Reductions in Fire Fighters' Salaries

Resolution No. 34—By Delegates Fred W. Baer, George J. Richardson, John Heinz and Vincent Kane, of the International Association of Fire Fighters.

WHEREAS, The members of fire departments in many cities throughout the United States and Canada are not now receiving a living wage; and

WHEREAS, It is an assured fact that the budget committees in many localities will renew their attempts to further reduce wages of fire fighters; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates here assembled at this, the 53d Convention of the American Federation of Labor, instruct the executive officers and the component parts of the American Federation of Labor to use every means at their command to prevent any reductions in present salaries of fire fighters where such action is contemplated.

Your committee recommends approval of Resolution No. 34.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Condemning False Economy Practices in Fire Departments

Resolution No. 35—By Delegates Fred W. Baer, George J. Richardson, John Heinz and Vincent Kane, of the International Association of Fire Fighters.

WHEREAS, In many cities throughout the United States and Canada the personnel of the fire departments has been reduced and fire stations have been closed, under the guise of economy; and

WHEREAS, This practice has resulted in curtailing the efficiency of the fire departments in such cities, demoralizing the morale of the members of such departments, and jeopardizing the lives and property of the citizens of such cities; and

WHEREAS, This practice also affords fire insurance companies an opportunity to raise fire insurance rates, resulting in exorbitant costs to the public, which more than offset any seeming savings in municipal pay rolls; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates here assembled at this, the 53d Convention of the American Federation of Labor, do hereby condemn such practice as unsound and false economy, and that they instruct the executive officers and the component parts of the American Federation of Labor to use the good offices of the American Federation of Labor to insist that the personnel of fire departments be kept up to the standards necessary to maintain the fire protection requirements laid down by qualified experts.

Your committee recommends approval of Resolution No. 35.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Administration of Public Works Act

Resolution No. 40—By Delegates James T. Moriarty, Sheet Metal Workers' International Association; Robert J. Watt, Massachusetts State Federation of Labor; John J. Mara, Boot and Shoe Workers Union; John F. McNamara, International Brotherhood of Firemen and Oilers; Michael J. Flynn, Newspaper Writers Union No. 17662; John C. McDonald, International Union of Elevator Constructors; James P. Meehan, Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America; John C. Carey, Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America; Fred J. Dempsey and James F. Burke, International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees and Moving Picture Machine Operators; Edwin E. Graves, Upholsterers' International Union of North America.

WHEREAS, Congress appropriated three billion three hundred million dollars to be spent on construction of Public Works for the purpose of providing employment for industrial workers and especially building tradesmen; and

WHEREAS, Through the laxity or the inefficiency of those entrusted with the expenditure of this money there are today hundreds of thousands of industrial workers who, through being deprived of employment intended by and provided for by Congress, are in suffering and in want; and

WHEREAS, In the City of Boston alone there are today more than twenty thousand building tradesmen who were entitled to and did believe that, through the action of Congress in appropriating this sum of three billion three hundred million dollars to be spent on Public Works, they would be provided with needed and profitable employment; and

WHEREAS, These men and hundreds of thousands of other skilled and unskilled workers throughout our country, due to either the laxity or the inefficiency of those entrusted with the administration of the Public Works Act, will soon be dependent upon Public Charity; and

WHEREAS, Apparently some officials charged with the administration of the Public Works Act seemingly are more interested in using the money appropriated for employment opportunities for workers for the enrichment of land speculators,

under the guise of slum clearances; and other public officials, charged with the administration of the public works or the development of public roads seemingly are more interested in reducing wages heretofore paid to skilled workers than in providing employment opportunities at decent wages; and

WHEREAS, Taking Boston and Massachusetts as an illustration, where some seventy millions of dollars of public works have been authorized and been approved by the proper public officials, where there is no public works projects under way at this time, despite the fact that Congress appropriated and directed that this money be spent some three months ago; and

WHEREAS, There is good reason to believe that if the intent of Congress is to be carried out and employment opportunities provided for many thousands of building tradesmen and other industrial workers it is essential that the administration of the Public Works Act be entrusted to persons at least sympathetic with the intent of Congress and the plight of the unemployed workers; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this convention appeal to the President of the United States for the removal of those public officials, now entrusted with the administration of the Public Works Act, who, either through their laxity or their inefficiency, are responsible for much of the present unemployment of hundreds of thousands of those industrial workers and building tradesmen who are dependent for employment upon the successful completion of the Public Works Act unless those now in charge can show their willingness to carry out the intent of Congress and make possible the employment of unemployed workers.

Resolution No. 40 is so worded as to attribute to federal officials the faults which may be more properly charged against local and state officers. Your committee therefore recommends adoption of the following substitute for Resolution No. 40:

WHEREAS, Under the National Recovery Act, Congress appropriated \$3,300,000,000 for public works and other purposes as a means of stimulating employment throughout the country; and

WHEREAS, The expenditure of this vast sum calls for action by local and state legislative bodies, executive officials and boards and commissions to authorize, plan and develop programs of state and local public works, in addition to the distinctive federal projects; and

WHEREAS, The inauguration of this great public works program is being delayed for various reasons, prominent among which is the apparent laxity,

inefficiency or undue hesitancy on the part of many local and state bodies or officials in presenting evidences of legal authorization by the proper local and state legislative bodies or executive officials, boards or commissions, and definite plans and specifications for state and local projects; and

WHEREAS, This unfortunate delay, which has been inexcusable in many instances in various parts of the country, has seriously retarded the public works program with the effect that hundreds of thousands of workers whom the act was intended to benefit remain unemployed and continue to suffer in want and destitution; and

WHEREAS, This unfortunate situation is contrary to the purposes of the act and the intent of Congress; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, assembled in its Fifty-third Annual Convention, does hereby appeal to the President of the United States, to the Department of the Interior, and to other divisions of the Federal Government, and to the officers of state and local governments throughout the United States to expedite the public works program by all proper and reasonable means, to the end that it may be made speedily effective for the purpose of reducing unemployment and stimulating business; and be it further

RESOLVED, That all state federations of labor and city central bodies affiliated with the American Federation of Labor be instructed to bring the subject matter of this resolution to the attention of the proper officials of their respective state and local governments.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

The committee amended Resolution No. 73 by striking out the words "and that the representatives of the building trades present this or a similar resolution for adoption at the forthcoming convention of the American Federation of Labor." The amended resolution reads:

Appropriations for Public Works Program in Cities and Villages

Resolution No. 73—By Delegate M. J. McDonough, Building Trades Department.

WHEREAS, Under the National Recovery Act there is available more than three billion dollars; and

WHEREAS, A quick and widespread distribution of this sum in productive work should give direct employment to hundreds of thousands of men; and

WHEREAS, Congress in making this fund available directed that it be used to provide immediate employment; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention concurs wholeheartedly in the announced intention of the Secretary of the Interior to stimulate construction in the cities and villages of the country in cooperation with local authorities. That only through the widespread distribution of Federal funds can work be provided for the millions now unemployed in the building and allied trades. That this convention regards itself as vigorously opposed to commitments of the recovery funds for great isolated projects, costing hundreds of millions of dollars, and employing a relatively small number of workers forced to migrate from their accustomed homes. That through the quick increase in purchasing power which would follow the diffusion of work into thousands of cities and villages, in the building of postoffices and clearing of slums, the erection of model workers' homes, and the elimination of grade-crossings, local merchants as well as local skilled labor will immediately benefit; and be it further

RESOLVED, That copies of these resolutions be forwarded to the President and Secretary of the Interior.

Your committee recommends that the resolution, thus amended, be adopted.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Protesting Destruction of Labor Standards in the Building Trades Under NRA Codes

Resolution No. 78—By Delegate M. J. McDonough, Building Trades Department.

WHEREAS, Some officials of the NRA are attempting to undermine living standards under the cloak of an argument that such action would stimulate building construction; and

WHEREAS, Such officials have made efforts to reduce, even the wages, and lengthen the hours proposed by the employers, which are considerably lower than those requested by workers; and

WHEREAS, Such action is contrary to the spirit and intent of the National Recovery Act; and

WHEREAS, Such action would doom the cooperative endeavor to resuscitate our economic life; be it

RESOLVED, That The American Federation of Labor, in Convention Assembled, protest to the Administration

against the propagandizing and application of any policy tending to reduce wages below a decent standard of living and prolonging hours to an extent which would effect no considerable absorption of the unemployed.

The committee recommends adoption of Resolution No. 78.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Regulations to Protect Wage Standards on NRA Public Works Construction Program

Resolution No. 84—By Delegates John Possehl, Daniel J. Tobin, P. J. Morrin, and M. J. Collieran.

WHEREAS, Title II of the National Industrial Recovery Act under the caption "Public Works and Construction Projects" has established the Federal Emergency Administration of Public Works for the purpose of authorizing grants to the highway departments of the several States in an amount not less than \$400,000,000, to be expended by such departments in accordance with the provisions of the Federal Highway Act, approved November 9, 1921, as amended and supplemented, except as provided in this title of the National Recovery Act; and

WHEREAS, Under Section 204, paragraph 2 (C) of the Act provides that all contracts involving the expenditure of such grants shall contain provisions establishing minimum rates of wages, to be predetermined by the State highway department, which contractors shall pay to skilled and unskilled labor, and such minimum rates shall be stated in the invitation for bids and shall be included in proposals for bids for the work; and

WHEREAS, The highway commissions of the various States have established the following minimum wage rates adopted for use on National Recovery Highway Projects, as of September 11, 1933:

State	Unskilled Labor	Skilled Labor
Alabama	\$0.30	\$0.40
Arizona	0.50	0.62½ and 1.25
Arkansas	0.30	0.40
California	0.50	0.75 and 1.37½
Colorado	0.60	0.75
Connecticut	0.45	0.60
Delaware	* 0.30 and 0.35	* 0.40 and 0.45
Dist of Columbia	0.40	0.60
Florida	0.30	0.40
Georgia	0.30	0.40
Hawaii	0.45	0.55
Idaho	0.55	0.65
Illinois	0.40	0.50
Indiana		
Iowa	0.40	0.60
Kansas		

State	Unskilled Labor	Skilled Labor
Kentucky		0.50
Louisiana	0.30	0.50
Maine	0.40	0.45
Maryland	* 0.30 and 0.35	* 0.375 to 0.525
Massachusetts ..	0.45	0.55
Michigan	0.55	0.65
Minnesota	0.30	0.40
Mississippi	0.40 and 0.50	0.75
Missouri	0.60	0.75
Montana	0.40	0.60
Nebraska	0.60	0.75
Nevada	0.40	0.50
New Hampshire ..	0.50	0.65
New Jersey	0.40 and 0.50	0.55-0.65-0.75
New Mexico	0.30	0.40
North Carolina ..	0.50	0.60
North Dakota	* 0.35 and 0.60	* 0.60 to 0.90
Ohio	0.40	0.60
Oklahoma	0.55	0.65
Oregon	0.35 and 0.40	0.45-0.60-0.75
Pennsylvania	0.30	0.40
Rhode Island	0.45	0.55
South Carolina ..	0.30	0.40
South Dakota	0.45	0.55
Tennessee	0.30	0.40
Texas	0.35	0.45
Utah	0.50	0.60 to 1.125
Vermont	0.333	0.40 to 0.80
Virginia	0.30	0.40
Washington	0.35	0.65
West Virginia ..	0.35	0.45
Wisconsin	0.45 to 0.60	0.55 to 0.70
Wyoming	0.55	0.65

* Tentative.

and

WHEREAS, These rates have been approved by the Bureau of Public Roads of the Department of Agriculture and are being used in the specifications for each project undertaken in whole or in part with such funds as are being allotted by this authority.

WHEREAS, Special provision of any other character financed whole or in part under Section 204 under the National Industrial Recovery Act have placed the interpretation upon the term "skilled labor" to include all persons employed as operators of power-driven equipment (other than passenger automobiles, and trucks of not more than 1½ tons rated capacity), carpenters, masons, blacksmiths, mechanics and all other persons employed at work requiring principally the use of special tools ordinarily used by persons skilled in particular trades. Any subcontractor, who operates equipment, or who works with tools of any trade shall be considered a skilled laborer for the time engaged in such work; and

WHEREAS, The highway commissions of 8 States of the Union have adopted a minimum rate of 30¢ for unskilled labor and 40¢ for skilled labor, which would provide only \$9.00 per week for unskilled labor and \$12.00 per week for skilled labor; and

WHEREAS, It is the opinion of the signers hereof that the minimum rates so established for unskilled and skilled labor do not provide a wage that could be considered as reasonable compensation sufficient to provide for the hours

of labor as limited, a standard of living in decency and comfort; and

WHEREAS, The Federal Emergency Administration of Public Works, under Administrator Harold L. Ickes, has established by agreement with the Labor Advisory Board composed of Henry W. Blumenberg, United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners; Charles L. Reed, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers; John Coefield, President, United Association of Journeyman Plumbers and Steam Fitters; Thomas A. Lane, Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union; M. J. McDonough, President, Building Trades Department; of which Isadore Lubin, Commissioner of Labor Statistics, is Chairman, and which was appointed by Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins to advise with the Federal Emergency Administration of Public Works, the following resolution which was adopted by the Special Board of Public Works, as follows:

"I. Be it resolved that, for the purpose of determining wage rates on all construction financed from funds appropriated by the Administrator of Public Works under the authority of the National Industrial Recovery Act, the United States shall be divided into three zones as follows:

SOUTHERN ZONE

South Carolina	Mississippi
Georgia	Louisiana
Florida	Arizona
Arkansas	Oklahoma
Alabama	Texas
	New Mexico

CENTRAL ZONE

Delaware	North Carolina
Maryland	West Virginia
Virginia	Kentucky
Tennessee	Missouri
Colorado	Kansas
Utah	Nevada
California	District of Columbia

NORTHERN ZONE

Maine	Wyoming
New Hampshire	Oregon
Vermont	South Dakota
Massachusetts	Idaho
Rhode Island	Pennsylvania
Connecticut	Ohio
New York	Michigan
New Jersey	Illinois
Indiana	Iowa
Wisconsin	North Dakota
Minnesota	Montana
Nebraska	Washington

"The hourly wage rates to be paid on construction projects in these zones shall not be less than the following:

Southern Zone

Skilled Labor	\$1.00
Unskilled Labor40

Central Zone

Skilled Labor	\$1.10
Unskilled Labor45

Northern Zone

Skilled Labor	\$1.20
Unskilled Labor50

"II. Be it further resolved, that in the event that the prevailing hourly rate prescribed under collective agreements or understandings between organized labor and employers on April 30, 1933, shall be above the minimum set for any district within that zone, that agreed wage rate shall be the rate to be paid for employees on construction projects financed from funds appropriated by the Administrator of Public Works under the authority of the National Industrial Recovery Act.

"III. Be it further resolved, that the rates specified in paragraphs I and II shall be effective during the life of any contract financed from funds appropriated by the Administrator of Public Works under the authority of the National Industrial Recovery Act, but for a period not to exceed 12 months.

"IV. Be it further resolved, that the above designated minimum rates are not to be used in discriminating against assistants, helpers, apprentices and serving laborers who work with and serve skilled journeymen mechanics and who are not to be termed as 'unskilled laborers.'

"V. Be it further resolved, that there shall be created a Board of Labor Review which shall hear all issues arising under the operation of all contracts financed from funds appropriated by the Administrator of Public Works under the authority of the National Industrial Recovery Act and from such problems as may result from fundamental changes in economic conditions during the life of these contracts. The Board of Labor Review to be created shall consist of three members: one to represent labor, one to represent contractors, and a Chairman who shall represent the Federal Emergency Administrator of Public Works. The members of this Board shall be appointed by the President of the United States, but no member shall be connected in any way with any organization of building workers or directly connected with, or have any interest in contracting. The Chairman shall not be in any way connected with the Federal Emergency Administration of Public Works. Decisions of the Board of Labor Review shall be binding upon all parties."

"LABOR—EMPLOYMENT

"1. The contractor shall post and keep posted in a prominent and easily accessible place at the site of the work a clearly legible statement of all wage rates to be paid certain classes of labor to be employed on the work.

"2. Engineers will keep in touch with the State Reemployment Director of the United States Employment Service, who cooperates with the State Relief Director.

The purpose of this contract is to keep informed of the status of the labor market in the State and to furnish information to public bodies and other applicants and to contractors relative to the availability of labor of various classes, carrying out the policy enunciated in Circular No. 1, Article 2, Section 1 (5).

"3. Highly skilled or organized labor shall not be required to register for work at such local employment agencies, but shall be secured in the customary ways through recognized trade union locals. In the event such highly skilled or organized labor is not secured by such locals within forty-eight hours after request is filed with them, then such workers shall be obtained through local employment agencies designated by the United States Employment Service.

"4. Employers, contractors and sub-contractors will be required to report monthly on the last day of each month, on forms furnished by the United States Department of Labor, the number of persons employed, the total amount of pay roll, the total man hours worked, the wage scales paid the various classes of labor, and the sources of materials used.

"5. In the event that any question shall be raised (prior to the awarding of the contract) as to what wage rates prevail in any district under agreements and understandings between organized labor and employers, the United States Department of Labor shall determine such rates.

"6. The thirty-hour week provision (Section 206 of National Industrial Recovery Act):

"This requirement shall be construed:

"(a) To permit working time lost because of inclement weather or unavoidable delays in any one week to be made up in the succeeding week or weeks of any calendar month.

"(b) To permit the limitation of not more than 130 hours' work in any one calendar month to be substituted for the requirement of not more than 30 hours' work in any one week

on projects in localities where a sufficient amount of labor is not available in the immediate vicinity of the work.

"It shall not be considered practicable and feasible to apply either of these limitations to work located at points so remote and inaccessible that camps are necessary for the housing and boarding of all the labor employed and if so determined by the State Engineer (P. W. A.) prior to advertisement: Provided, That in such cases no individual shall be permitted to work more than 8 hours in any one day or more than 40 hours in any one week.

"7. Work on projects financed in whole or in part from funds appropriated by authority of the National Industrial Recovery Act and expended by the Administrator of Public Works shall not be permitted on Sundays or legal holidays except in cases of emergency."

And

WHEREAS, The Federal Emergency Administration of Public Works adopted this resolution only after careful investigation as being a just and fair minimum wage to apply to public works projects; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 53d Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor instruct the incoming Executive Council thereof to use its moral and economic resources for the purpose of establishing a minimum rate on the highway construction projects financed wholly or in part by the \$400,000,000 fund administered under the supervision of the Bureau of Public Roads of the Department of Agriculture, in order that the intent and purpose of the expressed intent of the National Industrial Recovery Act provide a minimum wage that shall be just and reasonable compensation sufficient to provide for the hours of labor as limited, a standard of living in decency and comfort.

Your committee recommends that the preamble or whereas paragraphs of Resolution No. 84 be referred to the Executive Council for its information and that the resolve paragraph be adopted by the convention.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

President Green: We will now interrupt the report of the Committee on Resolutions while we hear from our distinguished friend and visitor. I know you share with me my feeling of happiness and satisfaction over the outcome of the trial of Sena-

tor Davis upon certain charges that have been made against him. He comes to this convention from the trial in New York, thoroughly and absolutely vindicated by the decision of a jury of his peers. It took the Government many months and it required the expenditure of many thousands of dollars to prepare the charges and prosecute those charges, but it just took a jury in New York fifteen minutes to find Senator Davis not guilty. I am sure that this speedy decision upon the part of the jury must have confounded his enemies, and at the same time it must have made his innumerable friends very, very happy.

No man who knew Senator Davis, none of us who have been privileged to associate with him and to appraise him and his actions ever believed him guilty of the charges that have been filed against him. And so it is indeed most significant and highly pleasing that, following his vindication of last evening, he should come to a convention of the American Federation of Labor to deliver his address. We are happy that he is here, we share with all his friends in our feeling of satisfaction over the result. We wish him success in all his work and we want him to know that he enjoys the confidence, the esteem, the respect and regard of the men and women of labor.

I present to you United States Senator James J. Davis.

HONORABLE JAMES J. DAVIS
(United States Senator)

Labor leaders have plenty of trouble. You have to face all of it and keep whistling. Trouble may reach you in the form of a black list, an injunction, a lockout, or a knockout. Then when all of these have failed, old Mother Trouble may snipe at you with an indictment. There is just one way to treat old Mother Trouble; that is the way Daniel did. You remember that the enemies of Daniel disliked him because they could not understand him. He had the misfortune to be different from them. And so they put Daniel in the lions' den and expected to see the lions treat him like a T-bone steak. But Daniel was not afraid of the lions for he knew within himself that he was right and so he boldly said: "My God will deliver me." And so the Bible tells us that the Lord stopped the mouths of the lions so they could not bite Daniel. I imagine they may have sniffed at him a little bit; perhaps they squealed, and

grunted and roared. Daniel saw them lash their tails and heard them snort but they could not bite Daniel. Labor men are in the lions' den the greater part of the time and the only way to face trouble is to dare to stand like Daniel.

Although all of us at times, mostly through carelessness, bring trouble down upon ourselves, one of the greatest sources of trouble for us and the whole world is the spirit of intolerance which still lives on among us. In spite of our much vaunted civilization, the ugly, monstrous, hideous face of jealous intolerance raises itself before us. Intolerance put Daniel in the lions' den; forced Socrates to drink the hemlock; crucified Jesus upon Calvary's cross; and caused Lincoln to suffer death as a martyr. The intolerance of a misguided English Government caused Washington to suffer amidst the crimson blood-printed tracks of his men at Valley Forge.

For centuries, the spirit of intolerance denied labor the right of collective bargaining. Intolerance treated labor as a commodity, something to be bought and sold, and not as human beings. Intolerance perpetuated the twelve-hour day and the seven-day week for untold ages. Intolerance permitted harmful and oppressive conditions of work in which at one time, women were substituted for pack mules to work in the mines and little children were chained to the machines in the factories. Intolerance condemned the proper distribution of the joint earnings of capital and labor. Intolerance fought collective bargaining until fighting was in vain and intolerance was defeated. Today, collective bargaining representing unnumbered millions of laborers has reached such strength and magnitude that it successfully defies the spirit of intolerance which once condemned it.

All lands are troubled with the curse of intolerance. Today we witness the persecution of the Jews in Germany—an evidence of the intolerance of race and creed. We see the spirit of the inquisition revived and a noble people reduced to martyrdom. I don't believe that the fair-minded people of the civilized world will long endure such an insult to civilization.

A true trade unionist stands by a principle. He suffers much for that principle, and those who read the Bible love the story of the fiery furnace. You remember Nebuchadnezzar, the King of Babylon, had three smart young Jews ruling over part of Babylon—Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-Nego. They were called in by old Neb and told to worship the Golden Calf. They refused and the mob induced old Neb to order the three of them cast into the fiery furnace. They were cast in but came out, we are told, without the scorching of an eye brow, but those who cast them in were enveloped in the flames and perished. That story has come down to us through the ages. That story brings to my mind the fate of those who violate the principle of trade unionism.

The father not alone is called a black leg for the son inherits it. It has been asked why doesn't it go to the fourth generation—but there is no fourth generation of that sort. My father said to me many years ago—I have but very little to leave you, but I can transmit to you a card in the Amalgamated that has never been tarnished—and this no one knows better than that veteran labor leader M. F. Tighe who escorted me to the platform this afternoon.

One of the encouraging signs of today is the struggle which is being waged against this wicked, brutal spirit of intolerance in our own land. We see a new industrial plan in action. This plan calls for cooperation and united strength of all groups of people in America. Veritably, we have learned today "in union there is strength." This applies not only to labor but to the Nation.

While labor has always had the right of collective bargaining, judicial legislation in many instances have often denied them that right. However, the codes of fair competition are a body blow against this kind of intolerance. Some think the National Recovery Act radical legislation. I predict that while it may seem new today, it will be regarded as commonplace and truly conservative twenty-five years from now. I predict that if this plan is honestly administered industry will learn to govern and control itself by reason rather than by cut-throat competition. I voted for the Recovery Act—not to put the Government into business, but to put some honest business principles into industry.

The demand for conformity and uniformity today produces intolerance. We are obsessed with the ideals of standardization. We have a mania for organization. We standardize and centralize and try in every possible way to take the color out of life.

We have evidence of this standardization in our lives in the constituent unions of the American Federation of Labor. Not a great many years ago, when my grandfather in his younger days was working in the rolling mill, all employees dealt directly with their employers as individuals. Labor was not organized and there was no such thing as collective bargaining. Every laborer was necessarily required to sell his own services. Those personal relationships were often unsatisfactory; nevertheless, they had the advantage of being personal. It was the relation of master to man which gradually grew into the helpful relation of man to man. Today, this personal relationship has been too largely replaced by giant organizations. Labor unions, and I believe in them, bargain collectively for laboring men and the executive managers of large corporations represent the employers. Somewhere in between, only God knows where, is the forgotten man. When relationships are so impersonal as these, it is very easy for the rights of the individual to be overlooked. Thus it is that intolerance breeds. Thus it is that the color and personality of life are lost.

When our employer is a corporation, we miss the personal touch of man to man which is so highly desirable. Often those who own the controlling stock in large corporations do not have the courage to assume the responsibilities of leadership—instead they hire a corporate executive to carry out their policies which they originate. I know a number of these executives who have recommended a change, but all they get from the corporate owner is "it is not the company's policy." If the corporate owners would approve the recommendations of their executives, there would not be any need of a government code. They would have established their own code.

Many conditions of older days were so hard that no thinking person desires to restore them. The only relation which should be restored is the friendly handclasp of employer and employee. Sometimes, it is not so friendly and this brings us to the problem of industrial conciliation. We are working with that problem today, when we wrestle with the codes. We will not solve that problem until we give as much time and effort to building up good will between employers and employees as we have spent in the past building up the separate interests of employers on the one hand and employees on the other. This is a great human, personal problem. It will be solved only when the man who works with his hands comes to have close, friendly, personal relations with his employer. We do not need less organization of business and labor. We need more. Collective bargaining is as necessary to industry as air and water is to vegetation. At the same time we need more humanity and good-will in industry.

The cold legality of a corporation confronted with the chiseled hardness of the demands of labor will not produce the personal touch necessary to large industrial success. The spirit of fraternal fellowship must come to abide in the minds and hearts of all men engaged in economic pursuits. Some may be called employers or managers and others may be called employees or labor. But no matter what the name may be, the manly personality of those who manage and those who labor must not be obscured. We must remember with Bobby Burns that "A man is a man for a' that."

In these days when machines have played such an important part in our lives, we find that machines have sometimes been used to increase intolerance. Moreover, we have been in danger of confusing men with machines. I am not opposed to machines; but I have maintained and always shall maintain that machines were made for man rather than man for machines. To treat a man as though he were a machine is as bad as to treat an employer as

though he were a corporation. Corporations and machines were made for the welfare of all men rather than for one set of men or any special class. Our business success depends upon keeping the machines and the corporations in constant obedience to the needs of humanity.

In the last half century through which many of you and I have worked, the greatest industrial development in the history of man has unrolled before our eyes. As a boy I remember the old spirit of intolerance which was at work. It seemed as though working men were compelled to take an attitude of hostility toward their employers in order to gain their rights. Strikes were the order of the day. The one great desire of my life has been to help in the solution of these industrial disputes. Born in the midst of strikes, reared in the atmosphere of suspicion and hatred which colored the outlook of working men in my youth, working as an iron-puddler, serving my country for ten years as Secretary of Labor, I have had the problems of industrial conciliation constantly thrust before my eyes. Having grieved and agonized over the problem for over half a century, I have come to realize that strikes are simply an evidence of social maladjustment.

Strikes come because the proper balance of society has been disturbed just as earthquakes come in order that the physical balance of the earth may be restored. It may be that the income of labor is not proportionately balanced to that paid out for industrial management and to the investing public. It may be that the various crafts are not balanced in the distribution of their proper functions. The only way to reduce strikes is to improve the general balance and harmony of society. The best way that I know to do that is to combat misunderstanding and intolerance with wisdom and good will.

One of the most intolerant forms of industrial quarrels known is the jurisdictional dispute. Craft unionism holds an honored place. In fact, craft unionism has done much to make the American Federation of Labor what it is. However, craft unionism is weakened because of needless controversies as to the fields of labor in which the various crafts are to work and have jurisdiction. It is my firm belief that when there is a controversy between two craft unions, as to what work pertains to each, the American Federation of Labor ought to decide the question of jurisdiction. Labor in these days cannot afford forced holidays or strikes and in order to bring back prosperity we must not sit idly by while the unions slaughter themselves and cast a dark reproach upon the entire labor movement.

Trade Unionism is now on trial. Never in its history has it had such an opportunity to demonstrate its usefulness? Will

Labor meet these responsibilities? I believe it will. Right now we should not worry so much about craft or vertical unions. I want to repeat again that the American Federation of Labor is the clearing house for all craft organization and this is the time for the affiliated unions of the American Federation of Labor to give the American Federation of Labor the authority to settle all jurisdictional disputes. As I have already said, Labor is on trial and must make good.

We must not allow our intolerance to defeat the administration of the National Recovery Act, but rather we must stand by the President of the United States in every possible way even at the sacrifice of personal opinions.

Human problems are never easy. The problems presented by the codes are unusually perplexing. During my term as Secretary of Labor I had an opportunity to pioneer in the formation of industrial codes in connection with the box-board industry.

That is why, my friends, with my experience as a Senator from the greatest industrial state in the Union, that I voted for the licensing clause, that if they fail the President to live up to the code, there would be some power somewhere that would keep them in line, and I believed that the licensing system of the Recovery Act was that which would do it.

President Coolidge expressed gratification at that time over this new plan of solving the problems of cut-throat competition. During the 72nd Congress I introduced a bill in the Senate providing for the regulation of the bituminous coal industry through a special code. The important features of that plan are being applied today by the bituminous coal industry. Bituminous coal is Exhibit A of the terrific strife between employers and workers. Most of our coal industries have single management of operations and most of our serious labor controversies come from the bituminous coal industry. Coal is the mendicant industry of our country. Manufacturing and utility organizations go shopping among all the coal operators beating down the price of coal and this reduces the industry to beggary.

Picture us, President Green, when the wage of the bituminous coal miner was \$7.50 a day and in that day the industry itself was prosperous. See the result with this cut-throat competition driving that wage down until coal is sold to the utility corporations of America for 40 cents a ton and men are living on less than starvation wages in these coal fields, and I say this, that the American people don't want to buy coal, they don't want to buy any sort of manufactured product, they don't want to buy things from the farmer when these three great people have got to live in starvation. You and I have got to realize and realize with all our hearts that

we want the other fellow to live and to be paid a decent price if we want this civilization of ours to go on and the people to improve their living conditions. These are grave human problems which will be solved only when we rid our minds of much of the traditional intolerance of the past. We may well be glad, in the face of these problems, especially in the mining industry, that labor has the leadership of men who know that industry as no others do, such as William Green, the President of the American Federation of Labor, and John Lewis, who is esteemed and respected not only by organized labor, but by all fair minded Americans. These men have long wanted to work together with the operators in coal and have been prevented only by the selfishness of certain sordid vested interests.

The basic industries of America, coal, steel, textiles, boots and shoes, and railroads, should be glad that they have such men in America looking out generally for the trade union movement as William Green, President of the American Federation of Labor, John Lewis in coal, and that old veteran whom I have known for nearly half a century in steel, and no fairer man lives than Mike Tighe, my old puddler friend of my boyhood days. Then there are the others who lead the basic industries. Yes, the American people as a whole ought to be glad to have them lead in this, the hour of the nation's industrial crisis.

I am not one to condemn labor leaders or employers of labor. Our one common wish, I am sure, is to see both groups working together for each other and the best interests of the country.

I have served with three Presidents and know the responsibilities of that office. In the dark days of strikes and unemployment, I have heard those men criticized unmercifully, so out of that experience I can say this is no time to criticize the President of the United States. Only a person who has observed day by day the crushing burdens which press down on one who serves the Nation as Chief Magistrate, can realize the tremendous responsibilities of this office. I was with President Harding up to the very time when he took the western trip which proved fatal to him. That was the time when more than one million six hundred thousand workers representing the railroads, coal, marines, packers, clothing and needle trades were out on strike. I know the long nights when he worked well toward the dawn facing the problems of depression days just as we are facing them today. I saw him struggle with the threat of a great industrial panic when more than five million American workmen were walking the streets looking for work. I saw him with his heart sad, because the means of relief from the post-war depression moved too slowly to suit his

ardent desire for the country's good. No other man described the hope of labor in such picturesque fashion as did President Harding when he said: "The worker's lowest wage must be enough for comfort, enough to make his house a home, enough to insure him that the struggle for existence will not crowd out the things worth existing for."

And if these codes are administered in the interests of all the people these codes will carry out that saying of President Harding, that the workers' lowest wage must always be enough for comfort.

I know the tremendous burdens which rest upon our Chief Executive, and I say this is no time to criticize the President of the United States. Rather, we must cast aside partisan consideration, place national welfare above strife, and, if possible, march with our President to the prosperity which all of us so greatly desire.

We have heard recently a lot of intolerant talk about shortening the hours of labor. I believe that the hours of human labor should be shortened as much as possible. Eight hours is too long to work in a blast furnace, a tin plate mill, a glass factory, or a coal mine, if six hours is enough.

Thirty hours a week is too long to work to fill warehouses with goods which we do not sell; too long to work to raise corn to burn; too long to work to raise wheat to feed pigs only to convert them into soap and fertilizer; too long to work to plow under every third row of cotton; too long to work to produce goods to export to foreign countries who borrow from us the money to pay for the goods and then refuse to pay back the money they have borrowed; too long to work to produce goods that are not needed and are not wanted and that cost all the way from three to twenty times as much to sell as it does to make; too long to work to produce goods for profit where there is and can be no profit. Thirty hours a week is too long to waste on false scales of production but thirty hours or forty-four hours is not too long to work on the right scales of production and distribution.

We have heard much of late about overproduction in America. The accumulation of huge surpluses has driven our people into a veritable panic of fear. This is not difficult to explain. Confronted with more cotton, grain, tobacco, milk, live stock, automobiles, clothing and furniture than were consumed, and witnessing the rapid increase of these material surpluses we went into a huddle demanding restriction of production. There are but three possible ways to handle our economic

surplusage. We may destroy it, transport it, or consume it. This surplusage is now with us and calls for positive action. The Secretary of Agriculture has a plan. I may differ with him, but even though I do, I am willing to give him a fair chance, but nevertheless I believe that if this plan is applied permanently the result will be unemployment for thousands of American farmers, starvation for thousands of our people and malnutrition for millions more. We have surpluses enough to transport abroad and yet maintain the complete well being of every man, woman and child in the United States. At the same time we should be careful where we sell abroad at lower prices than at home while we tax the American people to pay for the difference. With our abundance we have enough to give not only to our own but to the starving millions of the rest of the world.

Let us ever keep in mind that we do not work for food alone. If we did we could live on a bushel of wheat a week. Men work for money, power, fame, luxuries when the prizes of life are so numerous, rather than simply for food. I am sure you will agree with me when I say that when men are well fed their vitality and ambition will increase, they will seek work if there is work to be done, and with the money earned they will reach out to buy not only the necessities of life but the luxuries of life. By feeding our poor we will give them strength to make them our customers. I need not call to your attention the custom that prevailed in the old days of the Public House. After the first round of drinks had been purchased by the party, the bartender would make a gesture of generosity by saying "Gentlemen, have one on the house." That one on the house always proved an inducement for more spending and the house did not suffer, for the next time they wanted to refresh themselves they remembered their friend. We have been saying, yes, let us continue to say to the hungry, "Have one on the house." Let us use our unwanted surpluses to increase the purchasing desire and power of the rest of the world. Once these sources of human power are tapped, all the present labor and machine power in America will not prove sufficient to meet their demands. Then the words of the Great Teacher of Nazareth will truly be realized when He said: "I am come that they might have life and that they might have it more abundantly."

I believe we ought to maintain as much as possible the production of corn, wheat, cotton, cattle, hogs, milk, vegetables, fruit, and all the other good things which the bounty of nature provides for us because it would be much better for the consumer and the farmer who has 160 acres to produce to full

capacity and sell it at a reasonable price than to put on a process tax and let the thirty acres lie fallow.

We must not sit idly by while we witness the disabling effects of poverty and malnutrition undermine the vitality of the present generation of mothers. The mothers suffer and the oncoming generation does not have a fair chance at life. Unsatisfied hunger is the very last thing that we want in America. Those that insist on starving people to death for no other reason than their fear of pauperizing the poor by outright gifts of food are barking up the wrong tree. I contend that in these days when the prizes of life are so numerous, pauperization will not result in any large degree by providing plenty for our poor people to eat. People are often pauperized by direct gifts of money, but food creates energy and energy is the mother of ambition. I advocate that our people be given plenty to eat so that they may be fired with ambition based on good food. Then we shall see those whom we call poor reach out to earn the money necessary to buy radios, carpets, furniture, and books for the increase of purchasing power. When such large numbers of people are suffering from malnutrition, as at present, the ambition necessary to raise standards of living is lacking. We can expect to have unwanted surpluses in American industry just as long as we continue this fatal policy of starving our people.

We pay for our food in prices and taxes. There is no escape from either. However, we know that an increasing volume of trade permits business to make a fair profit and yet at the same time keeps the prices and the taxes when we pay for food at a minimum. The one great point to watch is an increased volume of trade. This is possible only when farmers raise to capacity so as to provide the large production necessary for low prices. At the present time we are taxing our people heavily and using part of the taxes to pay the farmers for letting their land lie idle. Would it not be better to let the farmer produce all that he can and then encourage the public to buy all that he can produce at prices sufficiently high for him to make a fair profit on an increased volume of trade and sufficiently low to permit our people to have plenty? It is far better to have full production and an increasing volume of trade with low prices and low taxes than to have restricted production, a decreasing volume of trade with high prices and high taxes. If we choose permanently the policy of restricted production with high prices and high taxes, it means less employment, a fewer number of people receiving wages, and a constantly greater number of people who have to be cared for at public expense.

We find ourselves in a strangely paradoxical situation today. For years we have labored to build up agricultural production and industrial output, believing that production is the fountainhead of prosperity. Then, after having developed a strong system of production which is the wonder and envy of the entire world, we deliberately set about to destroy it. I ask—why do we do this thing? Simply because we have not mastered the problem of distribution. If at the present time we should devote as much attention to the problem of distribution as we have given in the past to production, we should find no need to curtail production but rather a demand to increase it. The need of our country at the present time calls for a larger interpretation of our entire economic structure. Our policy of production, which we have so carefully nourished during the last fifty years, has brought us great national wealth. This principle is sound and has made us the great nation which we are today. It is still entirely worth while and not lightly to be discarded. Just as long as there are twenty million people in this country who have the lean and hungry look and wrinkles in their bellies, we have no justification in destroying our production facilities.

When Noah's Ark started out on its journey we are told God created a new world by crowning all those who were not on Noah's Ark. We need not do that to create a new world. We ought to be able to create a new industrial world today without killing off human beings. We produce enough to feed everybody if we have the proper distribution.

One of the most important features of our national problem of distribution is our public works program. I voted for the appropriation of three billion three hundred million for public works. If proper advantage is to be gained from the appropriation it must be brought into action quickly and at all points along our economic fighting line. Public work has the advantage of inspiring confidence and starting business enterprise if not dribbled out over a long period of time so as to lose its force. When you prime a pump, you have to dump in the water all at one time. To dribble it in results in failure. So it is with our appropriation for public work. If our present appropriation were put to work at once, it would stimulate industrial production and our city workers would have enough money to buy agricultural products.

This would prevent too great a raise in agricultural prices but at the same time would guarantee to the farmer increased profit through the increase of his sales. This means good times for all. The factory worker will have plenty in his dinner pail and the farmer will have the encouragement necessary to

draw upon the bounty of the earth. We must use every available legitimate method to end unemployment and to give farm relief. There is no one way to restore prosperity. If our credit structure as now organized will not give the aid we need, call upon our government to give direct relief to industry including agriculture and at the same time we must be more liberal with our credit. This is no time for petty fighting. We have been sorely crippled as a nation and the call of the day is for all of us to unite our forces so that we may march with our President back to better times. As prosperity returns, the cause of social justice will surely triumph. The one great aim of all of us now is to restore prosperity. Much speech making and high pressure advertising is not enough. We must all unite to actually wrestle with our problems.

In this connection, I was pleased to read in the papers the other day about President Roosevelt's intention to use \$75,000,000 for the purchase of agricultural products for distribution among the unemployed. I am convinced that this will prove to be a helpful measure for it will insure work for thousands of producers and distributors and will provide the basis of energy and ambition for millions of our hungry people. It is better to feed a man at public expense than to pay him for work that he does not do.

When our program of public work has been put under way, a program of private work of such large scope should be started as to maintain constant prosperity. This will involve the removal of obsolete machinery, unsafe and unsanitary buildings and everything that is outworn. Machines have a short life; one-fifth of our present machinery is obsolete. After machines and buildings have been used sufficiently to justify their creation, they should be scrapped and new and better ones created. It is much better to put our old buildings and machines on the junk pile than to deprive millions of able-bodied laborers of employment. The Great Creator intended that we should have dominion not only over the beasts of the field, the fowl of the air and the fish of the sea but over the work of our own hands, our own buildings and machines. These, too, must be brought under human dominion. Thus as we scrap the old, we shall give constant employment to labor and constant profits to employers in building the new. This will mean constant prosperity.

I speak these words advisedly. Only an intolerant mind, bound by the prison walls of ignorance, can refuse to think of the coming day of constant prosperity. The old idea that cycles of prosperity and depression must inevitably come, needs to be challenged. Without

doubt, we shall always have periods of prosperity which will be greater than others. However, I predict that the day will come when we shall have so mastered our problems of production and distribution as to provide constant work for labor at the time when work is needed and at the time when the conditions of work are best for labor. With our present consuming power, there is no reason why men should have to work in the steel mills and the glass factories in the summer time. I predict that the day will come when wages will be sufficiently constant to insure not only a minimum of life's necessities but an increasing use of the desirable luxuries for everyone. This is no Utopian vision. It is well within the grasp of the American people if we use our God-given intelligence to maintain the fountain-head of production and direct into useful channels of distribution the good things of life so that all of our people shall have enough and to spare.

We dare not spend too much time talking about things. Ours are largely human problems. Most of our time must be spent thinking humane thoughts, working with humane people for the welfare of the human race in a never ending battle against intolerance. Our problems now as they relate to steel, coal, grain, and cotton, are chiefly human problems.

I am sorry I could not accept the invitation last Saturday to be the guest of the American Federation of Labor at the dedication of the Gompers Monument. Although I have known him all my active life, Samuel Gompers was nearly twenty years older than I, but I was born early enough to watch the second and more important half of his life. In the last few years of his life, he as head of the Federation of Labor, I at the head of the Government Department of Labor, were closely associated in the same work of fostering and developing the interests and welfare of the American worker. And both as co-worker and as a watcher of Samuel Gompers' work, I can testify he was one of the great and useful men of his time.

I knew Samuel Gompers from early boyhood. John Jarrett, a relative and a neighbor, was chairman of the organization of the American Federation of Labor and through him the name of Samuel Gompers became familiar to me when I was quite young. I chatted with him personally when an active officer of the Amalgamated Association during a strike in 1896 in the Tin Plate Mills of Elwood, Indiana. Samuel Gompers came there to create public sentiment for the workers, and to bring them encouragement from the Federation of Labor, which is so largely the creation of his untiring zeal. I remem-

ber being struck at once by his high aims, his force of mind and the fire of his efforts in the cause of Union Labor. But I could see that above even that to labor, he put the love of country first because of what it can do and does for its workers. Later I often met him again, last of all as Secretary of Labor. His memory of our first meeting was always keen and he often referred to it. So it was that from early days and then onward I saw him put into practical effect his two mastering devotions—to America first, and then to American toilers. That love of country was the passion of his life. He spoke it in his last and dying word. What Gompers achieved is plain to all.

During the war, when he did so much to maintain harmony between worker and employer, he contributed one of the deciding factors that led to victory. He was Labor's statesman then, as he was Labor's statesman at all times before. In peace he was as watchful as he was in war against his country's enemies. He ever fought those who would wreck and destroy.

Although born abroad Samuel Gompers was a true American whose work and influence for the good of his fellow Americans is yet to be measured. While you have dedicated a monument to him in the park, yet if you want to see the real monument to him, look about you. The worker is better off in America today than he has ever been before in the history of the world. He is so, largely because of the genius, the zeal, the devotion of this man whose memory I am glad to honor today.

We must learn how to know one another and to care for one another in a more intelligent way than ever before. We must take our first and our last lessons from that Master Workman, the great, good Carpenter of Nazareth. Those currents of our modern life which accord with His principles will succeed and those which clash with Him will deservedly fail. Although we may suffer with Him in Gethsemane and Calvary, we shall rise with Him to universal prosperity and good will. Following Him we shall learn how to build the house of our national habitation on the solid rock. Following Him, we shall overcome intolerance and live to enjoy "peace on earth among men of good will."

President Green: May I say that we thank Senator Davis for his visit this afternoon. We appreciate his very inspiring address. We are glad he could find it possible to come and we are glad we were permitted to hear him today. Thank you, Senator.

Vice President Wilson: May I inquire if the committee has much more work to present to this convention?

Vice President Wolf: We have quite a few resolutions yet to report.

Vice President Wilson: Then I move that the convention remain in session until the work of the convention has been completed.

The motion was seconded.

President Green: The Chair desires to advise Delegate Wilson that we have another committee, which is very important. The Committee on Legislation has not yet reported and I am not sure that we could complete the work of the convention by dinner time. Suppose we leave the motion rest until we see how things are at adjournment time.

Vice President Wilson: Very well.

Delegate Olander continued the report of the Committee on Resolutions as follows:

Investigation Into Activities of Merchants, Manufacturers and Employers Association of Stockton, California

Resolution No. 41—By Delegate Paul Scharrenberg of California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Due to the revived activities of the Merchants, Manufacturers and Employers Association of Stockton, Cal., organized labor in that city has been prevented from having duly selected representatives on N. R. A. committees; and

WHEREAS, Trade Unions have been prevented by the activities of the Merchants, Manufacturers and Employers in Stockton, Cal., from taking advantage of Sec. 7A of the National Recovery Act, whereby labor is guaranteed the right of organization; and

WHEREAS, The activities of the merchants, Manufacturers and Employers in Stockton, Cal., constitute a serious menace to the labor movement of the State of California; be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, that we respectfully request the Federal Government to investigate the activities of the Merchants, Manufacturers and Employers of Stockton, Cal., and, if necessary, vigorously prosecute the Merchants, Manufacturers and Employers for its infractions of the spirit and the purpose of the N. R. A.; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and all

affiliated National and International Unions be requested to devote special attention and assistance to their affiliated locals in Stockton, Cal., in order that Trade Unions already formed be strengthened, and new organizations formed in this notoriously open-shop city.

The committee recommends approval of Resolution No. 41.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Industrial Labor Law

Resolution No. 42—By Delegate Paul Scharrenberg of California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, In 1926 the Congress passed the Railway Labor Act which established certain principles regulating the relationship between employers and employees in the railroad industry; and

WHEREAS, This legislation has during the past seven years proven its merits; and

WHEREAS, The Congress did upon the recommendation of the President enact into law the National Recovery Act and incorporated into that legislation in Section 7-A the basic principles of the Railway Labor Act as emergency legislation to be in force and effect for a period of two years only; and

WHEREAS, The President and many others both in and out of the labor movement have predicted and expressed the wish that all forward steps taken in this emergency should not be surrendered but should be made permanent advances; be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, in annual convention assembled, that the Executive Council be instructed to prepare an act to be known as the Industrial Labor Act and incorporate therein the principles set forth in Section 7-A of the National Industrial Recovery Act and particularly that portion establishing the right of employees to organize into Unions of their own choosing without interference or coercion and outlawing the Yellow Dog Contract, establishing such enforcement and regulating agency as will be necessary.

Your committee recommends that Resolution No. 42 be referred to the Executive Council for such action as in the judgment of the Council may be in the best interests of the workers involved.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Rebate of Dues to Unemployed Members

Resolution No. 44—By Delegate John Sublisky, of Kenosha, Wis., Trades and Labor Council.

WHEREAS, There exists in this nation an economic system where man, although healthy and able to work, and through no fault of his own is unable to do so; and

WHEREAS, A great many of these unfortunate men and women belong to bona fide labor unions, and have not worked for some three or four years, and some for even a greater length of time; and

WHEREAS, It is impossible for men and women not working to pay dues into an organization, especially so when not working for years, even though they are the best union men and women in the organization, and after due time are suspended from the organization; and

WHEREAS, Men and women once suspended from an organization, through lack of work, not only lose their sense of union spirit, but they also lose the benefits for which they have paid; therefore, because of conditions over which they had no control, they can never become the same union men and women in the organization that it once was their privilege to be; and

WHEREAS, With the NRA in force with many new organizations coming into being, and not knowing when another crash may come with the resultant layoffs, which would again cripple, if not ruin, the organization work done thus far; be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor adopt a system of issuing stamps to the unemployed members of Federal Labor Unions at no cost to the member, and no cost to the Local Union; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That all International Unions be requested to adopt a similar system to preserve the union spirit and membership which we have achieved after years of struggle; and that it is to our interest to keep our membership intact now, and not to be compelled to reorganize unions which we have allowed to be destroyed through our own lack of foresight.

In reporting on Resolution No. 44, your committee desires to point out that one of the major activities of practically all affiliated organizations has been that of aiding the membership to meet the problems of individual and

family life attendant upon unemployment and that, in this connection, wherever possible, methods have been inaugurated to assist members to keep in good standing with their respective organizations, but that due to the lack of sufficient funds there are many instances in which this could not be done without placing the organizations in such dire financial straits as to make it utterly impossible for them to function in the interests of the general membership at a time when both present and future interests of the members and the working people as a whole depended upon the alertness and the activity of the trade unions. Every effort should be made to maintain contact with members who, through unemployment, have found it impossible to pay dues, and sympathetic attention given to their needs and desires. All affiliated organizations recognize the justice of this course. No good would be served, however, by so administering the affairs of affiliated organizations as to completely deplete their treasuries and thus to leave the membership virtually helpless and at the mercy of predatory forces which seek to enslave them. In the light of the comments made herein, and for the reasons stated, your committee recommends that the resolution be non-concurred in.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

American Salesbook Co., Ltd.

Resolution No. 46—By Delegate John E. Murphy, Elmira Central Trades and Labor Assembly, Elmira, N. Y.

WHEREAS, Through the determination of the American Sales Book Co., Ltd., to enforce the Bedeaux speedup system upon its employees and set priority and competency by a stopwatch method; and

WHEREAS, The introduction of this system caused the printers in Niagara Falls and Elmira to strike both plants which was followed by the Company declaring a lockout against the stereotypers who refused to take work from scabs; and

WHEREAS, Imported strikebreakers are now employed in both plants in the composing rooms and stereotype departments; be it

RESOLVED, That this convention go on record placing the products of the American Sales Book Co. on the "We Don't Patronize List"; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we urge all local unions to appoint committees to visit merchants to divert sales slip work to Union Label Shops.

Your committee recommends that Resolution No. 46 be referred to the Executive Council with instructions to use its good offices in an effort to bring about a proper settlement of the strike referred to and to take such other action in relation to the subject matter of the resolution as in the judgment of the Council may be warranted.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Federal Labor Unions' Initiation Fees

Resolution No. 47—By Delegate Karl Lore, Metal Stampers and Finishers Union of St. Louis.

WHEREAS, The Federal Labor Union is being used as the instrument by which the workers of the United States of America are being enrolled in the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, The fundamental task at this time is the education of the workers in the fundamental basis of unionism which makes it necessary that as few impediments be placed in the way of enrolling such workers into the ranks of the organized labor movement; and

WHEREAS, The provisions whereby workers wishing to form a Federal Labor Union are required to pay their initiation fees in full and in advance have frequently worked against the fullest possible organization of the workers; be it

RESOLVED, That this 53d Convention of the American Federation of Labor approves the principle that workers wishing to form a Federal Labor Union under the charter of the American Federation of Labor shall not be required to pay their initiation fees in full and in advance before receiving that charter; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That workers wishing to join a Federal Labor Union already established shall not be required to pay their initiation fee in full and in advance before being enrolled as members.

Your committee is of the opinion that Resolution No. 47 relates to a question of administrative policy and procedure, the determination of which is fully within the scope and authority of the Executive Council and therefore recom-

mends that the resolution be referred to the Council for such action as, in its judgment, may seem warranted.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Voting Franchise for District of Columbia

Resolution No. 50—By James J. Noonan, Central Labor Union, Washington, D. C.

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in 53d Convention assembled in the City of Washington, D. C., October, 1933, that we again record our hearty approval of the proposal to amend the Constitution of the United States so as to empower the Congress to grant to the residents of the District of Columbia voting representation in the Senate and House of Representatives, the vote for President and Vice President and the same rights before the courts of the United States enjoyed by the citizens of a State. That we believe these voteless and unrepresented fellow Americans are entitled to a new deal without further delay and therefore pledge the active and continuing support of this Federation to bring this about.

RESOLVED, That the officers and proper committee of this body be and they are hereby authorized and directed to petition Congress and State Legislatures and take such other action as will aid in obtaining prompt and favorable action upon this most meritorious American proposal.

Your committee recommends the adoption of Resolution No. 50.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

American Telegraph and Telephone Company Monopoly

Resolution No. 51—By Delegates D. W. Tracy and G. M. Bugnizet of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers.

WHEREAS, The American Telephone & Telegraph Company operates the long distance communication service in interstate commerce; and

WHEREAS, This company makes use in that service of the local exchange plant facilities of its subsidiary companies in every community in the United States, to originate and to receive long distance communications; and

WHEREAS, This company, through stock ownership and contractual relationships, has gained control over these subsidiaries throughout the Bell

System, owning over 95 per cent of all the local exchange properties in the United States used in the Long Distance Service; and

WHEREAS, The officials of the American Telephone & Telegraph Company testified under oath in the Chicago Telephone litigation during the last year that its long distance rates have been and are now established on the basis that they do not cover compensation by the user of such service for his use of the local exchange properties of the local telephone companies in the Bell System; and

WHEREAS, The same officials testified under oath also that by understanding with its subsidiary companies, the American Telephone & Telegraph company never has compensated its subsidiary companies for the use by it and by its long distance customers of this local exchange properties in its long distance service; and

WHEREAS, The same officials testified under oath also that by the same understanding the subsidiary companies of the Bell System always have so established the local exchange service rates in every community in the United States that the local service customers compensate such companies for the uses in the long distance service of the American Telephone & Telegraph Company of their local exchange properties even though only a small percentage of such local service customers ever use long distance service and even though a large portion of the local service customers never have, never will and never desire to use such long distance service; and

WHEREAS, This practice of the American Telephone & Telegraph Company burdens the laborer, the farmer, the widow and orphan in every community of the United States using the local service, for the benefit and unjust enrichment of the American Telephone & Telegraph Company; and

WHEREAS, During the period beginning with 1919 to 1933 the subsidiary companies of the Bell System have consistently claimed before State Commissions and Courts that the revenues for local exchange service have been inadequate and confiscatory and on the basis of these claims have procured substantial increases in local exchange service rates in every community in the Bell System, and have secured injunctions in federal courts preventing reductions in such rates; and

WHEREAS, During the same period the American Telephone & Telegraph Company has made four substantial reductions in the long distance rates and still earned on its investment in that service grossly unreasonable profits ranging from 15% to 30% each year; and

WHEREAS, Prior to 1933 neither the subsidiary companies nor the American Telephone & Telegraph Co. ever disclosed the facts regarding the understanding between them to have the local exchange customers and not the American Telephone & Telegraph Company's customers pay the expenses of the operations of the local properties in its long distance service; and

WHEREAS, This burden imposed on the local service rates by the American Telephone & Telegraph Company has been largely responsible for the increase in local exchange service rates since 1919 and has prevented the reduction in such rates in spite of the fact that during this period the subsidiary companies have reduced wages and discharged employees; and

WHEREAS, The long distance service and this understanding between the American Telephone & Telegraph Company and its subsidiary companies are matters of interstate commerce over which the state legislatures, courts and commissions have no jurisdiction and over which Congress has jurisdiction; and

WHEREAS, In addition to the long distance communication service the American Telephone & Telegraph Co. also operates and makes use of the local exchange properties of its subsidiaries for telegraph and radio broadcasting services, without compensating the subsidiary companies therefor and burdens the local exchange service rates therewith; and

WHEREAS, The rates for long distance message communication, for telegraph and for radio broadcasting have never in fact been investigated or regulated by the Interstate Commerce Commission and serious doubt exists as to the power of the Interstate Commerce Commission to make such investigation and regulation; and

WHEREAS, The continuation of the practices of the American Telephone & Telegraph Company and of its subsidiaries discriminates primarily against the working people in favor of big business who use the long distance and telegraph service and in favor of the American Telephone & Telegraph Company; and

WHEREAS, The American Telephone & Telegraph Company has charged to its subsidiary companies and their local exchange subscribers over \$50,000,000 since 1920 to cover its expenses of developing patents and inventions which have found their usefulness mostly in its own long distance message communication, telegraph and radio broadcasting services, which have also been exploited through the Electrical Research Products, Inc., its subsidiary, outside the telephone communication field in talking motion pictures covering over 90 per cent of that industry in the United States and

abroad, and which have also been exploited through the Western Electric Company, its subsidiary, and by other licensed manufacturers outside the Bell System in the United States and Canada and abroad; and

WHEREAS, The American Telephone & Telegraph Company and its subsidiaries have received in royalties and special compensation over \$50,000,000 for the use of such inventions outside the Bell System and will be entitled to additional royalties and compensation for many years hereafter; and

WHEREAS, The American Telephone & Telegraph Company has never accounted to its subsidiaries for any of these profits made by it, although they paid for all the expenses incurred to create these inventions from which the profits were derived; and

WHEREAS, The operations of the American Telephone & Telegraph Company covering the use of these inventions involves interstate and foreign commerce beyond the jurisdiction of the state legislatures, courts and commissions but within the jurisdiction of Congress; and

WHEREAS, It is impossible, as a practical matter, for any single community or agency other than Congress to make a complete investigation of the affairs of the American Telephone & Telegraph Company in its relation to its subsidiaries; and

WHEREAS, The employes of the Bell System and the working class in every community in the United States, who are the principal sufferers from these exploitations by the American Telephone & Telegraph Company of its subsidiaries for its own unjust enrichment, have challenged public attention resulting in a demand from all quarters for a Congressional investigation of the Bell System; be it

RESOLVED, That it is the consensus of opinion of the American Federation of Labor that the American Telephone & Telegraph Company and Associated Companies be subjected to the closest public scrutiny by means of a Congressional investigation of inclusive scope, and the necessary Congressional legislation be enacted to prevent the abuses and impositions on the public by the operations of the American Telephone & Telegraph Company; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the securing of such investigation by Congress and the passage of such legislation be made parts of the major legislative program of the American Federation of Labor.

Your committee recommends that the preamble of Resolution No. 51, that is to say, all of its whereas paragraphs, be referred to the Executive Council in order that the Council may have before it the information contained

therein, and that the resolve paragraphs of the resolution be adopted by the convention with the insertion of the word "all" before the word "inclusive" in the first of said paragraphs.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Classification of Washington, D. C., in Southern Zone Under NRA

Resolution No. 52—By Delegate James J. Noonan, Central Labor Union, Washington, D. C.

WHEREAS, The cost of living in Washington, D. C., is much higher than many cities in the United States; and

WHEREAS, A number of Codes that have been submitted to the National Recovery Administration contain sections that place Washington, D. C., in the so-called Southern Zone thereby establishing a lower rate of pay for workers employed in Washington, D. C., than are to be paid to workers employed in the so-called Central or Northern Zones thus establishing a low rate of pay for workers employed in a section of this country where the cost of living is the highest in the United States; be it

RESOLVED, That the 53d Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor assembled in the city of Washington, D. C., protest this discrimination as proposed in such codes and hereby instruct the members of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to use every means within their power to have President Roosevelt and General Hugh S. Johnson issue the necessary orders to have such discriminating differentials eliminated from all Codes of Fair Competition approved by the President.

Your committee recommends that the second whereas paragraph of Resolution No. 52 be amended by striking out the words "thus establishing a low rate of pay for workers employed in a section of this country where the cost of living is the highest in the United States," and that the resolution as thus amended be adopted.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Urging Construction of Naval Vessels, Main Engines and Auxiliary Machinery for Such Vessels and the Manufacture of War Munitions at Navy Yards and Arsenals

Resolution No. 53—By Delegates A. O. Wharton, Dan Haggerty, N. P. Alifas, R. A. Henning, Chas. Fry, and W. F. Robinson, of the International Association of Machinists.

WHEREAS, The Boston Convention of the American Federation of Labor and succeeding conventions resolved "that we favor the manufacture of war munitions in our arsenals and navy yards so that the elimination of private profit will place this department of national defense beyond the baleful influence of those who seek to create sentiment for the production of war munitions so that they may make greater profits"; and

WHEREAS, During the political campaign of 1932 the Honorable Franklin D. Roosevelt, candidate for President, repeatedly asserted that "taking the profits out of war" should be made a national policy; and to that end the construction of naval vessels and the production of munitions of war should be confined to navy yards and arsenals; and

WHEREAS, Notwithstanding the assurances which the representatives of Organized Labor have received from the Administration that 50 per cent of the naval vessels constructed under the Public Works Section of the National Industrial Recovery Act would be constructed at navy yards, the Navy Department has not only awarded the larger vessels to private shipyards and the smaller ones to navy yards, but has awarded seventeen of such vessels to private shipyards while only fifteen were assigned to navy yards; and

WHEREAS, The Navy Department is pursuing the policy of letting to private contractors the construction and manufacture of some of the main engines and auxiliary machinery for vessels to be built in navy yards where formerly this class of work was performed at the navy yards; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor are hereby directed to immediately urge upon the President of the United States the desirability of giving practical effect to the national policy of "taking the profits out of war" by having the construction of naval vessels, machinery and other equipment for such vessels and the manufacture of war munitions confined to navy yards and arsenals; and to correct existing deviations from this policy insofar as the law permits.

Your committee recommends the adoption of Resolution No. 53.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Treaty on Claimed Safety of Life of Passengers and Seamen

Resolution No. 56—By Delegates Andrew Furuseth and Victor Olander.

WHEREAS, The Convention for "Promoting Safety of Life at Sea" signed in London, England, May 31, 1929, is before the United States Senate; and

WHEREAS, We are thus satisfied that the ratification of the Convention will de-

stroy the Seamen's Act and deprive the United States of the power to develop an adequate sea power; be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor at its 53d Annual Convention assembled respectfully reiterate that the petition and warning adopted by our 52d Convention be reaffirmed and express the earnest hope that this Convention will not be ratified by the Senate of the United States.

Your committee recommends approval of Resolution No. 56.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Urging That Enlisted, Non-Commissioned and Commissioned Personnel of the Navy Be Restrained from Performing Work of Civilians

Resolution No. 57—By Delegates A. O. Wharton, Dan Haggerty, N. P. Alifas, R. A. Henning, Chas. Fry, W. F. Robinson, of the International Association of Machinists.

WHEREAS, Employees of navy yards and naval stations have repeatedly protested against the assignment of work to enlisted men, non-commissioned and commissioned officers, which properly should be performed by civilian employees; and

WHEREAS, These encroachments of the naval personnel upon the civilians appear to have increased during the last several months, resulting in the furloughing and discharging of civilians, as well as depriving these employees of promotions to higher positions to which they are entitled; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor are hereby directed to urge the President of the United States to assign to the civilian personnel of the navy, all work which heretofore has been performed by civilians, or which does not constitute strictly military duty; or to have introduced and support legislation to remedy these conditions.

Your committee recommends approval of Resolution No. 57.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Memorial to Deceased Trades Unionists

Resolution No. 60—By Delegates Leo E. George, Gilbert E. Hyatt, Thomas McCann, Irving Johnson, J. Kline House, of the National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Edward J. Gainer, M. J. Finnan, Luther E. Swartz, of the National Association of Letter Carriers; William Collins, Henry W. Strickland, of the Railway Mail Association.

WHEREAS, The trade union movement has, during the recent past, sustained more

than usually heavy losses through the passing of outstanding figures in the movement; and

WHEREAS, The postal unions and organized civil service employees in general have sustained such an irreparable loss in their own ranks through the demise of Thomas Francis Flaherty, former Secretary-Treasurer of the National Federation of Post Office Clerks; and

WHEREAS, The finest tribute which can be paid to these departed soldiers of the common good is to do all in our power to strengthen and perpetuate the great movement to which they gave the last full measure of devotion; be it

RESOLVED, That this Fifty-third Convention of the American Federation of Labor direct the Executive Council to investigate the terms of and, if feasible, to establish as a memorial, a chair in a university of standing for the study of industrial problems as affecting the wage earners and the human values in society.

Your committee recommends approval of Resolution No. 60.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Fur Workers' Campaign Against Communism

Resolution No. 64—By Delegate Pietro Lucchi, International Fur Workers Union of the United States and Canada.

WHEREAS, The International Fur Workers Union has for a number of years found it necessary to not only fight for an improvement of the terms and conditions of employment with the employers but to also conduct a campaign to drive out of the industry those destructive elements aided and abetted by the Communist Party, organized to destroy the influence of a union that has done much to provide protection to the men and women engaged in the industry; and

WHEREAS, The efforts of the International Fur Workers Union in wiping out the last vestige of the rapidly diminishing influence which the Communists have attempted to exert in the industry deserve the support and encouragement of the trade union movement generally; be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, endorses the fight of the International Fur Workers Union, and we hereby pledge ourselves to continue the cooperation already extended by the officials of the American Federation of Labor in the campaign against Communist connection with the fur industry.

Your committee recommends approval of Resolution No. 64.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Thirty-hour Work-week in Fur Industry Code

Resolution No. 65—By Delegate Pietro Lucchi of the International Fur Workers Union of the United States and Canada.

WHEREAS, The reduction of the hours of employment in industry is an essential and indispensable condition to any plan of national recovery, and more particularly so in those industries that are highly seasonal in their character; and

WHEREAS, The fur industry, in which the seasonal character has caused a demoralization of the industry, with resulting distress to many thousands of employees engaged in the industry; and

WHEREAS, There is soon to be considered by the National Recovery Administration a proposed code to govern the industry; be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, endorse the demand made by the International Fur Workers Union for a 30-hour work-week in the fur industry, and pledges the cooperation of the American Federation of Labor in presenting this demand to the National Recovery Administration.

Your committee recommends approval of Resolution No. 65.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

To Protect Name of Organized Labor From Perverted Usage

Resolution No. 66—By Delegate Earl Langdon, Flint Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The American trade union movement through many years of heart-breaking toil has given definite form and meaning to the term "organized labor" and has succeeded in developing well established rules and practices and what are known as bona fide labor organizations, whose teachings, aims, purposes and policies, are regarded by working men and their families as genuinely promoting their interests and welfare; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor and the Railway Brotherhoods have put a real investment into establishing a definitely accepted term "organized labor" which has to them a tangible economic and social value; and

WHEREAS, Outlaw unions, radical agitators, employers, racketeers and other groups have attempted to pervert

the term "organized labor" to describe organizations which they have launched to serve their own ends, and to the detriment of workers who trust in the bona fide labor movement; be it

RESOLVED, That the bona fide labor movement unite to protect the term "organized labor" from such perverted usage and to take steps against groups that attempt to masquerade under the designation which belongs to those who put their efforts and intelligence into giving standing and effectiveness to the organized labor movement and that we give this, our special term, the same support and legal protection that trade associations or producing companies give to their products or distinctive property.

Upon making inquiries in an effort to ascertain the precise purpose of Resolution No. 66, your committee was informed that the intent was to provide for copy-righting the phrase "organized labor." This cannot be done. The phrase is too broad and general in its meaning to permit of its being copyrighted. There are relatively few instances in which its misuse could be made the subject of actual legal proceedings in courts. It is, however, entirely feasible, through channels of publicity and by other methods, to challenge and expose those who falsely claim to represent organized labor, or who claim to be representing organized labor while engaged in activities calculated to cast discredit upon the good name of the trade union movement. The committee therefore recommends that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council, with instructions to take such steps as may be possible of effective application, including use of the channels of publicity and other available means, to protect the reputation and standing of the trade union movement against any who may use, or attempt to use, the term "organized labor" or "trade unions," or the name of the American Federation of Labor, or any of its divisions, on false representations or for improper purposes.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Raising Standards of Employment and Wages of Wisconsin State Employees

Resolution No. 68—By Delegates Arnold S. Zander, Wisconsin State Employees Association, and James P. Sheehan, Federated Trades Council of Milwaukee.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has been striving for shorter hours and higher wages for American workers throughout its history and has achieved substantial success in its endeavors; and

WHEREAS, The declared National economic policy under the NRA is for shorter hours and higher wages; and

WHEREAS, Many public employees do not come under the NRA and have never been directly affected by the changes, in general industrial and economic conditions as brought about by the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, The shortening of the hours of labor without decreasing the workers' incomes is necessary to provide adequate opportunity for employment for all workers; and

WHEREAS, The Wisconsin State Employees Association, directly affiliated with the A. F. of L., is composed of public employees many of whom work twelve hours and more per day with only two days off per month, and for pitifully low wages; and

WHEREAS, Such conditions are typical of many branches of the public service; be it

RESOLVED, That this 53d Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor request the Executive Council to continue its helpful cooperation with the Wisconsin State Employees Association and take such action as may be necessary to shorten the hours of work without decreasing the workers' incomes and in general alleviate the conditions above referred to, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be requested to do all in its power to further the organization of the employees in other States and in public jurisdictions generally.

Your committee recommends approval of Resolution No. 68.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

To Place Portrait of Samuel Gompers in Every Union Meeting Hall

Resolution No. 70—By Delegate John N. Sperring, Central Labor Union of Jacksonville, Florida.

WHEREAS, This Convention will pause on October 7th, to pay their respects to the memory of Samuel Gompers, that Great Leader who has passed to his reward; and

WHEREAS, His teachings and his matchless leadership should serve as a guide and an inspiration to those who follow in his footsteps, and we should keep forever before us the thought of his devotion to the cause we all love; be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention go on record as requesting all Central Labor Unions to display in their meeting halls a large portrait of Samuel Gompers; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Secretary be instructed to secure information and arrange to have these portraits supplied through the supply department of the American Federation of Labor.

Your committee recommends approval of Resolution No. 70.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Resolutions Nos. 21, 83 and 111 were grouped by the committee and covered in one report. The resolutions are as follows:

Jurisdiction of Federal Labor Unions

Resolution No. 21—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L.

WHEREAS, Trade-union organization is rapidly developing; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has requested the affiliated International Unions to take full advantage of the right to organize provided for by the National Industrial Recovery Act, and

WHEREAS, The International Unions affiliated with the Metal Trades Department have placed organizers in the field for the purpose of building up the membership of their respective organizations; and

WHEREAS, In many localities organizers of the American Federation of Labor, in their effort to build up local membership, have organized Federal Labor Unions and brought into their membership numbers of metal trades mechanics, jurisdiction over whom was established years ago by the International Unions; and

WHEREAS, Constructive organizing work by International Unions of the metal trades, through which permanent and effective organization can be developed, is being seriously jeopardized through the issuing of charters to Federal Labor Unions into whose membership mechanics are included contrary to the jurisdictional rights of the International Unions; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this 53d Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor respectfully request the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to take such immediate action as is necessary to prevent the inclusion in Federal Labor Unions of any mechanic or laborer over whom the International Unions have jurisdiction through the charter rights given to them by the American Federation of Labor.

Public Utilities Workers

Resolution No. 83 — By Delegate Joseph Leighton, Gas Workers Union No. 18393.

WHEREAS, The National Recovery Act has presented to organized labor a seat of equality at the table of National Recovery; and

WHEREAS, The organization of 900,000 utility workers is being held up on a question of jurisdiction; and

WHEREAS, Said workers have received the benefits of the organized labor fight without contribution to said cause; and

WHEREAS, These workers have been blinded for years by the means of Mutual Benefit Associations or Company Unions, be it

RESOLVED, That the question of jurisdiction be permitted to rest for the period of one year, in the best interest of our country and the American Federation of Labor.

Strategy Board

Resolution No. 111 — By Delegate Elisabeth Christman, International Glove Workers Union of America.

WHEREAS, The impetus to trade union organization is now so widespread, and while the organized workers are now challenged to deal with industrywide problems for which the existing structure and methods of organization were not originally designed; be it

RESOLVED, That to study and advise on the united action of the trade unions and on the growth of organization in industries not hitherto fully organized, a strategy board of seven men and women representative of the main groups of industries be appointed by the president of the American Federation of Labor in order to map out general plans and policies for strengthening the united action of the regular craft unions and at the same time for extending organization into those industries in which the present form of organization has obviously not been successful; and in other ways to adapt the national labor policy to the rapidly changing conditions now confronting labor, thus also carrying out the resolution of the Cincinnati Convention on national economic planning.

Upon Resolutions 21, 83 and 111, the committee reported as follows:

The American Federation of Labor has from time to time made clear that it is a voluntary organization, that the structure and form of its affiliated organizations must be by the self determination of those involved and that it

stands prepared at all times to aid and assist affiliated organizations to bring about such change of organization as directly concerned unions may deem essential to meet changing industrial and economic conditions.

The question of form of organization and the right of affiliated national and international unions to adopt such form of organization as they deem essential to their welfare was decided at the Scranton Convention, the declaration of that Convention upon the subject of trade autonomy having been the unquestioned guide of the American trade union movement.

There can be no change in the structural form of organization of the affiliated national and international unions except by voluntary agreement.

However, recent developments in our industrial and political life (the N. I. R. A.) with the great development of mass production plants have presented new problems which must be recognized and dealt with so that the rights and interests of affiliated national and international unions may be fully safeguarded and also that there be provided an immediate basis for the tentative organizing of these wage earners.

Your Committee is of the opinion that the issuance of federal labor union charters may well serve this necessary temporary purpose, that is the organizing of workers in mass production plants when the affiliated national and international unions give consent to the granting of such federal labor union charters, and in plants in small communities where it may prove difficult for affiliated national and international unions to give the question of organizing their immediate attention.

It is the opinion and mature judgment of your Committee that this declaration of policy be approved in lieu of all resolutions presented dealing with the subject and with the additional recommendation that in carrying out this policy that organizers of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to cooperate instead of compete with the representatives of the national and international unions affi-

liated, and that these organizers be instructed whenever there is a sufficient number of craft mechanics to maintain their organizations in the plant or to form a local union of their trade that such workmen shall be placed in the membership of the International organizations having jurisdiction and that conferences be arranged between the officers of the A. F. of L. and the affiliated National and International Unions interested to perfect such details as may be essential to carry out this policy with a minimum of friction and a maximum of efficiency and cooperation.

The Chairman of the committee moved the adoption of the committee's report. The motion was seconded.

Delegate Howard, International Typographical Union: As a member of the Committee on Resolutions, I desire to submit a minority report. The question with which this report deals is one of the most important that has come before this convention for consideration. It is with some hesitation that I submit a minority report dealing with this question. However, in my opinion, the future of this organization and the degree of its success depend upon molding our policies to fit new conditions, rather than attempting to mold the workers of this country to policies that have been in effect for half a century. I am one of those who believe the time has arrived when the American labor movement cannot stand still. Conditions and events will force us to go forward or we will go backwards, and it is in view of this belief that I present to this convention a minority report dealing with this subject.

In lieu of resolutions dealing with organization, the following is presented as a minority report by Delegate Charles P. Howard:

In connection with Resolutions 21, 83 and 111 your committee has given extended and most profound consideration to one of the most important problems with which our American Trade Union movement is confronted. These resolutions deal with a question that affects the interests of many of the

organizations affiliated with and holding charters issued by the American Federation of Labor. It is because of its importance and far-reaching effect that your committee has devoted so much time and consideration to the problem.

The evidence presented in the hearings before the committee conclusively indicates that to deal effectively with the question of organization and with the fundamental questions involved there should be a clear and definite policy outlined by this Convention that will adequately meet the new and growing condition with which our American Labor Movement is confronted.

During recent years there have developed new methods. This has brought about a change in the nature of the work performed by millions of workers in industries which it has been most difficult or impossible to organize into craft unions. The systems of mass production are comparatively new and are under the control of great corporations and aggregations of capital which have resisted all efforts at organization. The provision of the National Industrial Recovery Act protecting the right of employes to organize and select representatives of their own choice without interference on the part of employers, or their agents, has had the effect of freeing the flood of organization sentiment existing in the breasts of millions of workers who have been prevented by employer opposition from satisfying their desire for organization.

The American Federation of Labor is desirous of meeting this demand. We consider it our duty to formulate policies which will fully protect the jurisdictional rights of all trade unions organized upon craft lines and afford every opportunity for development and accession of those workers engaged upon work over which these organizations exercise jurisdiction. Experience has shown that craft organization is most effective in protecting the welfare and advancing the interests of workers where the nature of the industry is such

that the lines of demarkation between crafts are distinguishable.

However, it is also realized that in many of the industries in which thousands of workers are employed a new condition exists requiring organization upon a different basis to be most effective. For the purpose of coordinating our efforts and to afford the greatest latitude in organization consistent with the established jurisdiction of the organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor your committee recommends the following as an outline of policy to govern the officers and representatives of the American Federation of Labor in the organization of unorganized workers:

1. It shall be the duty of all volunteer and full-time organizers of the American Federation of Labor to cooperate with representatives of the National and International Unions in bringing into the various National and International Unions all workers engaged upon work coming under the declared jurisdiction of the national and International unions and provided in their charters.

2. Where application for membership or petition for a charter has been made to a National or International Union there shall be no interference by organizers of the American Federation of Labor and it shall be their duty to assist the representatives of National and International Unions to complete the organization work which has been initiated.

3. No Federal charter shall be granted to the workers in a factory or establishment where the preponderant number of workers are engaged upon work coming under the jurisdiction of a National or International Union and the employes are eligible to membership in the organization having jurisdiction.

4. In those industries where the nature of the duties of the workers do not clearly indicate the National or International Union which has been accorded jurisdiction in its charter and where the establishment of jurisdictional lines would interfere with continuity

of employment Federal charters may be granted by the American Federation of Labor for the purpose of organizing into one union all of the workers in such plant or factory.

5. In cities and towns and in isolated communities where industrial plants and factories have been established and there is no local union of National or International Unions exercising jurisdiction over the workers employed in such plant or factory the American Federation of Labor may issue a Federal charter to the end that all the workers may be organized into one organization.

6. Where in the organization of Federal Labor Unions workers are accepted into membership who are engaged upon work coming under the jurisdiction of National and International Unions if and when it becomes practicable to do so such members shall be transferred to the National and International Unions having jurisdiction.

7. It is understood that members of Federal Labor Unions leaving a plant under the jurisdiction of a Federal Union may seek work in any other plant or factory in which the workers are members of a Federal Labor Union and have their membership fully recognized and accepted.

8. Any member of a Federal Labor Union seeking work in a plant or factory under the jurisdiction of a National or International Union shall first make application for membership in the National or International Union and shall be accepted only upon the conditions acceptable to the National or International Union.

9. All members of Federal Labor Unions shall be required to take an obligation of loyalty to the American Federation of Labor and a provision of the obligation shall provide that the member will not under any circumstances accept employment in an industrial plant or factory under the ban of a National or International Union.

10. No member of a Federal Labor Union shall seek or accept work in a

plant of another Federal Labor Union except with the consent of the Federal Union whose members are employed in the plant in which the member desires to seek work.

Now, Mr. Chairman and delegates to the convention, I move that the minority report be substituted for the majority report.

The motion was seconded.

President Green: You have heard the reading of the minority report submitted by Delegate Howard. Delegate Howard moves that the minority report be substituted for the majority report. The motion is upon the minority report.

Delegate Frey, Secretary, Metal Trades Department: I move that the report of the Committee on Resolutions and the minority report be referred to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, with the request that the Executive Council call a conference of the interested international unions at the earliest moment possible to consider the entire subject.

The motion was seconded.

Delegate Scharrenberg, California State Federation of Labor: Will Delegate Howard kindly explain to us just in what particular this plan differs from the existing method,

President Green: That would be proper if this motion to refer is lost. The only question before the house now, Brother Scharrenberg, is a motion to refer.

Delegate Scharrenberg: And it is not debatable?

President Green: Yes, it is debatable.

Delegate Scharrenberg: My understanding is that we are now working under a system which permits the organization of Federal labor unions. I would like to know in what manner Delegate Howard's plan differs from the existing plan.

President Green: There is a doubt in the mind of the Chair whether such a matter is debatable. It would be if the motion to refer is lost.

Delegate Donnelly, Ohio State Federation of Labor: I rise for information. The motion is to refer. I, of course, have no means

of knowing whether the majority of the committee is favorable to the motion or not, and I have no means of knowing whether Delegate Howard is favorable to the motion or not, but if I understand parliamentary law, it occurs to me that whether they are favorable or unfavorable to the motion to refer it can be debated from the point of being favorable or from the point of being unfavorable to the motion to refer which, if I understand further parliamentary procedure, would entitle the speakers to give reasons why they were in favor of the motion or the reasons why they were opposed to the motion, which would, to some extent, it appears to me, give the delegates further information than they now possess.

President Green: Parliamentary procedure is this: There are two reports before the convention. A motion has been made that both of them be referred to the Executive Council for the purpose of calling a conference of national and international unions in order that a policy providing for the organization of workers in plants be formulated and decided upon. Now the question as to whether or not this convention believes it is wise to refer it, or whether it is unwise to refer, is before the house.

Delegate Trotter, International Typographical Union: One of the biggest difficulties in connection with this question right now is the fact that Delegate Howard's remarks were very clearly understood, whereas, the committee's report was read while a number of conventions were going on back here in the hall which prevented us from hearing it.

President Green: Do you want it read again?

Delegate Trotter: It seems to me the proponents of both reports might be allowed to explain their positions.

President Green: And that would bring on a discussion.

The motion to refer was carried.

Advocating Limitation and Regulation of Wealth Accumulation

Resolution No. 71—By Delegate Joseph Leighton, Gas Workers' Union No. 18393, Malden, Massachusetts.

WHEREAS, An attempt is being made by a small group of self-promotionists to defeat the purpose of the National Recovery Act in its effort to adjust Man to the Machine. Should their efforts prove successful, and this program be broken on the rocks of self-interest and egotism, chaos in our country and the world would result, be it

RESOLVED, That in event of the success of opponents of the National Recovery Act, the American Federation of Labor be prepared to submit to the National Congress and the various Legislatures of the states the following proposition:

PROPOSITION

That, insofar as the effort to shorten hours of labor may have failed, our work life should be shortened in the following manner:

Every citizen of our country who possesses \$150,000 or more shall retire from whatever activity he or she is engaged in. If the amount possessed be more than \$150,000, the surplus shall remain in the activity in which it is invested, and upon which the owner shall continue to draw the earnings. If in cash, the \$150,000 shall be used for the purchase of Federal and State bonds, upon which the owner shall draw a fixed percentage of interest until his or her death, at which time these monies shall revert to the respective governments, Federal and State, to be used to maintain a balance between production and consumption. Each citizen who may hereafter acquire \$150,000 shall retire in the same manner as above.

As the Constitution of the United States would have to be amended to carry out this program, the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor shall prepare and cause to be introduced into Congress a constitutional amendment authorizing the above-mentioned proposition, and also to provide that the Federal and State executive and legislative officers shall be elected only from the retired group.

Resolution No. 71 proposes that, in event the National Industrial Recovery Act proves to be a failure, the American Federation of Labor shall undertake to promote the passage of constitutional amendments designed to require the retirement of every citizen who succeeds in accumulating \$150,000 or more, in cash or property, and to provide that only the members of such retired group shall be eligible for election to federal and state legislative and executive offices. Under the guise of limiting the accumulation of wealth in the hands of individual citizens, the

resolution proposes, in effect, the establishment of a constitutional aristocracy, entrance to which is to be had by the accumulation of a certain amount of money or property, and then to make the members of that aristocracy the constitutional rulers of the nation by giving to them complete monopoly of all federal and state legislative and executive offices. The failure of the National Industrial Recovery Act would be a tragic calamity indeed if such failure were to be followed by the establishment of the peculiar and startling scheme of government proposed in the resolution. Your committee recommends that Resolution No. 71 be nonconcurrent in.

The report of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

To Prevent Transportation of Strikebreakers

Resolution No. 72—By Delegates Charles P. Howard, Frank Morrison, William E. Trotter, Frank X. Martel, John Simons, Roy C. Cline, International Typographical Union.

WHEREAS, The American Newspaper Publishers' Association, the National Association of Manufacturers, the National Founders' Association, the National Metal Trades Association and other associations of employers have established agencies which recruit and maintain crews of professional strikebreakers composed of individuals who are undesirable, disturbers of industrial peace, gunmen, and should be properly classed as public enemies in any city or town into which they are introduced; and

WHEREAS, It is the practice to transport these professional crews of strikebreakers from all sections of the country to any point where any employer desires to attack established standards as regard wages, hours and working conditions by locking out employees who have given years of faithful service and have given full cooperation in creating an institution in which they rightfully have an interest over and in excess of that which they have taken out in wages; and

WHEREAS, These crews of professional strikebreakers are transported to points where the workers have not struck and have not threatened to strike, the purpose being to intimidate employees who practice collective bargaining during negotiations of contracts thereby making it possible to compel unreasonable and unfair

concessions on the part of the employes; and

WHEREAS, The National Industrial Recovery Act authorizes organization of employes; exempts them from certain provisions of Federal laws as to combines, monopolies, trade agreements and price fixing; and will bring under control of employer associations larger numbers of employes, it becomes more and more important that the activities of strikebreaking agencies be given greater attention; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled requests the Congress to investigate the activities of strikebreaking agencies and enact such legislation as may be required to prevent these practices which have been an important factor in causing industrial warfare.

Your committee recommends that Resolution No. 72 be adopted.

Delegate Howard, Typographical Union: I arise to support the report of the committee, not for the reason, I believe, that it needs support upon the floor of this convention to receive favorable action. However, it is my desire to call to your attention a condition from which many of the national and international unions have suffered in the past. That is the practice of assembling professional strike breakers, transporting them from one state into another, sometimes for the purpose of displacing citizens of the state who have their homes established there, and at other times with no thought of employing them in the industry, but for the purpose of affecting scale negotiations and forcing the workers to accept settlements they would otherwise not accept. It appears to me the time is propitious, when in many cities of this country campaigns are being made against crime, that there should be an investigation of this activity.

As stated in the Preamble of the resolution, we are confronted with a condition where the employes in industry are to be more effectively organized. If the practice of assembling professional strike breakers and transporting them throughout the country is continued, it will never lead to industrial peace, but the opposite. I am sure the trade union movement desires industrial peace. No men or women desire to be confronted with a condition under which they find it necessary to leave their employ-

ment. However, tactics of this kind can only lead to strikes and lockouts, and owing to the fact that some of the employers' agencies control the avenues of information by which the people are reached, it is becoming more and more of a menace to national and international unions, and it is for the purpose of calling to the attention of the delegates this evil from which we have suffered and to ask your support in securing remedial legislation from the Congress, after an investigation has been made, that I bring the matter to your attention at this time.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Legislation to Prohibit Advertisements for Workers for Employment in Strike-Breaking Activities

Resolution No. 90—By Delegate Frank X. Martel, International Typographical Union.

WHEREAS, It has been the practice of unscrupulous employers to import substitutes or strike-breaking labor from locations far from the scene of the disturbance wherever strikes or lockouts are in effect; and

WHEREAS, In countless cases this has resulted in honest men being induced to accept unknowingly employment in struck-bound or lockout institutions without the knowledge that they were to be used as strike breakers until they reached the scene of employment; be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be requested to prepare a law to be introduced in the United States Congress to prohibit the advertising for the employment and shipping of labor for strike-bound or lockout institutions engaged in interstate commerce, or where in such labor or advertisement involves interstate commerce or shipping.

The subject matter of Resolution No. 90 has been fully covered in Resolution No. 72, which is more inclusive in its nature and scope. Your committee therefore recommends that Resolution No. 90 be referred to the Executive Council for consideration in connection with the procedure outlined in Resolution No. 72.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

All Work on Contracts for Government Buildings Erected on American Soil Should Be Executed Within United States

Resolution No. 75—By Delegate M. J. McDonough, Building Trades Department.

WHEREAS, The practice of employers who receive contracts for work on or in buildings located in the United States or its Territories and having said work performed in foreign countries and brought in under the guise of "Art Goods," duty free, is contrary to the spirit and intent of the N. R. A.; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That in all Codes of Fair Competition, applicable, the following be included:

"Any employer receiving a contract for work on or in buildings located in the confines of the United States or its Territories must execute such contract within the confines of the United States or its Territories and under the approved code." Be it further

RESOLVED, That copies of this resolution be forwarded to General Hugh S. Johnson, Administrator of the N. R. A., and that the Representatives of the Building Trades Department present this resolution for adoption at the forthcoming Convention of the American Federation of Labor.

Your committee recommends that Resolution No. 75 be amended by striking out the words "and that the representatives of the Building Trades Department present this resolution for adoption at the forthcoming convention of the American Federation of Labor" and that the resolution as thus amended be adopted.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

The committee amended Resolution No. 77 by striking out the two "Resolves" and substituting thereof the following:

"RESOLVED, That this convention records its condemnation of such acts and practices on the part of public officials as are hereinbefore set forth; be it further

"RESOLVED, That whenever or wherever such conditions as hereinbefore described now exist, or hereafter be attempted, and such acts and practices on the part of public officials are reported to the officers of the American Federation of Labor, the officers and the Executive Council shall make, or cause to

be made, an immediate investigation, attempt an adjustment, and in the event of failure to adjust the situation, then to advise the affiliated national or international unions of facts ascertained and for the purpose of securing united action to correct the complaint involved."

The amended resolution reads:

Attempted Disruption of Trade Unions By Political Agents

Resolution No. 77—By Delegate M. J. McDonough, Building Trades Department.

WHEREAS, The purpose and intent of the National Industrial Recovery Act as it would relate to the labor provisions thereof guarantee to the workers the right to organize and unrestricted freedom to choose their own representatives so as to deal with their employers in order to safeguard their aspirations as provided therein; and

WHEREAS, The workers, in order that they collectively determine in meetings and at meeting places conveniently located and properly provided for through negotiations with property owners familiar with the nature and purpose of such gatherings of workers, what is necessary to fulfill their wishes in order to be accorded the proper recognition in accordance with the provisions of this Act without interference, coercion or intimidation; and

WHEREAS, There has come to light a condition in large cities where certain public office-holders in charge of law enforcement machinery of their localities, under the guise of a theory of civic purity to cleanse the community of so-called racketeering and hoodlumism (based upon manufactured evidence of suspicion and rumor), are attempting to gain control and domination over local labor unions through intimidation and coercion of their officers and members in order to suit their political ambitions and greed and place themselves in full and complete control over employing contractors and workers engaged in public works, solely for personal aggrandizement; and

WHEREAS, By such acts the proper function of such legally chartered local unions of International Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor have been and will continue to be threatened with and subject to interference and possible disruption by the activities of the police and other officers of the law in raiding the unions' offices and their meeting places without due process of law, and intimidating and coercing employing contractors on public works by compelling the discharge of bona fide union members

when the nefarious schemes of these office-holders fail of accomplishment because of the use of the economic strength and influence of said local unions; and

WHEREAS, In such instances where local labor unions by the united effort of their membership or through the process of civil law have been successful in invoking the proper means of defense against such practices, such unscrupulous public officials do aid and abet certain malcontents and former members of local unions in holding meetings in their offices and these public officials do assist in sponsoring and organizing dual unions and advise and assign legal talent in instigating and promoting legal procedures through which receiverships over the affairs of bona fide local unions are applied for and in which the duly elected officers of local unions are ousted without the consent of the majority of the membership involved; and through which receiverships the funds and property are confiscated and new officers more suitable and more pliable to the wishes of these public officials are appointed; through which procedure said public officials have been successful in securing control of some local unions detrimental to the best interests of the local unions, the International Unions and the employing contractors on public and other works; and

WHEREAS, These conditions if permitted to continue without the strongest opposition of all the trade unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, the Building Trades Department and the Metal Trades Department, economically and politically, will create a precedent by which the economic strength of the legitimate labor unions will be destroyed before proper recourse can be had to the civil courts; and

WHEREAS, In order that the workers, members of local unions of International Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, may continue to govern their own affairs free from the domination and control of employers, public officials and other outsiders who seek the destruction of legitimate trade unions, it is necessary that all trade unions support one another; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this convention records its condemnation of such acts and practices on the part of public officials as are hereinbefore set forth; be it further

RESOLVED, That whenever or wherever such conditions as hereinbefore described now exist, or hereafter be attempted, and such acts and practices on the part of public officials are reported to the officers of the American Federation of Labor, the officers and the Executive Council shall make, or cause to be made, an immediate investi-

gation, attempt an adjustment, and in the event of failure to adjust the situation, then to advise the affiliated national or international unions of facts ascertained and for the purpose of securing united action to correct the complaint involved.

In recommending the adoption of the resolution as amended, your committee wishes it clearly understood that in condemning the practices set forth, it does not condemn or pass judgment upon any public official, but does outline a procedure and method whereby any charge against a public official may be thoroughly and fairly inquired into, satisfactorily adjusted, or united action provided to correct the situation complained of.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Violations of NRA Codes in the Textile Industry

Resolution No. 79—By Delegates Thomas F. McMahon, John P. O'Connell and Emil Rieve of the United Textile Workers of America.

WHEREAS, Violations of the Codes in the textile industry are becoming more pronounced and causing considerable unrest throughout the country; and

WHEREAS, These violations include failure to pay the minimum wage, and attempts by some employers, particularly in the South, to bring down wages in the higher brackets, to the minimum standard, as well as the wholesale cases of discrimination against those who are carrying out the provisions of Section 7 of the National Industrial Recovery Act, giving the workers the right to organize; and

WHEREAS, In some sections of the country we are handicapped by the appointment of Compliance Boards, dominated and controlled by the employers, with no opportunity for the workers to secure redress against Code violations. In some instances mill owners are appointed to these Boards, with Labor denied the same privilege, thus defeating the real principle and purpose of the National Industrial Recovery Act; be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor are hereby authorized to assist the officers of the United Textile Workers of America to secure immediate remedial action, through the National Labor Board, in order to avoid the necessity of strike declaration.

Your committee recommends adoption of Resolution No. 79.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the committee's report.

Delegate McMahon, Textile Workers: I rise, not to object to the committee's report, but to explain particularly the reason for placing the resolution before the convention. As President of the International Union whose industry was selected as the first to adopt a code of fair practice and as one who sat in for several weeks at the preparation of this code, I feel that the delegates should know that the code as adopted and recommended by the President was opposed in many instances by myself, speaking for the International Union, and I learned with regret that the amendment in the code, Article XVII, was placed therein without consultation or without knowledge on my part.

I ask the delegates, as well as the officers of the International Unions, if they have a chance, to request a copy of the textile code and to read Article XVII. We of the textile industry have placed before proper committees over 1,500 grievances, and up to the present moment not one grievance has been adjusted, for the reason that this amendment, Article XVII, is part and parcel of the Barnes Plan. The Barnes people are the proponents of the stretch-out system in our industry.

Article III of this amendment is a set-up that is destroying insofar as it is humanly possible our organization when once got together. Word for word, sentence for sentence, it runs concurrently with this plan. Barnes is a vice president of the National Manufacturers' Association, and at New Bedford, Massachusetts, in 1928, suggested this plan that we fought against and failed.

This plan, if continued as part of the adjustments of the committee that is handling grievances pertaining to the stretch-out system would, among other things that enter into labor difficulties, result in our textile workers from Alabama to the shores of North Carolina and in all the territory between, rising up as one and resenting insofar as they are capable, by the only means at their command, the strike, this policy that has been outlined in the code. We do not propose to stand for it.

In the southern states, where 95 per cent of the grievances have occurred, only recently in Greenville, South Carolina, the workers selected a representative, and one of the committee selected to act on behalf of the manufacturers, Mr. Ben Geer, in defining Article XVII, told him regardless of what the workers might say he could not sit. The mill officials select from the workers the committee. Those committees must appear in the offices of the manufacturers. Imagine yourselves, my friends, appealing to the employer in his own office asking for adjustments. Imagine the worker just coming into an organization finding himself in the office of the employer and daring to make complaints, and yet we are told there is no appeal. There is an appeal.

No man nowhere has tried more determinedly than have I to avoid chaos in the industry, but when I find that I am sent from pillar to post, running around in circles in an attempt to bring about an adjustment, I know nobody in the world that should be acquainted with our position in the matter more than this Federation, and it is for that reason that I ask the officers of the American Federation of Labor to assist us.

In my office there are not hundreds, but thousands of appeals from the workers, demanding that they be allowed to strike. The vast majority of those appeals have come from the south. I am telling you the truth when I say furthermore that in an instance that has come to light since I have been in this convention, or more definitely, yesterday, the employers are not observing nor living up to the code, and all grievances sent in to the national committee, where we are represented by labor, where capital is represented by capital, and where the public is represented by Mr. Bruere, all of those complaints and grievances are, according to Section 6 of the code, sent to the secretary of the Cotton Textile Institute in New York, the institute that governs the methods of applying the code, and from there comes word that these grievances are all mythical.

The attempt is being made through the efforts of the Textile Institute to create company unions. Company unions are being established, and between company unions on the one hand, the inactivity or non-enforcement of the code as it should be applied on the other, and the Communistic attempts throughout our industry in the middle, we are hard beset.

We claim that with all these things confronting us, that by and through this Article XVII the Government is assisting in the formulation of company unions. We believe that with the assistance of the officers of this organization we can present the case to the President of the United States, if necessary, who, I believe, knows nothing about it other than the recommendations made, and, as we all know, he is friendly to those who are struggling and toiling in the mills of our country.

When you imagine an industry with 1,250,000 workers, when you understand that small though it is, the minimum that was adopted, which was for the southern workers by 60 per cent an increase of approximately 150 per cent, when you realize that because of this Article XVII the minimum is now the maximum in most cases, then you will understand why we are struggling, with the fine assistance given us by the organizers and representatives of the American Federation of Labor, whether it be state branches or the central bodies. You will understand that the words I have given expression to are not spoken in a tone of defiance of the code, but on the contrary to avoid a condition that we desire should not take place if it is honestly possible to avoid it.

We in this industry are confronted with many things, but this is among the worst that we were ever confronted with. I know of no condition existing in any code, and I have tried with my own small ability to follow out these codes, such as the condition which was injected into the textile code. Why was that injected there, if it was not because of the power and the prestige of those who control politically and so-

cially the industry, and the amalgamation apparently of the northern manufacturers, controlling as they do millions of spindles in the southland and the southern manufacturers. They have brought about a condition which, if not remedied and remedied quickly, something will be heard from the people employed in the mills, and the present thing going on will be nothing but a little bit of a roll at the top.

I ask you, Mr. President, and I ask the delegates here, many of whom are assisting in every way possible in the organization of our poor people inside the mill, to look up this Article XVII and investigate it, and if you find that I have uttered anything that is untrue, then I should not be allowed to represent my international union. I appeal to each one of you, as you go back to your part of the country, to find out what has taken place in the mills, and you will find that the employer is putting into effect, whether it is in Harri-man, Tennessee, or in Anniston, Alabama, or Columbus, Georgia, or Greenville, or the Horse Creek Valley, or Augusta, there you will find it going on just as we find it going on in some places here in the east, in Pennsylvania, in New England, in New York and in New Jersey, but to no degree similar to the manner in which it has been put into effect in the south.

This company union business which apparently is being fathered by this amendment to the code must be remedied. Something must be done, and I am confident if it is brought to the attention of the Administrator, General Johnson, and to the attention of the President that remedy will be forthcoming.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Journeyman Barbers Commend A. F. of L. Cooperation

Resolution No. 81—By Delegates J. C. Shanessy, W. C. Birbright, Patrick H. Reagan, Anthony Merlino and Chas. T. Crane.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor and all its units have been expending every effort to bring within the confines of the affiliated organizations every eligible man and woman; and

WHEREAS, The Journeymen Barbers' International Union of America, which has been affiliated to the American Federation of Labor for the past forty-five years, has been conducting a vigorous campaign for the past fifteen months, and whereas we have received the wholehearted support of the American Federation of Labor and its organizers, and the assistances of all National and International Unions, City Central bodies and State Federations of Labor; be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention and all of the units of the American Federation of Labor accept the sincere gratitude and appreciation of the Journeymen Barbers' International Union of America for whole-hearted and unstinted loyalty and support shown and extended to them.

Your committee recommends that Resolution No. 81 be adopted.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

The committee amended Resolution No. 82 in its concluding paragraph by striking out the words "un-American radicals" and inserting in lieu thereof the words "anti-union agitators." The amended resolution reads:

**Commending A. F. of L. Activities
Against Racketeers**

Resolution No. 82—By Delegates J. C. Shanessy, W. C. Birthright, Patrick H. Reagan, Anthony Merlino and Chas. T. Crane.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor will be fifty-three years old on November 15th; and

WHEREAS, Its fifty-three years of existence has been given to the emancipation and uplift of the toiling masses; and

WHEREAS, It has suffered much abuse, criticism and misunderstanding by opposition of the press and periodicals by their inferences to rackets and racketeers; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has always been on record as detesting and fighting against rackets and racketeers; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor, together with all of its affiliated national and international unions,

deplores such unjust abuses and criticisms; be it

RESOLVED, That this fifty-third convention of the American Federation of Labor, express our appreciation of the splendid work of President William Green, in cooperation with the affiliated National and International Unions in purging the labor movement of the rackets, racketeers and anti-union agitators and urge the continuation of these activities until the labor movement is entirely free of these undesirable.

Thus amended, the committee recommends that the resolution be adopted.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Vice President Wilson: As the hour of adjournment is approaching and in view of the amount of work that is yet before the convention, I move, in lieu of the motion that I made previously, that when we recess at 5:30 we reconvene at 7:30 o'clock this evening.

The motion was seconded.

Delegate Martel: How much more work has the committee?

Vice President Woll: Nine resolutions, none of which are controversial, except some statements that may be made.

President Green: The Committee on Legislation is a very important committee and has not yet reported.

Delegate Watt, Massachusetts State Federation of Labor: I would like to amend that motion to provide that we reconvene at 6:30 instead of 7:30.

Amendment seconded.

Vice President Wharton: I would like to offer a compromise that when we reconvene it be at 7:00 o'clock.

Vice President Wilson: I will accept that.

President Green: That seems to be acceptable, and when we recess it will be to reconvene at 7:00 o'clock.

The Secretary of the Committee continued the report as follows:

Father Charles E. Coughlin

Resolution No. 91—By Delegate Frank X. Martel of the International Typographical Union.

WHEREAS, The Reverend Charles E. Coughlin, Radio Orator of Royal Oak, Michigan, has persisted in the policy of securing the publishing of his weekly radio talk, and other printed matter, in non-union printing offices; and

WHEREAS, He is engaged at the present time in the erection of a new edifice at Royal Oak, in which he has publicly announced that the so-called "open shop" policy of employment will prevail and whereon building trades mechanics are being employed as skilled labor at unskilled labor wages; and

WHEREAS, The Reverend Coughlin has resisted all efforts on the part of organized labor to induce him to have his printed matter executed under union conditions and his new edifice constructed under union labor and union wage schedules; and

WHEREAS, The ventures of Reverend Coughlin are financed from contributions by his radio audience; and

WHEREAS, Many of his regular contributors are members of organized labor, who have in the past felt that his pronouncements against the exploitation of labor by other employers entitled him to the support of members of the Trade Union Movement; and

WHEREAS, This manifest hostility to organized labor and union wages manifested by Reverend Coughlin in his own activities as an employer are contrary to the precepts he has preached in his weekly sermons; and

WHEREAS, The President of the American Federation of Labor has called these matters to the attention of Reverend Coughlin, and urged upon him a correction of the conditions complained of, and offered his services to that end; and

WHEREAS, The Reverend Coughlin has failed to give adequate recognition to the overtures made by the President of the American Federation of Labor; be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor declare that the Reverend Charles E. Coughlin is unfair to organized labor and is no longer entitled to financial support from any trade unionists who sincerely believe in the right of labor to organize, to deal collectively, and to an adequate union wage.

Your committee recommends that Resolution No. 91 be referred to the Executive Council with instructions to appoint a committee from its own membership to interview Father Coughlin in an effort to bring about an amicable and proper adjustment of the conditions complained of in the resolution, and in

event such efforts are not successful the facts shall be reported to the affiliated unions with such recommendations in relation thereto as may, in the judgment of the Council, seem wise and just.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Martel, Typographical Union: Mr. Chairman and members of the convention: Since the publication of this resolution Reverend Father Coughlin has issued a denial in the public press of conditions set forth in the resolution as not being in accord with the facts and has made the statement that evidently I have been misinformed. Because of that statement which has been given publicity in the press, I have sent to the city of Detroit for the correspondence in connection with the efforts of the members of organized labor of Detroit and elsewhere to get Father Coughlin to have his work executed under union conditions. I have here, first, the file of Mr. P. J. O'Donnell, one of the vice presidents of the Printing Pressmen's International Union and Secretary Treasurer of the Allied Printing Trades Council of Detroit. I want to read a couple of Mr. O'Donnell's communications, together with the answers that Mr. O'Donnell received. The first is one addressed to the Reverend Charles E. Coughlin, Shrine of the Little Flower, dated December 17, 1932:

December 17, 1932.

Reverend Charles E. Coughlin,
Shrine of the Little Flower,
Twelve-Mile Road and Woodward Ave.,
Royal Oak, Michigan.

Dear Reverend Father:

Shortly after you started your Sunday afternoon broadcast from the Shrine of the Little Flower around November 1, to be exact, I wrote you, calling your attention to the fact that your sermons which were printed in book form last year were not printed by union labor and requested you to kindly patronize union printers of Detroit in this year's printing of same.

Since then, I have had no reply to my letter and am writing again, requesting that if it is at all possible for you to aid in having this work done by union men that you kindly do so.

There are more union printers unemployed in the City of Detroit than ever in history and it is because of this fact that I am appealing to you to do something if it is possible.

Enclosed please find a list of shops entitled to the use of the union label and in the event you find one of them that would be satisfactory, please do not hesitate to call me for further information relative to same. It is our humble appeal on behalf of the union printers now unemployed.

Trusting you will give this matter your earnest consideration and with my best wishes for a Merry Christmas and a Happy New Year for you and yours, I remain,

Sincerely yours,

P. J. O'DONNELL,
Secretary.

The following is the reply to that letter, received from Father Coughlin's secretary:

February 4, 1933.

Mr. P. J. O'Donnell, Secretary,
Allied Printing Trades Council,
1121 Lafayette Bldg.,
Detroit, Mich.

Dear Sir:

Your letter of December 17, through some inadvertence, came to my desk for attention only this afternoon. I am very sorry for the delay.

Will you kindly bear in mind that Detroit is a non-union city. The majority of printers and printing establishments, as you perfectly know, do not belong to a union.

If we have any printing to be done, we call in both union and non-union printers and lay our cards on the table before them, as you can find out from your personal examination.

May I also state that our printed matter is not for sale.

I do not believe that we are competent enough nor capable enough to demand that the majority of these non-union printers join your union.

I am sorry that the union tries to intimidate us.

Thanking you for your kind interest, may I remain

Sincerely yours,

A. COLLINS,
Secretary.

The following is Mr. O'Donnell's reply to that communication:

February 7, 1933.

Miss Ann Collins,
Secretary to Reverend Charles E. Coughlin,

Twelve-Mile Road & Woodward Ave.,
Royal Oak, Michigan.

Dear Miss Collins:

For your personal benefit I am enclosing copies of my letters of Novem-

ber 1 and December 17, 1932, addressed to the Reverend Charles E. Coughlin.

This is in response to yours of the 4th inst., wherein you state, quote—I am sorry that the union tries to intimidate us. Unquote.

I would be very much pleased if you would outline any paragraph in either of these letters wherein the union has tried such an undemocratic attempt.

Trusting you will give this your immediate attention, I remain,

Very truly yours,

P. J. O'DONNELL,
Secretary.

Then a letter addressed to Reverend Coughlin on February 7, 1933:

February 7, 1933.

Reverend Father Charles E. Coughlin,
Shrine of the Little Flower,
Twelve-Mile Road & Woodward Ave.,
Royal Oak, Michigan.

Dear Reverend Father:

Enclosed please find copies of my letters of November 1 and December 17, 1932, addressed to you, and which were answered February 4, 1933, by Miss A. Collins, Secretary. I am also enclosing a copy of her answer and a copy of my letter of even date.

Please do not think for one moment that the Printers' Union has ever, to my knowledge, resorted to intimidation and I would be very much pleased, indeed, if you would point out to me in either one of these letters where it has been referred to. I believe that I have appealed to you in a gentlemanly manner from a trades union standpoint in behalf of the printing trades of Detroit, and if my efforts have not been successful, I believe it could have been explained, without using the word "intimidation."

Again wishing you your fullest measure of success, I remain,

Respectfully yours,

P. J. O'DONNELL,
Vice President.

These letters, gentlemen, give an indication as to the reaction of Father Coughlin to any effort to organize his work so far as the printing trades were concerned.

I now want to place before you the report of the Detroit Building Trades Council on the matter of the construction of his church:

The attempt is being made through the efforts of the Textile Institute to create company unions. Company unions are being established, and between company unions on the one hand, the inactivity or non-enforcement of the code as it should be applied on the other, and the Communistic attempts throughout our industry in the middle, we are hard beset.

We claim that with all these things confronting us, that by and through this Article XVII the Government is assisting in the formulation of company unions. We believe that with the assistance of the officers of this organization we can present the case to the President of the United States, if necessary, who, I believe, knows nothing about it other than the recommendations made, and, as we all know, he is friendly to those who are struggling and tolling in the mills of our country.

When you imagine an industry with 1,250,000 workers, when you understand that small though it is, the minimum that was adopted, which was for the southern workers by 60 per cent an increase of approximately 150 per cent, when you realize that because of this Article XVII the minimum is now the maximum in most cases, then you will understand why we are struggling, with the fine assistance given us by the organizers and representatives of the American Federation of Labor, whether it be state branches or the central bodies. You will understand that the words I have given expression to are not spoken in a tone of defiance of the code, but on the contrary to avoid a condition that we desire should not take place if it is honestly possible to avoid it.

We in this industry are confronted with many things, but this is among the worst that we were ever confronted with. I know of no condition existing in any code, and I have tried with my own small ability to follow out these codes, such as the condition which was injected into the textile code. Why was that injected there, if it was not because of the power and the prestige of those who control politically and so-

cially the industry, and the amalgamation apparently of the northern manufacturers, controlling as they do millions of spindles in the southland and the southern manufacturers. They have brought about a condition which, if not remedied and remedied quickly, something will be heard from the people employed in the mills, and the present thing going on will be nothing but a little bit of a roll at the top.

I ask you, Mr. President, and I ask the delegates here, many of whom are assisting in every way possible in the organization of our poor people inside the mill, to look up this Article XVII and investigate it, and if you find that I have uttered anything that is untrue, then I should not be allowed to represent my international union. I appeal to each one of you, as you go back to your part of the country, to find out what has taken place in the mills, and you will find that the employer is putting into effect, whether it is in Harri-man, Tennessee, or in Anniston, Alabama, or Columbus, Georgia, or Greenville, or the Horse Creek Valley, or Augusta, there you will find it going on just as we find it going on in some places here in the east, in Pennsylvania, in New England, in New York and in New Jersey, but to no degree similar to the manner in which it has been put into effect in the south.

This company union business which apparently is being fathered by this amendment to the code must be remedied. Something must be done, and I am confident if it is brought to the attention of the Administrator, General Johnson, and to the attention of the President that remedy will be forthcoming.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Journeymen Barbers Commend A. F. of L. Cooperation

Resolution No. 81—By Delegates J. C. Shanessy, W. C. Birthright, Patrick H. Reagan, Anthony Merlino and Chas. T. Crane.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor and all its units have been expending every effort to bring within the confines of the affiliated organizations every eligible man and woman; and

WHEREAS, The Journeymen Barbers' International Union of America, which has been affiliated to the American Federation of Labor for the past forty-five years, has been conducting a vigorous campaign for the past fifteen months, and whereas we have received the wholehearted support of the American Federation of Labor and its organizers, and the assistances of all National and International Unions, City Central bodies and State Federations of Labor; be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention and all of the units of the American Federation of Labor accept the sincere gratitude and appreciation of the Journeymen Barbers' International Union of America for whole-hearted and unstinted loyalty and support shown and extended to them.

Your committee recommends that Resolution No. 81 be adopted.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

The committee amended Resolution No. 82 in its concluding paragraph by striking out the words "un-American radicals" and inserting in lieu thereof the words "anti-union agitators." The amended resolution reads:

**Commending A. F. of L. Activities
Against Racketeers**

Resolution No. 82—By Delegates J. C. Shanessy, W. C. Birthright, Patrick H. Reagan, Anthony Merlino and Chas. T. Crane.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor will be fifty-three years old on November 15th; and

WHEREAS, Its fifty-three years of existence has been given to the emancipation and uplift of the toiling masses; and

WHEREAS, It has suffered much abuse, criticism and misunderstanding by opposition of the press and periodicals by their inferences to rackets and racketeers; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has always been on record as detesting and fighting against rackets and racketeers; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor, together with all of its affiliated national and international unions,

deplores such unjust abuses and criticisms; be it

RESOLVED, That this fifty-third convention of the American Federation of Labor, express our appreciation of the splendid work of President William Green, in cooperation with the affiliated National and International Unions in purging the labor movement of the rackets, racketeers and anti-union agitators and urge the continuation of these activities until the labor movement is entirely free of these undesirables.

Thus amended, the committee recommends that the resolution be adopted.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Vice President Wilson: As the hour of adjournment is approaching and in view of the amount of work that is yet before the convention, I move, in lieu of the motion that I made previously, that when we recess at 5:30 we reconvene at 7:30 o'clock this evening.

The motion was seconded.

Delegate Martel: How much more work has the committee?

Vice President Woll: Nine resolutions, none of which are controversial, except some statements that may be made.

President Green: The Committee on Legislation is a very important committee and has not yet reported.

Delegate Watt, Massachusetts State Federation of Labor: I would like to amend that motion to provide that we reconvene at 6:30 instead of 7:30.

Amendment seconded.

Vice President Wharton: I would like to offer a compromise that when we reconvene it be at 7:00 o'clock.

Vice President Wilson: I will accept that.

President Green: That seems to be acceptable, and when we recess it will be to reconvene at 7:00 o'clock.

The Secretary of the Committee continued the report as follows:

Father Charles E. Coughlin

Resolution No. 91—By Delegate Frank X. Martel of the International Typographical Union.

WHEREAS, The Reverend Charles E. Coughlin, Radio Orator of Royal Oak, Michigan, has persisted in the policy of securing the publishing of his weekly radio talk, and other printed matter, in non-union printing offices; and

WHEREAS, He is engaged at the present time in the erection of a new edifice at Royal Oak, in which he has publicly announced that the so-called "open shop" policy of employment will prevail and whereon building trades mechanics are being employed as skilled labor at unskilled labor wages; and

WHEREAS, The Reverend Coughlin has resisted all efforts on the part of organized labor to induce him to have his printed matter executed under union conditions and his new edifice constructed under union labor and union wage schedules; and

WHEREAS, The ventures of Reverend Coughlin are financed from contributions by his radio audience; and

WHEREAS, Many of his regular contributors are members of organized labor, who have in the past felt that his pronouncements against the exploitation of labor by other employers entitled him to the support of members of the Trade Union Movement; and

WHEREAS, This manifest hostility to organized labor and union wages manifested by Reverend Coughlin in his own activities as an employer are contrary to the precepts he has preached in his weekly sermons; and

WHEREAS, The President of the American Federation of Labor has called these matters to the attention of Reverend Coughlin, and urged upon him a correction of the conditions complained of, and offered his services to that end; and

WHEREAS, The Reverend Coughlin has failed to give adequate recognition to the overtures made by the President of the American Federation of Labor; be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor declare that the Reverend Charles E. Coughlin is unfair to organized labor and is no longer entitled to financial support from any trade unionists who sincerely believe in the right of labor to organize, to deal collectively, and to an adequate union wage.

Your committee recommends that Resolution No. 91 be referred to the Executive Council with instructions to appoint a committee from its own membership to interview Father Coughlin in an effort to bring about an amicable and proper adjustment of the conditions complained of in the resolution, and in

event such efforts are not successful the facts shall be reported to the affiliated unions with such recommendations in relation thereto as may, in the judgment of the Council, seem wise and just.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Martel, Typographical Union: Mr. Chairman and members of the convention: Since the publication of this resolution Reverend Father Coughlin has issued a denial in the public press of conditions set forth in the resolution as not being in accord with the facts and has made the statement that evidently I have been misinformed. Because of that statement which has been given publicity in the press, I have sent to the city of Detroit for the correspondence in connection with the efforts of the members of organized labor of Detroit and elsewhere to get Father Coughlin to have his work executed under union conditions. I have here, first, the file of Mr. P. J. O'Donnell, one of the vice presidents of the Printing Pressmen's International Union and Secretary Treasurer of the Allied Printing Trades Council of Detroit. I want to read a couple of Mr. O'Donnell's communications, together with the answers that Mr. O'Donnell received. The first is one addressed to the Reverend Charles E. Coughlin, Shrine of the Little Flower, dated December 17, 1932:

December 17, 1932.

Reverend Charles E. Coughlin,
Shrine of the Little Flower,
Twelve-Mile Road and Woodward Ave.,
Royal Oak, Michigan.

Dear Reverend Father:

Shortly after you started your Sunday afternoon broadcast from the Shrine of the Little Flower around November 1, to be exact, I wrote you, calling your attention to the fact that your sermons which were printed in book form last year were not printed by union labor and requested you to kindly patronize union printers of Detroit in this year's printing of same.

Since then, I have had no reply to my letter and am writing again, requesting that if it is at all possible for you to aid in having this work done by union men that you kindly do so.

There are more union printers unemployed in the City of Detroit than ever in history and it is because of this fact that I am appealing to you to do something if it is possible.

Enclosed please find a list of shops entitled to the use of the union label and in the event you find one of them that would be satisfactory, please do not hesitate to call me for further information relative to same. It is our humble appeal on behalf of the union printers now unemployed.

Trusting you will give this matter your earnest consideration and with my best wishes for a Merry Christmas and a Happy New Year for you and yours, I remain,

Sincerely yours,

P. J. O'DONNELL,
Secretary.

The following is the reply to that letter, received from Father Coughlin's secretary:

February 4, 1933.

Mr. P. J. O'Donnell, Secretary,
Allied Printing Trades Council,
1121 Lafayette Bldg.,
Detroit, Mich.

Dear Sir:

Your letter of December 17, through some inadvertence, came to my desk for attention only this afternoon. I am very sorry for the delay.

Will you kindly bear in mind that Detroit is a non-union city. The majority of printers and printing establishments, as you perfectly know, do not belong to a union.

If we have any printing to be done, we call in both union and non-union printers and lay our cards on the table before them, as you can find out from your personal examination.

May I also state that our printed matter is not for sale.

I do not believe that we are competent enough nor capable enough to demand that the majority of these non-union printers join your union.

I am sorry that the union tries to intimidate us.

Thanking you for your kind interest, may I remain

Sincerely yours,

A. COLLINS,
Secretary.

The following is Mr. O'Donnell's reply to that communication:

February 7, 1933.

Miss Ann Collins,
Secretary to Reverend Charles E.
Coughlin,

Twelve-Mile Road & Woodward Ave.,
Royal Oak, Michigan.

Dear Miss Collins:

For your personal benefit I am enclosing copies of my letters of Novem-

ber 1 and December 17, 1932, addressed to the Reverend Charles E. Coughlin.

This is in response to yours of the 4th inst., wherein you state, quote—I am sorry that the union tries to intimidate us. Unquote.

I would be very much pleased if you would outline any paragraph in either of these letters wherein the union has tried such an undemocratic attempt.

Trusting you will give this your immediate attention, I remain,

Very truly yours,

P. J. O'DONNELL,
Secretary.

Then a letter addressed to Reverend Coughlin on February 7, 1933:

February 7, 1933.

Reverend Father Charles E. Coughlin,
Shrine of the Little Flower,
Twelve-Mile Road & Woodward Ave.,
Royal Oak, Michigan.

Dear Reverend Father:

Enclosed please find copies of my letters of November 1 and December 17, 1932, addressed to you, and which were answered February 4, 1933, by Miss A. Collins, Secretary. I am also enclosing a copy of her answer and a copy of my letter of even date.

Please do not think for one moment that the Printers' Union has ever, to my knowledge, resorted to intimidation and I would be very much pleased, indeed, if you would point out to me in either one of these letters where it has been referred to. I believe that I have appealed to you in a gentlemanly manner from a trades union standpoint in behalf of the printing trades of Detroit, and if my efforts have not been successful, I believe it could have been explained without using the word "intimidation."

Again wishing you your fullest measure of success, I remain,

Respectfully yours,

P. J. O'DONNELL,
Vice President.

These letters, gentlemen, give an indication as to the reaction of Father Coughlin to any effort to organize his work so far as the printing trades were concerned.

I now want to place before you the report of the Detroit Building Trades Council on the matter of the construction of his church:

July 22, 1933.

Detroit Building Trades Council,
Detroit, Michigan.

Dear Sirs and Brothers:

As per your instruction, your committee, as appointed by Vice-President O'Connor and consisting of Business Manager Ross of the Plasterers' Union, Sam Tobin, the international representative of the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, and Secretary Thal of the Building Trades Council, herewith submits for your consideration its report on the meeting had with the Reverend Charles E. Coughlin of the Shrine of the Little Flower Church located in Royal Oak, Michigan. May we note before making this report that a representative of the Bricklayers' Union, who are not members of the Council, was invited to accompany this committee, and said invitation was acknowledged over the phone by their Secretary. The international representative of the Bricklayers' Union, Brother Dan Collins, was also invited to attend when seen at the meeting of auto workers held at the Cass Technical High School. He stated that his, or the Bricklayers' case in this matter was in the hands of President Green of the American Federation of Labor. We, therefore, regret to state that no representative of that organization attended this meeting.

May we state that in our meeting with Reverend Coughlin, the entire situation on the job in question was discussed and the following conditions presented themselves: Reverend Coughlin stated that he had no authority on the letting of this job; that being handled by the Parish Committee consisting of Mr. Douglass as chairman and the following associates: Mr. Paul Weyer, James McGrath and Rob. O'Brien. He, however, stated that he was in authority as to wages, hours and conditions, and informed the committee that all the provisions expected under the National Recovery Act would be insisted on and the highest prevailing wages would be paid. Your committee told Father Coughlin that if he combed the continent he could not find any contractors who were more notorious non-union operators than the general contractor on the job; namely, the Cooper-Little Company. The steel contractor on the job, it was told to Reverend Coughlin, was that notorious non-union operator, namely, the Michon Structural Steel Company. It was also pointed out to him that the sheet metal work, heating, plumbing, carpenter and labor would be non-union. Reverend Coughlin informed the committee that he was unaware of this condition. He then explained to your committee the following policy of the Parish Committee and himself: That first, all available help would be taken from those who are out of work in the

parish, itself; then, all others would be taken from the out-of-work people of those towns surrounding the parish and whose welfare bills Reverend Coughlin claims he is paying from the funds of the Radio League of the Shrine of the Little Flower.

These small communities in their order named are: Hazel Park, Berkley and Royal Oak. His contention is that this job was brought into being to take care in some measure of the out-of-work situation in the immediate vicinity of his church. He informed the committee that if a list of union men who are residents of the towns previously mentioned would be given him, he would see that they would be given employment. May we state that the steel on this job was given as a gift from Mr. Tom Farrell, a former member of his parish and who now is president of the Youngstown Sheet and Steel Mill. Reverend Coughlin insisted that the men working on his job could be organized and that he would use his influence to that end. We pointed out to him that while that might be done on this particular job in question, that none of the non-union contractors would unionize their shops and we also asked him what his attitude would be in that event. It was impossible to get a direct answer to that question. Reverend Coughlin insisted that the American Federation of Labor had failed to bring to the masses of workers the message of organization and that he would bring about the proposition of organizing the workers under some kind of unions which he did not explain, himself, by his radio talks. Your committee took exception to these remarks, pointing out to Reverend Coughlin that the very thing that he is doing on this job, and his attitude in supporting these notorious non-union contractors, even if some are members of his parish, was in some degree an answer to what the labor movement had to contend with in this country. We contended with him that if the parish had desired union contractors and wanted their out-of-work people taken care of, some equitable arrangement could have been made; but, we felt that in giving the work to those contractors now on the job was, to say the least, a breach of faith to the American labor movement and has cast serious doubts in the minds of those who had faith in his radio statements.

May we state that there were other discussions on matters foreign to the job in question, but throughout all these conversations, we regret to say, that the Reverend Coughlin showed either a lack of understanding of the aims of the American labor movement, or was unconvinced that it can accomplish the things for which it stands.

In conclusion, may we state that

Reverend Coughlin will not or cannot change the methods of handling this job, and we regretfully must repeat that practically the entire operation will be done by non-union contractors.

Sincerely yours,

E. THAL,
Secretary,

Detroit Building Trades Council.

A copy of this report was sent to William Green, President of the American Federation of Labor, who in turn sent the following communication to Reverend Coughlin:

July 12, 1933.

Reverend Charles E. Coughlin,
Pastor, Church of the Little Flower,
Detroit, Michigan.

Dear Father Coughlin:

Duly accredited representatives of the Building Trades organization in Michigan, together with the representatives of International Unions composed of skilled building tradesmen, have communicated with me advising me that a contract has been awarded to a contracting company regarded as unfair to Union Labor, to erect the new church under your direction and authority for the Roman Catholic Shrine of the Little Flower.

This information was indeed surprising to me because I had always regarded you as most sympathetic and friendly to the organized labor movement. It would be, indeed, unfortunate if the new church which you are planning to build would be erected under open shop conditions and by a contracting firm known to be unfair to union labor.

May I inquire if the information to which I have just referred is correct? I hope it is unfounded. I will refuse to accept it as true unless and until it is verified by you.

May I supplement this inquiry by expressing the hope and the sincere request that the church which you are planning to build be erected by union labor and that the work be performed by a contracting firm fair to union labor. Such action on your part would serve to cement and perpetuate the strong feeling of friendship and admiration which the officers and members of the American Federation of Labor have always entertained for you.

I sincerely hope and trust that I may receive a favorable reply both to the request for information I have sent you and in response to the suggestion I have herein made.

Very sincerely yours,

(Signed) WM. GREEN, President,
American Federation of Labor.

The following is Reverend Father Coughlin's reply to Mr. Green under date of July 27, 1933:

July 27, 1933.

Mr. Wm. Green, President,
American Federation of Labor,
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. Green:

Your letter of July 12th is hereby acknowledged.

I am sorry to say that your duly accredited representatives of Building Trades of Michigan, together with the representatives of International Unions, have failed to give you the proper advice.

Not knowing who these gentlemen are I refrain from any comment and prefer to accept your letter in the spirit in which it was written.

For your information our parish decided to erect this church primarily to give our parishioners work whether or not they belong to any trade union.

For the past three years we have been feeding many hundreds of families, never questioning whether or not they belong to a trade union. This year, instead of giving food and shelter and clothing to the destitute, we are striving to give work.

Of course, if there is a carpenter, an electrician, a plumber or any other tradesman in my parish who does not belong to a trade union he will be employed on this structure because it is his money which is paying for the erection.

If there is a trade union member in my parish he too will be employed.

When it comes to employing people to construct this edifice I do not plan to ask whether or not they are members of any organization. Secondly, our parish has never asked the creed or questioned the color or race of any citizen of Royal Oak, of Berkley, of Clawson, of Hazel Park, or for that matter, of Detroit when there was a question of food and clothing and shelter.

Because we were the most important charitable organization in this county, caring for more than the county itself cared for in the matter of immediate relief, we are not limiting the hiring to those who will work upon the church to Catholics or to Protestants or to Jews or to non-religionists.

I am not in accord with the unjust criticism launched against Mr. James Little of the firm of Cooper-Little. Being a member of our parish he is supervising the building for me along with his partner Mr. Cooper. I have no contract with Cooper-Little or with anyone else.

Mr. Fred Douglass, Chairman of the parish committee, is caring for the plumbing and the heating, etc., on this construction work.

Other members of the parish, union or non-union who are in business have the work divided among them.

For the most part, these gentlemen are making no profit whatever which will accrue to themselves.

Some gentlemen representing building organizations have approached me since my return to Detroit relative to the building of this church. I have made the above matters clear. I am not free to limit this construction to union labor alone, otherwise I would be disparaging approximately 95 per cent of my parishioners from whom I expect to receive funds to carry on this work.

In no sense am I opposed to union labor. I have gone so far as to permit your organizers to try to make converts of all those who will be working on this job.

I do not plan to force the workmen to join any organization nor do I plan to speak one inimical word against the union relative to this venture.

As far as the wages to be paid on this job are concerned, it is our plan to pay the laborers and the artisans at least as much money and more than NIRA suggests.

I feel sure that the American Federation of Labor, not wishing to remain a small closed organization with a paid up enrollment of approximately two and a half million individuals, is anxious to be so liberal in its views as to adopt ways and means of making it possible to augment their ranks without resorting to means of force or violence. This I know is your policy which can survive in a free country, especially since the vast majority of working men are not members of any organization.

To build and not to destroy; to attract and not to impede; to be democratic and not to be tyrannical—these are more preferable in this present case, especially since this particular building is being constructed by the contributed funds of the great middle class who comprise my parish and who have been brought up in the atmosphere of the city of Detroit and its suburbs where, up to this present date, unionism has been more honored by its absence than by its practice.

Sincerely yours,

REV. CHAS. E. COUGHLIN.

I also have had sent to me a statement by Mr. Collins, the national representative

of the bricklayers' union, which is as follows:

October 9, 1933.

Honorable Frank X. Martel, President,
Detroit Federation of Labor,
American Federation of Labor Convention,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir and Brother:

Replying to your telegraphed request for a statement in regard to the complaints against labor conditions in the erection of the Shrine of the Little Flower whose pastor is the Reverend Charles E. Coughlin, and in which he has let the contract to the non-union Cooper-Little Company, will say:

That Edgar B. Cooper, the senior member of the Cooper-Little firm, has been an outstanding enemy of organized labor in the city of Detroit since 1922, at which time he was connected with the firm traveling under the name of Cooper-Wiedemann, and which at the time took the lead in the attack upon trade unions here in wage reductions and which were unsuccessful, were followed by Mr. Cooper's lead to establish the "open shop" in the building industries. His attack first being for the "open shop" rule which was to prevail within the craft and which he modified later by making himself the leading individual in the efforts to divide the matter on a basis of certain non-union crafts in the prosecution of the work of the general contractor. Mr. Cooper has been the leading influence expressing this point of view since that time in the city of Detroit.

In 1930 Father Coughlin removed a contractor from the job, the Bryant and Detwiler Company, who was employing union men in the masonry trades, also who had a sub-contractor employing men in the electric trade. All other branches of building work being done for him under the Bryant and Detwiler Company was non-union.

This firm was supplanted by the Cooper-Little Company, who upon this operation actually achieved the first wage reductions in the metropolitan area of the city of Detroit and that this was accomplished with the coordination and full support of the Reverend Charles E. Coughlin and further was accomplished by the employment of strikebreakers who were imported into Detroit from Canada under rules especially made by the immigration authorities permitting their entry contrary to the law.

When this matter was called to the attention of Father Coughlin, he deplored in the same fashion he is doing at the present, by promising support to correct the conditions complained of.

It immediately followed that Father Coughlin's reactions were to the effect that he indicated to a Mr. Edward Leavenworth, well known in the national marble trade, that any efforts on

the part of the bricklayers or organized labor to correct the employment conditions of the Cooper-Little Company would be met by radio pronouncements which would designate anyone having anything to do with it as being in the operation of a racket.

Complaints against this condition were made by every influence that could be exerted by organized labor to appeal to Father Coughlin to desist from his attacks upon organized labor. Largely all of these appeals have gone unanswered. For your information these appeals were made by the heads of organized labor as well as by the outstanding friend of organized labor, the Honorable Frank Murphy, at that time Mayor of the city of Detroit and now Governor General of the Philippine Islands. With all of these appeals before him, Father Coughlin has, in the letting of his contracts for his present structure, let to the Cooper-Little Company, who at the very time were erecting a theater job in the city of Detroit against which an organized building trades strike was being carried on, in the face of which Father Coughlin has unquestionably utilized the construction work upon his edifice to directly attack the trade union movement.

In the light of all past experience with him, any manifestation of his interest to organized labor in the direction of assisting to organize men employed upon his structure cannot be accepted as being in the slightest genuine. Father Coughlin knows that the Cooper-Little Company are subscribed to the "open shop" policy with its attendant non-union and cheap wage conditions, and that even if he were to, by his influence, unionize the building tradesmen on his structure, the building trades would have to accept employment there with the full knowledge of the fact that the Cooper-Little Company was carrying on non-union operations elsewhere.

Fraternally yours,

D. COLLINS.

Then, here is the letter submitted by the representative of the Plumbers and Steamfitters Union:

Detroit, Michigan, Locals No. 98 and 636.

October 9, 1933.

Mr. Frank X. Martel, President,
Detroit Federation of Labor,
American Federation of Labor Convention,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir and Brother:

It will be noted that the reply of Rev. Coughlin to President Green, of the American Federation of Labor, that refers to a Mr. Fred Douglas, as chair-

man of the parish committee, is evidently intending to imply that Mr. Douglas is an employer who might be considered fair or in other words one to whom union labor could appeal.

Kindly be advised that in addition to the relating of the experience with Mr. Douglas in this particular case, that Mr. Douglas is one of the outstanding opponents of organized labor in suburban sections contiguous to Detroit and that in the plumbing and heating done on previous jobs connected with Rev. Coughlin's parish, that the work was done under cheap wage and non-union conditions and that we of the plumbing and heating trades are positive that this objectionable labor condition was done with the full knowledge of Rev. Coughlin and everything would indicate his coordination with these elements to the detriment of labor standards here.

For your information may we state that we contacted with Mr. Douglas of the Douglas Plumbing and Heating Company of Birmingham, Michigan, as to the employment of union plumbers and steamfitters and we are given to understand that he would not employ any of the men who were members of our unions, in fact was not interested in any way in the employment of union labor.

Hope this is the information you wanted, we remain.

Fraternally yours,

JAMES McNERN.

Bus. Rep. Plumbers' Union No. 98.

ED THAL,

Secretary,

Steamfitters' Union No. 636.

Now, gentlemen of the convention, this submits the attitude of the Reverend Father Coughlin, who is now trying to hold himself before the public as a friend of labor and who is telling the public that he is inviting the representatives of labor to come on the job and organize his job, knowing full well that the contractor he has is specializing in the employment of men who have been used for years as professional strike breakers in that city, and, as pointed out by Mr. Collins in his letter, at the time he erected the first section of his church there was a strike on the job and the job was finished by non-union labor imported from Canada, in violation of the immigration laws. The suggestion he made that he be supplied with a list of men who were members of the union was complied with by rep-

representatives of the carpenters' union, but up to the present time none have been employed on this work.

We ask the assistance of the American Federation of Labor in making it plain that Father Coughlin is not a true friend of organized labor but is in fact one of those individuals who has developed the idea that it is very profitable to capitalize the misfortunes of the men and women who are at the present time unemployed by pleading for them over the radio, which has resulted in the filling of the coffers of his church with hundreds of thousands of dollars, coming from the workers of this country, and many times from people who are themselves unemployed.

He says here that the work is being done to provide employment for members of his parish. He has but 64 families in his parish. It is located in a purely residential section, where there are very few working people living, and when he says that this work is to provide employment for them I say to you, my friends, it is not in accordance with the facts.

Men employed on that job at the present time are not only from outside of his district, but from outside of the state of Michigan, as verified by our people examining the license plates on the cars of the men who come to work on his job from the states of Ohio and Indiana. He has asked men to go to work on this job at the wage of 50 cents an hour, which is that prevailing for common labor, and asks these men to do the work of skilled mechanics. We are not in accord with that policy and we know the labor movement of this country is not in accord with it, and we ask that it be made very plain to Father Coughlin that unless he changes his methods and his attitude toward organized labor he cannot expect to have the continued friendship of the members of the trade union movement.

Delegate McDonough, Building Trades Department: As Delegate Martel has covered the controversy with Father

Coughlin from the standpoint of the building tradesmen, I will not say very much, but I want to say in verification of the letters and facts that Delegate Martel has presented to this convention that the officials of the Building Trades Department made every effort to unionize the erection of Father Coughlin's church, and Father Coughlin's responses, through his secretary, are similar to the letters read by Delegate Martel.

We of the Building Trades Department feel that as far as Father Coughlin being recognized as a friend of labor is concerned, nothing to date with reference to the construction of his building at least has evidenced to us that he is a friend of our movement. We are in accord with the resolution, but believe that if you send a representative into Detroit the matter should not be delayed, for the reason that the church is progressing with non-union men, and if there is any possibility of a representative of the American Federation of Labor being of assistance, he will have to act quickly. Personally, from what has transpired in the past, I doubt the ability of anybody to have Father Coughlin erect his church under union conditions.

The report of the committee that Resolution No. 91 be referred to the Executive Council for action suggested was adopted.

ANNOUNCEMENTS

President Green: I want to announce that arrangements have been made for a resumption of building operations upon the Government buildings in Washington where jurisdictional disputes have existed and where a stoppage of work occurred. The building trades workers will resume operations on all these buildings on next Monday morning. We are pleased to announce that those arrangements, satisfactory to all, have been completed.

Now I want to read just one little clipping from a newspaper that has been placed on my table just now:

Court Upholds NRA Labor Act

MILWAUKEE, Oct. 13 (I.N.S.)—Organized labor scored a preliminary victory of nationwide significance today when Circuit Judge John J. Gregory granted an injunction restraining the Simplex Shoe Manufacturing Company from interfering with attempts of its 800 employes to unionize.

Employes contended they had a right to form a union under the National Recovery Act.

In the first decision in the country bearing on the provisions of the NRA, Judge Gregory held that the Simplex

company had violated the act by refusing to deal with J. C. McMorrow, of Boston, vice president and organizer for the International Boot and Shoe Workers' Union.

Company attorneys protested Judge Gregory's hearing, contending it was a Federal court matter. But the jurist conducted the hearing on the assumption that under the new Wisconsin labor code the Circuit Court could take jurisdiction.

The convention will now stand in recess until 7:00 o'clock tonight.

At 6:05 p. m. the convention recessed to 7:00 o'clock p. m.

Tenth Day—Friday Night Session

The convention was called to order at 7:30 o'clock by President Green.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

Secretary Olander continued the report of the committee as follows:

Demand That the Pullman Company Be Included Under the Emergency Railroad Transportation Act 1933

Resolution No. 86 — By Delegate A. Phillip Randolph, Sleeping Car Porters Union, No. 18068.

WHEREAS, The Pullman Company is claiming and boasting to its employes that it is not subject to regulation by the National Recovery Act or the Emergency Railroad Transportation Act, 1933, and hence may continue to maintain its Plan of Employee Representation or Company Union; and

WHEREAS, The Coordinator of Federal Transportation, in reply to request by the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters to investigate the Pullman Company Union, stated that the Emergency Railroad Transportation Act does not apply to the Pullman Company; and

WHEREAS, The Coordinator, Honorable Joseph B. Eastman, in a letter to the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters under the date of September 25, states: "The fact is that the Pullman Company is not subject to the Emergency Railroad Transportation Act, 1933"

and adds "The failure to include the Pullman Company no doubt may be due to an oversight but that does not change the fact;" and

WHEREAS, Sec. 3 of the Interstate Commerce Act, states: "The term 'common carrier' as used in this act shall include all pipe line companies; telegraph, telephone, and cable companies operating by wire or wireless; express companies; sleeping car companies and all persons natural or artificial, engaged in such transportation or transmission as aforesaid as common carriers for hire" and

WHEREAS, The Railway Labor Act states in Sec. 1, First, The term "Carrier" includes any express company, sleeping car company, and any carrier by railroad subject to the Interstate Commerce Act; and

WHEREAS, Under Title 1, Emergency Powers of the Emergency Railroad Transportation Act, 1933, the Federal Coordinator of Transportation is moving to determine wherein railway carriers are violating Labor's rights in the above named act, through a questionnaire sent the carriers, in which it is said: "It is now unlawful for any railroad to:

- (1) Deny or in any way question the right of its employes to join the Labor Organization of their choice.
- (2) Interfere in any way with the organization of its employes.
- (3) Use its funds in maintaining so-called company unions.
- (4) Influence or coerce its employes in an effort to induce them to join or re-

main members of such company unions"; and

WHEREAS, In President Roosevelt's National Industrial Recovery Act, the general policy of the nation is herein expressed against workers being forced to join company unions and labor is granted the untrammelled right of self-organization and the designation of their representatives free from interference, restraint or coercion of employers of labor; and

WHEREAS, The Pullman Company has violated and is now violating the Railway Labor Act, the Emergency Railroad Transportation Act, 1933, and the spirit and letter of the N. R. A., by maintaining with its funds a company union, and firing porters and maids for joining the Sleeping Car Porters' Unions which embrace the large majority of the porters and maids in the Pullman service; be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in its 53d annual convention held in Washington, D. C., instructs and urges the Executive Council to use its good offices in calling upon President Franklin D. Roosevelt to issue an Executive Order interpreting the Emergency Railroad Transportation Act, 1933, to include within its scope sleeping car companies, thereby correcting a situation that results in the Pullman Company occupying a favored status; be it further

RESOLVED, That the convention herewith condemn the policy of oppression and exploitation of porters and maids by the Pullman Company through low wage rates and the chain ganging of runs that boost the hours of work of porters from four hundred to five hundred a month, a policy which is in direct contravention of the spirit of the National Recovery Program.

Your committee recommends adoption of Resolution No. 86.

Delegate Randolph, Sleeping Car Porters: Mr. President and delegates: Before speaking on the resolution I want to express, on behalf of the officers and members of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, our sincere appreciation for the action of the Cincinnati convention in granting both financial and moral support to our organization in our fight to eliminate the company unions through an injunction proceeding. I may say our injunction trial took place June 26 and 27 in New York, and that the decision is now pending. We expect that it will be handed down at any time.

Now I want to say a word about this resolution, inasmuch as it not only affects Pullman porters and maids, but the Pullman conductors.

There are two major pieces of legislation that have been enacted, the National Recovery Act and the Emergency Railroad Transportation Act. These two pieces of legislation arose out of similar conditions, namely, economic confusion. We had banks going out of business, factories closing down, and there was widespread unemployment. These two pieces of legislation are calculated to increase re-employment through raising wages and by reducing the hours of work. It is inconceivable that any corporation would be excluded from the supervision of either one of these pieces of legislation, but to the amazement of the Pullman porters and maids and Pullman conductors, the Pullman Company sets up a claim that it does not come under either the Emergency Railroad Transportation Act or the National Recovery Act. In other words, the Pullman Company claims it is entirely outside the law, and consequently it can maintain the company union it now has. It is a strange, unprecedented and extraordinary situation. I want to read from the Interstate Commerce Act a provision with regard to the relation between carriers and their employes.

"First, the term 'carriers' includes any express company, sleeping car company, and any carrier by railroads subject to the Interstate Commerce Act, including all floating equipment, such as boats, barges, tugs, bridges and ferries; and other transportation facilities used by or operated in connection with any such carrier by railroads, and any receiver or any other individual or body, judicial or otherwise, when in the position of the business of employers or carriers covered by this Act."

They use the term "common carriers," and here you have the very name, "sleeping car company," designated in the Interstate Commerce Act. The Pullman Company sets up the grounds that it does not come under the jurisdiction of the Emergency Railroad Transportation Act because sleeping cars are not definitely designated. The Act itself

simply states that the term "carriers" means any common carrier by railroads subject to the provisions of the Interstate Commerce Act.

Now the Interstate Commerce Act definitely designates the sleeping car companies and says that wherever the term "common carriers" is used that sleeping car companies and express companies shall come under its provisions.

Now, President Roosevelt, in writing a letter to President Whitney of the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen, makes this statement in his letter, and it bears on the question here involved:

"On August 16 you wrote the Coordinator furnishing him a copy of the document above mentioned, entitled 'Evidence of Expenditures of Railroad Funds to Coerce Employees and Maintain Company Unions,' and asked him 'to promptly review the information submitted and thereafter to take such action or make such order as may be necessary to cause the law to be complied with in this respect.' The information submitted is voluminous and relates to many different carriers. The Coordinator has not at his command a force of investigators sufficient to cover all of these grounds by direct examination of records. He plans, therefore, to send a questionnaire to be answered under oath to all carriers by railroads where so-called company unions exist, covering each and every one of the practices alleged in your communication, and asking in detail whether or not such practice is or has been in effect. The questionnaire will be supplemented, if found practicable, by test examinations of records in typical cases through commission investigators. To the extent that such practices are admitted, or are otherwise found to exist, the carriers will be given an opportunity to make a legal defense in the form of a brief if they so desire. If important legal questions are raised in such briefs, the labor organizations which you represent will be given an opportunity to present their views upon such questions. By the

information finally developed the Coordinator's actions will be governed. Every effort will be made to expedite this inquiry."

Now, in this communication President Roosevelt definitely says that this questionnaire is to be sent to all carriers by railroads. Now, the term "railroads," according to the Interstate Commerce Act, simply is designated to make a distinction between carriers by water and carriers by rail. It seems from the letter that President Roosevelt meant it should include all the employees under any kind of transportation company whatever. It seems to me it is clear that President Roosevelt, with his fine, constructive and splendid vision would certainly not permit the Pullman Company, which is one of the most arrogant open shop companies in America, to be without regulation, either under the National Recovery Act or the Emergency Railroad Transportation Act.

Right after this questionnaire was sent out by Mr. Eastman the Pullman Company answered our letter for the first time in the last eight years, but the company contends it has no dispute with the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, because it has a contract with the Pullman porters and maids in the company union. It says that it intends to adhere to that procedure.

Our organization feels that that is a very definite violation of the law. Just before the Pullman Company sent that letter to us it had sent a communication to the officers of the company unions in which it called upon those officers to report to the supervising officers of their districts and receive funds for the purpose of attending a company union meeting in which they were to sign an agreement to maintain the reduction in pay of Pullman porters and maids to June, 1934.

We contend that the Pullman porters and maids, and also the Pullman conductors and all the employees of the Pullman Company, come under the Emergency Railroad Transportation

Act. We do not want to be divorced from the railroad group, inasmuch as Mr. Eastman is going to recommend legislation for the permanent government of transportation. In Mr. Eastman's mind there is an idea that the porters ought to be covered in this Emergency Railroad Transportation Act. It seems to me, merely because sleeping car companies are not definitely designated in the Act, there is no reason why the Pullman Company should not be included, because under the Act for control of carriers the sleeping car company was not designated but the Pullman Company was affected.

We are calling upon President Green to work with our organization. Of course he has already indicated that he would, as he always does, to the end of getting the President to take some action in order that the sleeping car company shall be included in this Act. If that is not done the Pullman Company will violate all the terms of this Emergency Legislation.

Pullman porters are now getting \$72.50 a month, and yet before the Industrial Relations Commission which was set up by President Wilson, Mr. Robert Todd Lincoln, who was then President of the Pullman Company, testified that a good porter will make good tips. In these days of depression, when travel is light, the tips have gone down 75 per cent. Furthermore our organization is opposed to the tipping system. We believe the porter ought to receive a definite living wage. Nevertheless, if the Pullman Company can prevent the porters from organizing, the porters will be unable to collectively bargain for bettering their conditions. Out of this \$72.50 a month the Pullman porters are required to pay \$33.00 a month as occupational expenses.

The Pullman porter has to pay for the polish which he uses on your shoes, he has to buy two uniforms a year and pay for food in transit. We had the Labor Board of New York make an investigation. They secured information indicating that the Pullman porter pays out \$33.00 a month in order to be a por-

ter. Now that is a rather large amount of money to come out of the small wages of the Pullman porter, plus the tips that are now practically inconsequential. The Pullman Company is setting up the claim now that it cannot make any drastic change in its policy. It says the company cannot afford it. Nevertheless, the Pullman Company boasts that it has never passed a dividend. Other companies have not been so fortunate. The Pullman Company has no funded indebtedness. The Pullman Company does not pay any wages to the Pullman porter and the Pullman Company expects the public to pay them.

In 1925 to 1929 an investigation revealed that the public was paying to the Pullman Company in tips alone \$8,540,000 a year. Now, nominally, these tips were received by the porters, but actually they went to the Pullman Company, because by virtue of the tips the Pullman Company could set the wage that would be very much lower than if the porters did not receive tips. Morgan, Vanderbilt and Mellon, who are on the Board of Directors of the Pullman Company, are receiving the benefit of these tips. We want a definite wage, we want a 240-hour work month. If we get the 240-hour work month it will enable a great many of the men on furloughs to get jobs.

We hope this resolution will be effective and instrumental in getting some action that will change the status of the Pullman porters, the Pullman maids, the Pullman conductors, and express workers. None of them know where they stand, they do not know whether they come under the Emergency Railroad Act or the National Recovery Act. We want to know what piece of legislation has jurisdiction over our employees. We will not permit the company to get from under both pieces of legislation. Before we do that, the Pullman porters and maids will walk off the cars. We cannot claim that we have any kind of constructive, enduring industrial peace unless that industrial peace rests upon industrial justice. Certainly it is not just if the Pullman

porters are excluded from all these pieces of legislation.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Protest Discrimination Against Negro Workers Under NRA

Resolution No. 87—By Delegate A. Phillip Randolph, Sleeping Car Porters Union No. 18068.

WHEREAS, Negro workers are being notoriously victimized in various sections of the country in the form of being displaced by white workers when the minimum wage rate is applied; and

WHEREAS, Negro workers are being deprived of certain benefits under the N. R. A. since they, especially, in the textile industry fall within a category, to which the provisions of the National Recovery program will not apply until a later date in January, 1934; and

WHEREAS, The application of unfavorable wage differentials in certain industries in the South are made to bear heavily upon Negro workers who constitute a large labor factor in these industries; and

WHEREAS, This wage differential policy with respect to groups of workers is alleged to be based upon differential in productive efficiency and living costs; and

WHEREAS, Responsible production statistics in relation to Negro workers compiled during and after the World War period indicate that the charge of production inefficiency is without basis in fact, and that certain groups of Negro workers have the same level of productive efficiency of similar groups of white workers and that the level of productivity of certain groups of Negro workers is higher and lower than some groups of white workers; and

WHEREAS, Wage income determines cost of living standards and renders it wholly unscientific to relate wage rates to racial factors; and

WHEREAS, It is a dangerous precedent and definite menace to the organized labor movement to permit the government to promulgate and execute a wage policy, expressing differentials that can only result in creating competition between the workers that will accrue to the benefit of the employing class; be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in its 53rd convention held in Washington, D. C., does herewith condemn the policy of wage differentials based upon sectional or racial grounds and herewith calls upon the National Recovery Administration heads and the President of the United States to eliminate said policy in the interest of economic justice to the Negro workers in particular, the American workers

in general and raising the purchasing power of the entire working class as a whole.

Your committee recommends adoption of Resolution No. 87.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Resolution No. 98

Resolution No. 98, after the report of the committee had been submitted and a discussion of the subject matter had occurred, was ordered expunged from the proceedings of the convention.

The report of the committee is as follows:

The American Federation of Labor stands firmly and boldly against racketeering and gangsterism of all forms. It is the particular duty of the officers of the Federation and its Executive Council, and its organizers and other representatives, and the officers and members of all international and national unions, state federations of labor, city central bodies, local unions, and of all other divisions of the trade union movement, to use every means within their power to prevent the entrance of any form of racketeering or gangsterism into any part of the movement, and to purge it of any taint of this menace which may have entered into it in any part of the country.

The trade unions are an essential factor in our industrial, economic and social life. They are necessary to the social welfare of the community. They are the only means through which working people can effectively participate in the determination of their wages and working conditions. Through trade unions alone is it possible for the workers to be adequately represented at hearings and conferences relating to laws and public regulations which vitally affect their interests. The trade unions are the only medium through which the organized voice of the workers can be heard in a representative manner in the legislative halls of the city, state and nation. In a thousand ways, trade union organization, that is to say, the organization of workers of common or allied occupations for the

purpose of discussing their common problems and needs, especially as relating to wages and working conditions, is of such tremendous importance in the lives of the working people that it is difficult to imagine anything that can be more dangerous to the common weal than the misuse or perversion of any of these organizations to purposes other than those for which they were brought into existence by their members. Through them, the worker finds the means of a happier and better life, that reaches not only into his place of employment, but into his home, to his wife and even to the very babe in the cradle. The progress he makes through trade union activities enhances his opportunity to secure for his children the education to which they are entitled. It enables him to participate more actively in the civic life of the community. It means for him greater freedom to make the sort of social contacts so necessary to the fulfillment of life. Higher wages, better sanitation, greater safety and shorter work time at his place of employment send him out to his home with more to give to his family, a stronger, cleaner, healthier man, with time to sit at his own fireside, to meet with his neighbors, to assume his place in the political life of the community, and to participate in all of its social activities.

There is certainly no place in any of these splendid organizations for gangsters or racketeers or others who would misuse the good name of the trade union movement, or any of its divisions. President Green, the Executive Council and the affiliated national and international unions have, whenever necessary, taken action in particular cases of such a character as to leave no doubt as to the attitude of the American Federation of Labor on this point. In view of the fact, however, that the question has been raised at this convention, your committee has deemed it wise to present this statement for approval here in order that no enemy of the movement may be in a position to say that the convention failed to reiterate the position of the

American Federation of Labor on this subject. Your committee recommends that this declaration of the committee be adopted by the convention and that the Executive Council be instructed to send copies of the declaration to all affiliated organizations for their information and guidance in order that action may be taken wherever and whenever necessary, through all available means, to protect and safeguard every division of our great trade union movement against any and every encroachment by racketeering or gangsterism in any form or under any guise.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Equal Employment Rights for Women

Resolution No. 103—By Delegate E. G. Hall, Minnesota State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Women workers are greatly aroused to the need for immediate action in behalf of justice and equality between men and women workers and for a solidified stand to this end on the part of labor; be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor stand for the principle that regulations regarding hours, wages, and other conditions of labor be based on the nature of the work and not on the sex of the worker, in all laws, national, state and local, and in all codes now being drawn for the various industries, to the end that equality of the worker, with no distinction on the ground of sex, be established in law and practice throughout the United States; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That copies of the foregoing resolution be sent to the President of the United States and to General Hugh Johnson, Director of the National Recovery Administration.

Your committee desires to report that the introducer of Resolution No. 103 has requested permission to withdraw the resolution, and we recommend that the request be granted.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Your committee recommends that Resolution No. 104 be amended in its last paragraph by striking out the words "legislative committee" and inserting in lieu thereof the word "officers." The amended resolution reads:

Retention of the Panama Railroad Steamship Service for the Benefit of Panama Canal and Panama Railway Employees

Resolution No. 104—By Delegate A. M. Horle of the Canal Zone Central Labor Union.

WHEREAS, During the last session of Congress, the Shannon Committee recommended the discontinuance of the Panama Railroad Steamship service; and

WHEREAS, This service is of vital importance to the employees of the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad Company, as it provides reduced rates for transportation, enabling these employees to take much needed vacations in the United States, in order to recuperate from the effects of a tropical climate; and

WHEREAS, Many thousands of American citizens, employees, and dependents, of the United States Government, as well as personnel of the United States Army and Navy and their dependents, who are in the isolated tropical service on the Isthmus of Panama, 2,000 miles away from home, are dependent on this steamship line for transportation; and

WHEREAS, Living costs on the Canal Zone are slightly reduced because of low freight rates allowed the Supply Department and the employees on freight shipments; and

WHEREAS, Private steamship companies would undoubtedly raise the tariff rates on both freight and passenger traffic if the Panama Railroad Steamship Line was discontinued; and

WHEREAS, The private steamship lines operating between the Canal Zone and the United States ports are not equipped to handle peak loads of employees going on recuperative leave; be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, go on record as being opposed to the discontinuance of the Panama Railroad Steamship Line, and that the officers of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to make every effort to continue the operation of this line so that the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad employees will be assured reasonable and reliable passenger and freight transportation to and from the Canal Zone.

Your committee recommends that the resolution, thus amended, be adopted.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Thomas J. Mooney

Resolution No. 110—By Delegate Paul Scharrenberg, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Since the incarceration of Thomas J. Mooney and Warren K. Billings, the American Federation of Labor has, at every succeeding convention, reiterated its belief in the innocence of these two brothers and demanded their unconditional pardon, and

WHEREAS, The recent trial and acquittal of Thomas J. Mooney on the one pending indictment has further clinched the constantly growing conviction that Mooney and Billings were convicted on the flimsiest evidence and largely because certain predatory interests demanded their conviction; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the Fifty-third Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, that we send greetings to Mooney and Billings and again express our firm belief in their innocence and demand their immediate unconditional pardon.

In lieu of Resolution No. 110, your committee recommends reaffirmation of all declarations of previous conventions of the American Federation of Labor with reference to the Mooney and Billings case and the continuance of efforts for their unconditional pardon or early release.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Harlan County Coal Miners

Resolution No. 114—By Delegate W. E. Hulsbeck of the Kentucky State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, During the past three years some thirteen miners in the Harlan Coal fields have been sent to prison under charges of murder, some for life, one, Wm. Hightower, 76 years of age, and President of a local of United Mine Workers of America; and

WHEREAS, The conditions under which these men were tried and convicted are a disgrace and a stain on the courts of the Commonwealth of Kentucky, in that these men's cases were transferred from Harlan County to Mt. Sterling, Ky., some two hundred miles away, and being practically penniless, they were deprived thereby of presenting their witnesses at such trials; and

WHEREAS, Numbers of Miners have been actually brutally murdered in said coal fields by paid mine guards under one guise or another, and nothing has ever been done about the matter and evidently never will be, and

WHEREAS, The Judge, Commonwealth Attorney, and the Sheriff of Harlan County; and Judge Prewitt of Mt. Sterling, Ky., in fact all others re-

sponsible for this miscarriage of justice have been repudiated and denied re-election by the citizens of their respective districts; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in Convention assembled this 9th day of October, 1933, go on record as condemning this procedure and protesting strongly against the further incarceration of these men, the innocent victims of industrial warfare and of a court long known to be under the absolute domination of the Mine Owners and Operators, and only maintained through their paid hirelings and gunmen, misnamed deputy sheriffs and constables; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That this Convention appeal to Hon. Ruby Laffoon, Governor of Kentucky, to rectify this miscarriage of justice by pardoning all of these aforesaid men so that they can return to their homes and loved ones.

Your committee recommends approval of Resolution No. 114.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Vice-President Woll: This concludes the report of the Committee on Resolutions, with one exception, which is a resolution of thanks and which will be reported upon after all committees have finished their work. The report is signed:

MATTHEW WOLL, *Chairman*;
VICTOR A. OLANDER, *Secretary*;
GEORGE W. PERKINS,
A. A. MYRUP,
J. A. FRANKLIN,
JOHN L. LEWIS,
THOMAS L. HUGHES,
JOHN POSSEHL,
P. J. MORRIN,
JOHN P. FREY,
J. L. WINES,
CHARLES P. HOWARD,
CLARENCE E. SWICK,
M. J. COLLIERAN,
R. J. GRAY,
J. C. LEWIS,
HARVEY FREMMING.

Committee on Resolutions.

Vice-President Woll: I move that the report of the committee as a whole, as reported to this convention and as acted upon be approved.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

Report of Committee on Legislation

Delegate Hyatt, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

Old-Age Security—Discrimination Against the Older Worker

Attention of the Convention is directed to the recommendation of the Executive Council under the caption "Old-Age Security" in which gratifying progress is set forth with respect to the enactment of old-age security legislation (page 110).

Attention is also directed to the section of the report under the caption "Discrimination Against the Older Worker" (page 93), in which the growing practice of heartlessly scrapping wage-earners while still in the prime of life is emphatically condemned whether by public or private employers.

The committee recommends that the Convention endorse the following resolution:

Federal Old-Age Pension Legislation

Resolution No. 13—By Delegate Phillip Ickler, of the Central Labor Union of Pensacola, Florida.

WHEREAS, The present machine system in operation throughout all industries brings the working man under Old-Age Classification more rapidly; and

WHEREAS, The unemployed millions are already constituted of young and middle aged workers which makes it so much more difficult for a man of fifty years to keep his job; and

WHEREAS, The age limit of the Working man has been brought down to a considerable younger age due to the machine's mass production; and

WHEREAS, The old-age pension has been advocated at several previous Conventions of the American Federation of Labor, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in its 53d Annual Convention held at Washington, D. C., beginning October 2, 1933, request every serious effort possible to find ways and means to force the next session of the Congress of the United States to enact a compulsory old age pension as Federal and State laws.

The report of the committee on Resolution No. 13 and the two sections of the Executive Council's report was unanimously adopted.

Bank Deposits Insurance Legislation

Resolution No. 15—By Delegate John M. O'Hanlon of the New York State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, A number of savings and commercial banks have been shown by the operation of the banking order issued by the President of the United States early in March of 1933, and by subsequent investigations, to have invested the funds of their depositors in securities of little or no value, thereby requiring groups of such banks to be kept closed or to be liquidated at enormous losses and contraction of credit to the detriment of industry and commerce and causing destitution among thousands of victimized depositors; be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor is hereby authorized to draft and present to the Congress of the United States at its coming session appropriate legislation to provide for the assured security of depositors in banks or to support any Federal legislation having this object for its purpose that may meet with the approval of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor.

The committee calls attention to the section of the report of the Executive Council on this subject (page 106) and recommends endorsement of the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Extension of Legislation to Insular Possessions

Resolution No. 24—By Delegates Santiago Iglesias of the Puerto Rico State Federation of Labor and P. Rivera Martinez of the San Juan Central Labor Union.

WHEREAS, The organized labor movement of Puerto Rico, as represented by the Free Federation of Labor of the Island, has been denouncing for over thirty years industrial, economic, living and working conditions in that territory as unsound and most injurious to the welfare and uplifting of all the inhabitants of that Island, and more particularly so of the working classes constituting the overwhelming majority of the people; and

WHEREAS, At different Conventions of the State Federation of Puerto Rico resolutions have been adopted repeatedly suggesting that all plans of economic rehabilitation of the Island to be of practical benefit must have the effective enforcement and decided support and cooperation in a collective form of all the liberal organizations of the Island and of the continental United States as well, as it has been recorded in all our previous conventions for the last 15 years; and

WHEREAS, Resolutions adopted by our last conventions held in the years 1930 and 1931 called for the extension to Puerto Rico of the operation of numerous Acts of Congress as a complement to our plans of rehabilitation, and in furtherance thereto, and through the efforts of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and its Legislative Committee we have already succeeded in having some of those laws already extended and made applicable to our Island, but there are still some others that must be made applicable; and

WHEREAS, The Puerto Rican Federation of Labor unreservedly endorses the economic program of the new Executive of the Island as outlined in his inaugural address and also the effective plans of economic rehabilitation being developed by the President of the United States to increase the purchasing power of the masses and to create new opportunities of employment for the unemployed through the increase in wages, the reduction of hours and a genuine recognition of labor to collective bargaining; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor was always ready at all times to render its worthy support and cooperation to the Island of Puerto Rico; be it

RESOLVED, That the 53d Convention of the American Federation of Labor heartily endorse the demands and aspirations of the Puerto Rico Federation of Labor and pledge its moral support to the rehabilitation plans for the Island of Puerto Rico; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the President of the American Federation of Labor be authorized, and is hereby earnestly urged to instruct and direct the Legislative Committee of the American Federation of Labor toward the legislative demands of the Puerto Rican Federation of Labor that are still pending extension to the Island, and so that proper action might be taken before Congress or before those administrative officials in authority to extend the benefits of all progressive Acts through interpretation, to the Island of Puerto Rico, to secure adequate help from our Government; and be it further

RESOLVED, That efforts be made in particular by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor before the competent authorities to have extended to Puerto Rico the benefits of the Wagner-Peyser Act—Public No. 30—73rd Congress creating a new United States Employment Service, in view that there is no place under our flag more needed of this measure than Puerto Rico; and be it further

RESOLVED, That in drafting the different codes of fair competition under

the NRA, the labor representatives in the different boards be advised that, while we all realize conditions to be in Puerto Rico most different to those prevailing in the United States, however, the Island of Puerto Rico should receive due protection in drafting their local codes and it should not be kept as a market of cheap labor to the detriment of the workers and the inhabitants of the Island in general.

Your Committee on Legislation, in recommending hearty concurrence with Resolution No. 24 of the Puerto Rican delegates, as printed on pages 166 and 167 of the Second Day's Proceedings also recommends that the terms of this resolution be complied with at the earliest possible date, not only because of actual conditions prevailing in that Island, but in view that the New executive selected for Puerto Rico by President Roosevelt is in full accord with the policy and rehabilitation program of our nation and has already shown his good disposition and determination to work hard for the welfare of all the inhabitants of the Island and very particularly so for the uplifting of the working masses.

We further recommend that, in view that the benefits of the National Recovery Act has not been felt in the Island of Puerto Rico, a place where over 1,500,000 American citizens live, and where not a single employer of labor abided by the appeal of our President by the signing of a temporary blanket code, while the workers there are compelled to pay all the increases in prices of all commodities; and taking into consideration that it cannot be expected the workers of Puerto Rico to be able to appear in Washington to present their case before the NRA, because of the distance, the President of the American Federation of Labor is hereby instructed to earnestly urge upon the competent authorities that a Deputy Administrator be appointed at the earliest possible date for the Island of Puerto Rico with sufficient authority to call hearings in that Island and to carry on the purposes of the law and all the duties inherent to the National Recovery Act, and so that labor and industry be protected alike in Puerto Rico under the NRA.

The committee recommends endorsement of this resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Allocation of Transfer of Naval Field Employees

Resolution No. 29—By Delegate C. L. Rosemund, of International Federation of Technical Engineers', Architects' and Draftsmen's Unions, and E. C. Babcock, of American Federation of Government Employees.

WHEREAS, Section 2 of the Brookhart Act enacted by the Seventy-first Congress expressly provided that the Group IV-b employes of the Naval field establishments be placed under the salary rates and provisions of the Classification Act of 1923 as amended; and

WHEREAS, The Navy Department secured approximately \$6,000 additional appropriation to carry out the details that the involved allocation would entail; and

WHEREAS, The Navy Department detail assigned to this work failed to complete the final allocation until subsequent legislation set aside the requirements of Section 2 of the Brookhart Act; be it

RESOLVED, That the Classification of Group IV-b of the Naval Field Establishment be transferred to the Civil Service Commission; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Civil Service Commission be instructed to complete the final allocation and that the Legislative Committee of the American Federation of Labor assist in securing the remedial legislation required at the next session of Congress.

Secretary Hyatt: This refers to particular groups of Navy employes who have thus been discriminated against. It was introduced by representatives of the two groups especially concerned. Your committee recommends endorsement of Resolution No. 29.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Hours, Wages and Conditions of Employment in Navy Yards

Resolution No. 49—By Delegate H. T. Morningstar, The National Association of Master Mechanics and Foremen of Navy Yards and Naval Stations.

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor Convention declare in favor of the following:

(1) Restoration of pay; 30 hour week; and automatic pay increases.

(2) Extension of classification of the field service; classification according to duties performed with opportunities for promotion.

(3) Optional retirement after 30 years of service; the right to increase payments to the retirement fund in order to get greater annuities.

(4) A centralized personnel administration which would include transfer of the fiscal machinery of the retirement law from the Veterans' Administration to the Civil Service Commission; organized employe representation on all personnel bodies.

(5) Extension of the merit system and improvements in the efficiency rating system.

(6) Thirty days' annual leave, cumulative.

Inasmuch as most of the subject matter of this resolution is covered by resolutions before this or other committees the committee recommends that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Safety at Sea and Sea Power for the United States

Resolution No. 55—By Delegates Andrew Furuseth and Victor Olander.

WHEREAS, The Seamen's Act of March 4, 1915, has been largely nullified through construction given to some of its provisions by the courts, the attorney general, and the Shipping Board; and

WHEREAS, The equalization of the wage cost of domestic and foreign vessels and the provisions for the safety of passengers and crew have been set aside; and

WHEREAS, The development of an adequate sea power for the United States thereby has become impossible; and

WHEREAS, S. 1870, introduced by Senator LaFollette, of Wisconsin, and H. R. 9256, introduced by Mr. Slovich, of New York (identical), "To amend certain laws relating to American seamen and for other purposes," have been introduced; and

WHEREAS, We believe that for both national and humanitarian purposes it is of great importance to the United States that this Bill should become a law; be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in its 53d Annual Conven-

tion assembled that we endorse this bill and urge upon Congress that the bill be passed at the earliest possible date; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council exert all proper pressure upon Congress for the early passage of this bill.

Your committee recommends endorsement of this resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Your committee considered Resolution No. 59 in connection with Resolution No. 106 and the report of the Executive Council under the caption Independent Office Appropriation Bill (page 102) as follows:

Thirty-Year Optional Retirement for Government Employees

Resolution No. 59—By Delegates Leo E. George, Gilbert E. Hyatt, Thos. E. McCann, Irving W. Johnson and J. Cline House, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Edw. J. Gainer, L. E. Swartz, Chas. D. Duffy, M. T. Finnan, W. J. Gorman, National Association of Letter Carriers; Wm. Collins, Henry W. Strickland, Railway Mail Association; E. Claude Babcock, David R. Glass, American Federation of Government Employees; N. P. Allfas, International Association of Machinists; J. N. Davis, International Brotherhood of Boilermakers; W. D. Weise, National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers; J. H. Windsor, Plate Printers, Die Stampers and Engravers; C. L. Rosemund, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and Draftsmen's Unions; Jas. J. Noonan, Central Labor Union, Washington, D. C.; A. M. Horie, Panama Canal Metal Trades Council.

WHEREAS, Broad experience has demonstrated the wisdom and usefulness of the present United States Civil Service Retirement Law; and

WHEREAS, This Act has been improved and broadened in its scope and usefulness by amendatory legislation; and

WHEREAS, This beneficent law would be more humanitarian and also more efficient if retirement were optional with each employe after thirty years of service; be it

RESOLVED, That in keeping with the requirements of service needs the American Federation of Labor reaffirms its declaration made in previous conventions and instructs its Executive Council to cooperate with affiliated government employe organizations to secure the enactment of a 30-year optional retirement law.

25-Year Retirement for Panama Canal Employees

Resolution No. 106—By Delegate A. M. Horle, of the Canal Zone Central Labor Union.

WHEREAS, Climatic conditions incident to employment on the Panama Canal are very rigorous due to the high temperature, great humidity, and the actinic rays of the tropical sun; and

WHEREAS, The effects of such a climate on the health of white men, women, and children, are cumulative as an employee grows older and his resistance is undermined; and

WHEREAS, Large numbers of employees now entering the service of the Government on the Panama Canal are all of such an age as will require them to work more than 30 years in the tropics to reach the present retirement age of 62 years; and

WHEREAS, The Panama Metal Trades Council is desirous of presenting a bill to Congress which will provide for retirement with 25 years of service at 55 years of age; be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, be instructed to assist the Canal Zone Central Labor Union in securing such a law when conditions render it advisable to warrant such action.

In light of the recommendation of the Executive Council, Your committee recommends the endorsement of the resolutions.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Delegate Gainor: That means the resolution will be adopted, will it not?

President Green: That means concurrence in the resolutions.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

The committee amended Resolution No. 61 by combining the following sections:

WHEREAS, Through legislation the President of the United States was ordered to fix Government workers' salaries in accordance with so-called cost of living basis established as of 1928; and

WHEREAS, Such determination of wages is inconsistent with the long time program of Labor, that the worker should share in all benefits flowing from social and economic progress and should not be tied to standards fixed in the past; and rearranging them to read:

WHEREAS, The legislation in question fixes wage standards for government em-

ployees upon the so-called cost of living of 1928, and

WHEREAS, Such methods of determining wages by freezing them to the standards of any given year is contrary to the established principle of the American Federation of Labor that the worker shall share in all benefits from social and economic progress.

The amended resolution reads as follows:

Reaffirming Opposition to use of Cost of Living as Basis for Determining Wages and Urging Restoration of Working Conditions to Government Employees

Resolution No. 61—By Delegates Leo E. George, Gilbert E. Hyatt, Thos. E. McCann, Irving W. Johnson and J. Cline House, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Edw. J. Gainor, L. E. Swartz, Chas. D. Duffy, M. T. Finnan, W. J. Gorman, National Association of Letter Carriers; Wm. Collins, Henry W. Strickland, Railway Mail Association; E. Claude Babcock, David R. Glass, American Federation of Government Employees; N. P. Allfas, International Association of Machinists; J. N. Davis, International Brotherhood of Boilermakers; W. D. Weise, National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers; J. H. Windsor, Plate Printers, Die Stammers and Engravers; C. L. Rosemund, International Federation Technical Engineers, Architects and Draftsmans Unions; Jas. J. Noonan, Central Labor Union, Washington, D. C.; A. M. Horle, Panama Canal Metal Trades Council.

WHEREAS, The Congress of the United States for the most part without hearings and with little consideration of the equities of the legislation, and its effects on employees, has passed various economy acts for the apparent purpose of adjusting Federal expenditures to revenue, but which, in effect, only deprive the Federal employees of just compensation and working conditions secured and maintained through years of legislative activity; and

WHEREAS, This so-called economy legislation has resulted in a serious decrease in the purchasing power of approximately more than one-half million of the nation's workers, to the detriment of the whole nation and thereby contributing greatly to general unsettled economic conditions; and

WHEREAS, Such savings of the Government as were made through reduction of pay were not used to assist in conserving employment and maintaining purchasing power and did not result in reduction in taxation; and

WHEREAS, With respect to the appropriations of some of the Federal departments available funds were immediately impounded by executive mandate; and

WHEREAS, In addition to a flat salary reduction not consistent with the general Administrative program of maintaining buying power there were inaugurated not only payless furloughs but reductions in force; and

WHEREAS, The legislation in question fixes wage standards for government employes upon the so-called cost of living in 1928; and

WHEREAS, Such method of determining wages by freezing them to the standards of any given year is contrary to the established principle of the American Federation of Labor that the worker shall share in all benefits flowing from social and economic progress; and

WHEREAS, The American Labor Movement has consistently followed the principle that wages should be adjusted to continuously rising standards; be it

RESOLVED, That the 53d Convention of the American Federation of Labor reaffirm its position as follows:

1. Wages, salaries and allowances of Government workers should be restored immediately.

2. Just working conditions and allowances (including necessary travel allowances, night differential rates, holiday differential, promotions, equitable sick and annual leave provisions, etc.) should be immediately restored.

3. Funds available for payment of wages and salaries in all cases should be sufficient to meet the restored payroll; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor again go on record as opposing the use of a cost of living standard as a basis for determination of wages or salaries and further opposes (so long as a cost of living standard is in effect, the present inequitable system of determining the cost of living.

Government Economy

Your committee calls attention to the report of the Executive Council under the above caption (page 100) in which the determination of wages on a cost of living basis alone as contained in the Economy Act is declared to be "probably the most indefensible action ever taken by Congress."

Your committee recommends the endorsement of Resolution No. 61, as amended.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

The committee amended Resolution No. 62 by inserting the words "unqualified adherence to the merit system with respect to tenure of office" after the words "personnel Boards," the amended resolution to read as follows:

Higher Standards of Government Employment

Resolution No. 62—By Delegates Leo E. George, Gilbert E. Hyatt, Thos. E. McCann, Irving W. Johnson, and J. Cline House, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Edw. J. Gajnor, L. E. Swartz, Chas. D. Duffy, M. T. Finnan, W. J. Gorman, of the National Association of Letter Carriers; Wm. Collins, Henry W. Strickland, Railway Mail Association; E. Claude Babcock, David R. Glass, American Federation of Government Employees; N. P. Alifas, International Association of Machinists; J. N. Davis, International Brotherhood of Boilermakers; W. D. Weise, National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers; J. H. Windsor, Plate Printers, Die Stampers and Engravers; C. L. Rosemund, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and Draftsmen's Unions; Jas. J. Noonan, Central Labor Union, Washington, D. C.; A. M. Horle, Panama Canal Metal Trades Council.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor at successive conventions has adopted resolutions favorable to improved working conditions in Government employment, relating particularly to the restoration, extension and liberalization of sick and vacation leaves; the elimination of harmful and objectionable speed-up practices; the reduction of night work requirements; the establishment of a Civil Service Employees' Court of Appeals; employee representative on all personnel boards; unqualified adherence to the merit system with respect to tenure of office; the improvement of postal substitute employees' and village letter carriers' working and wage conditions; the adoption of the shorter work-week principle without reduction in wages as established prior to the enactment of the Economy Law, and kindred betterments; and

WHEREAS, These measures conform to the program and urgings of the American Federation of Labor to the effect that the Government establish and maintain employment standards as a model to those existing in the most advanced establishments in private industry; be it

RESOLVED, That the 53d Convention of the American Federation of Labor reaffirm its position in favor of higher Government standards and instructs the Executive Council to continue its cooperation

with the affiliated organizations of Government employees 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.

The committee recommended the adoption of the resolution as amended.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

United States Employees' Compensation Commission

Resolution No. 63.—By Delegates Leo E. George, Gilbert E. Hyatt, Thos. E. McCann, Irving W. Johnson and J. Cline House, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Edw. J. Gainor, L. E. Swartz, Chas. D. Duffy, M. T. Finnegan, W. J. Gorman, National Association of Letter Carriers; Wm. Collins, Henry W. Strickland, Railway Mail Association; N. P. Alifas, International Association of Machinists; J. N. Davis, International Brotherhood of Boilermakers; W. D. Weise, National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers; J. H. Windsor, Plate Printers, Die Stampers and Engravers; C. L. Rosemund, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and Draftsmen's Unions; Jas. J. Noonan, Central Labor Union, Washington, D. C.; A. M. Horle, Panama Canal Metal Trades Council.

WHEREAS, The United States Employees Compensation Commission was originally established largely at the urging of the American Federation of Labor to administer injury compensation laws covering Government workers, and since its establishment it has performed its important functions in a humane way, satisfactory to all concerned; and

WHEREAS, It was proposed as an economy measure to absorb the Compensation Commission into the Civil Service Commission, thus destroying its identity, impairing its usefulness and robbing it of that official independent status so essential to a quasi-judicial body of its kind, which must of a necessity be free from political and other extraneous consideration in reaching its judgments; and

WHEREAS, The United States Employees Compensation Commission, through enlarged authority, now administers the Longshoremen's Compensation Act and compensation laws for the District of Columbia, thereby having jurisdiction in injury cases affecting thousands of workers outside

of Government employment and in no way connected with the authority of the Civil Service Commission; be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in 53d Convention assembled instructs the Executive Council to do all in its power to continue the United States Compensation Commission in its present official status as an independent Governmental agency.

Your committee recommends endorsement of the resolution.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the committee's report.

Delegate Babcock, American Federation of Government Employees: In connection with this resolution it should be said that the representatives of the American Federation of Government Employees failed to sign it because they thought that it was inconsistent with the actions of the National convention of the organization.

Examination of the minutes disclosed that this is not true and the executive officers of the American Federation of Government Employees fullheartedly endorse this resolution and the committee's report.

While this subject of consolidations is under consideration we desire to submit certain brief observations for the record.

Every single consolidation or transfer of functions of the Government has resulted in disaster for some honest workers.

There has developed the practice of placing permanent workers on a temporary basis and thus taking away from them the just protection accorded by law and subjecting them to the whims of new supervisors unfamiliar with their work.

This practice is legal but indefensible. Workers for the Government should be given a fair deal. They do not have it now.

While the Government is asking industry to reduce hours of labor and maintain buying power, it, itself, to use General Johnson's expression, is "chiseling." Unpaid overtime is required, wages are reduced, and work

conditions are aggravated. The Government should lead and not follow to a decent treatment of workers.

To return to the question of consolidations, the changes so far accomplished have resulted in extending hours of work, in firing employees, and in reducing wages.

The Government worker's average wage is now down under \$3.40 a day.

Further elimination of honest workers by use of the chicanery of placing them in a temporary status must not continue.

The promised reabsorption of fired workers in the newly created agencies is now known to be a myth. Administrative officers have disobeyed the express mandate of the President to satisfy patronage seekers while thousands of workers remain on the so-called re-employment lists.

If this continues this administration must accept all of the approbrium of adopting an outright spoils system.

We will oppose all consolidations unless there are adopted reasonable guarantees that the honest, faithful workers will have a modicum of security and unless retention on the job is to be based on work performed rather than on politics, party or personal.

We are happy that the chairman of the Finance Committee of the Senate has agreed to help in the removal of the unjustified Government employee pay cuts.

The A. F. G. E. favors this resolution and the committee's report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Extension of Prevailing Wage Law to Include Painting

Resolution No. 74—By M. J. McDonough, Delegate Building Trades Department.

WHEREAS, The Bacon-Davis Law provides that on all public works the prevailing rate of wages shall be paid; and

WHEREAS, The Comptroller General has ruled that painting of an existing

public building is not construction, alteration or repair work; and

WHEREAS, Because of this ruling thousands of jobs have been lost to members of the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America; be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor and its Legislative Representatives be instructed to take this matter up, to the end that this law be amended in such a way as to leave no opportunity for misconstruing the meaning and intent in order that this vast amount of public work shall be performed by members of organized labor.

The committee recommended endorsement of the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

15 Per Cent Pay Cut

Resolution No. 105—By Delegate A. M. Horle, of the Canal Zone Central Labor Union.

WHEREAS, The Economy Act of March 30, 1933, resulted in a reduction in compensation of 15 per centum for employes of the United States Government; and

WHEREAS, Such reduction was predicated upon a decrease in the cost of living; and

WHEREAS, There has been a rapid increase in the cost of living since July 1, 1933; and

WHEREAS, The United States Government should apply to its own employes the theory of shorter hours of work and increased compensation contained in the National Industrial Recovery Act; be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to make every effort to induce the President of the United States to cancel the 15 per cent pay cut at the earliest opportunity and to induce the Congress of the United States to enact such legislation as will result in the application of the principles of the National Industrial Recovery Act to all employes of the Federal Government.

The committee points out that the subject matter of this resolution is covered by other resolutions before this or other committees.

The committee recommends endorsement with that understanding.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

The committee recommends that the phraseology of the two first "whereases" of Resolution No. 107 be changed as follows:

"Whereas, the Canal Zone Retirement Act discriminates against Canal Zone employes with respect to retirement for disability as compared with the provisions of the General Retirement Act, and"

The amended resolution reads as follows:

Disability Retirement

Resolution No. 107—By Delegate A. M. Horle, of the Canal Zone Central Labor Union.

WHEREAS, The Canal Zone Retirement Act discriminates against Canal Zone employes with respect to retirement for disability as compared with the provisions of the General Retirement Act, and

WHEREAS, In equity, the more liberal provisions in connection with this matter contained in the Civil Service Retirement Act should be incorporated in the Canal Zone Retirement Act; be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor use every effort to secure the amendment to the Canal Zone Retirement Act providing that employes of the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad subject to the provisions of the Canal Zone Retirement Act shall only be required to establish proof of freedom from vicious habits, intemperance, or wilful misconduct for a period of five years immediately preceding retirement in order to be eligible for retirement under the physical disability clause of the Canal Zone Retirement Act.

Your committee recommends adoption of the resolution as amended.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Legislative Representation

Your committee calls attention to the section of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption (page 139), and to the following resolution:

Proposing a Resident Commissioner for Canal Zone

Resolution No. 108—By Delegate A. M. Horle, of the Canal Zone Central Labor Union.

WHEREAS, The Territories of Alaska and Hawaii are represented in the House of Representatives by delegates; and

WHEREAS, Puerto Rico and the Philippine Islands are represented in the House of Representatives by resident commissioners; and

WHEREAS, American citizens resident on the Canal Zone have no representation in the House of Representatives; and

WHEREAS, The Canal Zone has no legislature but is governed directly by laws enacted by Congress and the Executive Orders of the President; and

WHEREAS, American citizens resident on the Canal Zone have no official representation which will enable their wishes to be properly represented to the President and the Congress of the United States; be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled approve the policy of establishing a resident commissionership for the Canal Zone similar to such positions now in effect in Puerto Rico and the Philippine Islands; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor will endeavor to have an act creating such a resident commissionership approved by Congress.

Your committee recommends that the resolution, urging effort to extend the same benefits to the Canal Zone, be endorsed.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

The committee amended Resolution 109 by striking out the following section:

WHEREAS, The financial status of the Government is on a more sound basis than at the time of the passage of the Economy Act of March 29, with a good prospect of having the budget more than balanced by the end of the present fiscal year; and inserting in lieu thereof the following:

"WHEREAS, These salary provisions are essentially a part of the employment contract with the government, be it"

The amended resolution reads as follows:

Removing the Prohibition on Promotions for Employees of the Federal Government

Resolution No. 109—By Delegate A. M. Horle, of the Canal Zone Central Labor Union.

WHEREAS, The Economy Act of March 20, 1933, continues the prohibi-

tion contained in previous economy acts with respect to both automatic and administrative increases in compensation for employees of the United States Government; and

WHEREAS, This prohibition is working a great hardship on thousands of employes of the Government; and

WHEREAS, These salary provisions are essentially a part of the employment contract with the Government; be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, approve the abolition of those clauses of the Economy Act of March 20 which prohibit administrative and automatic increases in compensation; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor use their best efforts to have the Economy Act of March 20 amended so as to allow administrative and automatic promotions for employes of the Federal Government in the future.

Your committee recommends adoption of the resolution as amended.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted as amended.

Secretary Hyatt: The committee had referred to it certain of the reports of the Executive Council, among them the Independent Office Appropriation section to which I have referred. The next is Farm Recovery (page 102). This subject is pretty well covered by the Committee on Resolutions in discussing the National Recovery Act and the Agricultural Adjustment Act (page 84).

Your committee recommends that the convention reaffirm the traditional policy of the American Federation of supporting agriculturists in their efforts to reestablish their industry on a paying basis and to regain their position as one of the most important elements in the consuming population.

It also recommends that the Executive Council be instructed to render every assistance to agricultural wage-earners in efforts to achieve standards of hours and wages in accord with modern conditions.

In this connection, attention is called to the anomalous condition of agricultural wage-earners as set forth in the report of the Executive Council under the caption "National Recovery Act and Agricultural Adjustment Act" (page 84).

The committee also recommends that the Executive Council be requested to devote attention to the protection of wage-earners in what may be called the twilight zone that may exist between agricultural and processing industries.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Blue Sky Law

Upon the section of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption (page 105) the committee reported as follows:

WHEREAS, The mulcting of the public through brazen manipulation of securities has been disclosed as one of the major contributions to the depression; and

WHEREAS, Eagerness to continue such essential criminal and anti-social practices at any opportunity has been manifested during the recent past,

It is recommended that the Executive Council be instructed to continue its efforts for the enactment of legislation which will remove every opportunity for such exploitation.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Convict Labor

On the section of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption (pages 107-108) the committee reported as follows:

The committee recommends that the 53rd Annual Convention commend the Executive Council and the various state federations for success achieved in the campaign to enact the Hawes-Cooper Convict Labor Bill and urge a continuation of efforts in this direction.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

American Made Goods, Wares and Merchandise

The committee calls attention to the section of the report of the Executive Board under the above caption (page 106) and recommends continuation of effort to establish the principle that the government shall at all times purchase when possible only such manufactured articles and raw materials as

are produced in the United States and that the use of such domestic products be made a provision in contracts by government agencies.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Beer Legislation

On the section of the report of the Executive Council (page 105), the committee reported as follows:

The committee recommends that the convention express its gratification because of the remarkable response by Congress and by the various state legislatures to the ceaseless agitation of the American Federation of Labor for such legislation. In this connection, it calls attention to the statement in the report of the Executive Council setting forth that 41 states and the District of Columbia have already enacted legislation legalizing the sale of beverages containing not more than 3.2 per cent alcohol by weight.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment

The committee calls attention to the section of the report of the Executive Council under the caption "Repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment" (page 111), in which is set forth that 29 states had, at the time the report was prepared, ratified repeal.

The committee recommends that the convention express its gratification because of the fact that, in the interval, three more states have joined this march of reform and that it go on record as reaffirming in the strongest terms its enthusiasm for the removal of this socially destructive expression of intolerance.

Secretary Hyatt: This section sets forth that 29 states had, at the time the report was written, ratified the repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment. The committee wishes to call attention to the fact that four states, including Florida, have since taken this action.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Secretary Hyatt: This completes the report of the committee upon the matters entrusted to its charge. It is signed by

I. M. ORNBURN, *Chairman,*
GILBERT E. HYATT, *Secretary,*

W. W. BRITTON,
EMANUEL KOVELESKI,
E. M. JEWELL,
SELMA BORCHARDT,
C. L. ROSEMUND,
WILLIAM COLLINS,
THOMAS J. DONNELLY,
D. J. TOBIN,
JAMES M. DUFFY,
J. N. DAVIS,
JAMES T. MORIARTY,
JOHN DONLIN,
EDWARD F. McGRADY,
E. C. BABCOCK,

Committee on Legislation.

Secretary Hyatt: I move the adoption of the report of the committee as a whole.

The motion was adopted by unanimous vote.

President Green: The Chair recognizes the Secretary of the Committee on International Labor Relations. I present to you our beloved veteran, George W. Perkins, chairman of the committee.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS

Vice-President Woll, Secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

Pan-American Federation of Labor

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's report under the above caption, page 136, your Committee reports as follows:

Your Committee observes with great satisfaction that the flag of Pan-American solidarity is kept flying at the masthead in the report of the Executive Council. With the Council, we regret that the great depression, world-wide in its effect, has hampered the development of Pan-American labor relations during the year and that the sending of a mission through the Latin-American nations has not thus far been possible.

The Pan-American Federation of Labor stands as a symbol of freedom for the masses of the people of the nations on these two continents. It is an inspiration to the workers of this hemisphere. This hemisphere, we declare, is at this time the world's refuge for freedom and for the orderly working out of the destinies of peoples through democracy. The Pan-American Federation of Labor is the leader in the expression of this idealism throughout Pan-America, as the American Federation of Labor is the leader in that respect in the United States and Canada.

We urge that the officers and Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor do all in their power to assist the Pan-American Federation of Labor and we commend them for their past endeavors. There is altogether too much industrial and political oppression remaining.

The Pan-American Federation of Labor can and should play a vital part in the development of understanding and of good relations between the peoples of this hemisphere, striving everywhere to destroy the evil operations of greed and exploitation. It stands in the minds of millions and it is in truth the enemy of exploitation, the enemy of fascism and the enemy of bolshevism. It stands for freedom and for democracy, for the rights of the wage earners, and for the lifting of their lives to new and ever higher levels.

We call attention to the forthcoming Pan-American Congress of governmental representatives to be held in Uruguay and to urge upon the Executive Council continued efforts to secure labor representation on the delegation which will represent the Government of the United States. These Congresses must, we feel, become much more than Congresses to deal with financial relations and with property interests. Their scope should be broadened that they may deal with great and grave social issues, in which only the workers can speak with understanding and authority. We urge that immediate steps be taken, as they have been taken prior to past Congresses, to secure the ap-

pointment of labor representatives on the United States delegation.

Finally, we urge upon all delegates and upon our movement generally a continuous study of Pan-American affairs, so that we may understand the peoples of our sister nations and that we may develop a true unity of spirit and idealism with the workers of those nations. It is not too much to say that in every forward movement throughout Latin America in the last fifteen years the Pan-American Federation of Labor has been regarded as its spokesman and guide toward the achievement of the aims and objects that characterize wage earners' movements everywhere. We urge upon this convention this expression in support of Pan-American fraternity and progress.

Your Committee concurs in the report of the Executive Council.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Cuba

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council report under the above caption, page 137, your committee reports as follows:

Under this caption your committee finds among other interesting and informing matters:

"Owing to the resolutions approved in the past, the office of the Pan American Federation of Labor was prevented from taking action on protests from Cuban organizations which denounced the political tyranny and oppression existing in that country and from asking for a civil or moral intervention.

"The office of the Pan American Federation of Labor has been ready at all times to render all possible services in behalf of affiliated organizations of Cuba."

We desire to record our sympathy for the masses of the people of Cuba and to express the hope that their present difficulties may soon be ended, with the establishment of full and complete freedom. We realize the great sacri-

ices they have endured in the cause of human freedom and we rejoice in the spirit they have shown. It is our hope that, in a new freedom, they may establish a true trade union movement to act in concert with the trade union movements of the other nations of our hemisphere, in cooperation with and through the Pan American Federation of Labor.

Your committee concurs in this section of the report of the Executive Council.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Mexico

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's report under the above caption, page 138, your committee reports as follows:

Your committee notes the many interesting things the Council has to say in connection with Mexico. The Council says:

"The Mexican Federation of Labor informed us that a so-called Chamber of Labor had been created in Mexico, led by men who were expelled from the Federation, whose principal aim was to disrupt the Mexican Federation of Labor and build a new international organization of the Latin American labor movements in opposition to the Pan American Federation of Labor.

"The Mexican Federation of Labor also requested our cooperation in the settlement of a strike of nearly 5,000 Mexican workers in Los Angeles County, California, caused by the refusal of their Japanese patrons to pay more than fifteen cents an hour for their labor.

"Through the valuable cooperation of the American Federation of Labor the strike was satisfactorily settled."

We rejoice in the knowledge that the Mexican Federation of Labor is recovering its position of strength and its prestige in the constructive affairs of

the Mexican nation. Adherence to the principles of trade unionism must win justification for the workers in every land and this faithfulness has marked the conduct of the Mexican Federation of Labor. It has been compelled to battle dualism and governmental hostility, but the masses appear again to be rallying to its standard. We cannot fail to note the sentiments which moved our brothers in the Mexican movement in sending a wreath to be laid upon the Memorial to our great leader, Samuel Gompers, and we would be remiss did not we record our appreciation for this kindly and fraternal spirit.

Your committee recommends approval of this section of the report of the Executive Council.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Other Countries

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's Report under the above caption, page 138, your Committee notes that communications from El Salvador, Colombia, Peru, Chile, Guatemala and Santo Domingo show that the workmen in these countries have borne the brunt of the general economic depression. Nevertheless, in all these countries an awakening of labor organization has been started through the efforts of leaders who have been in close communication with the Pan-American Federation of Labor.

The welfare, protection, and advancement of wage earners in all Pan American countries requires strong, compact trade unions and affiliation to the Pan American Federation of Labor. Stabilized work and better working and living conditions and guaranteed industrial freedom, justice, and liberty cannot be successfully obtained and sustained in any other way.

We recommend approval of this section of the Executive Council's report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Pan American Congress

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's report under the above caption, page 138, your committee notes with interest that "the Executive Council at its meeting at headquarters April 20-May 2, 1933, considered the question of the possibility of holding in the near future the Sixth Congress of the Pan American Federation of Labor. Taking in consideration the financial condition of the Pan American Federation of Labor and its constituent bodies, the Executive Council was unanimously of the opinion that the Pan American Federation of Labor was not prepared to hold a convention."

This opinion was made known to all the labor centers affiliated with the Pan American Federation of Labor.

Your committee concurs in the Executive Council's report on this subject.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Representation of the United States in Conferences of International Labor Office

Resolution No. 48—Delegates E. E. Millman of the Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees, Thos. E. Burke of the United Association of Plumbers and Steam Fitters of the United States and Canada, Christian M. Madsen of the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America and J. A. Franklin of the International Brotherhood of Boiler Makers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America.

WHEREAS, The American Government, through its Secretary of Labor and with the approval of the President, sent the first delegation of official representatives to the seventeenth session of the International Labor Conference at Geneva, Switzerland, last June; be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in Convention assembled highly commends such action on the part of the American Government; and be it further.

RESOLVED, That the American Government be urged to continue sending such official representatives to future Conferences of the International Labor Organizations, to the end that cooperative relations may be further expanded and strengthened.

Your committee concurs in this resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Secretary Woll: This completes the report of the committee, which is signed.

GEORGE W. PERKINS,
Chairman,
MATTHEW WOLL,
Secretary,

JAMES WILSON,
ANDREW FURUSETH,
MARTIN LAWLOR,
D. J. TOBIN,
GEORGE L. BERRY,
W. D. MAHON,
J. J. HYNES,
WM. L. HUTCHESON,
JOHN COEFELD,
EDWARD J. GAINOR,
ALBERT ADAMSKI,
MICHAEL GREENE,
WM. J. BOWEN,
JOHN J. MANNING,
JOSEPH V. MORESCHI,
JOSEPH P. RYAN,
E. E. MILLIMAN,
J. A. FRANKLIN,
JOHN P. FREY,
THOMAS E. BURKE,
CHRISTIAN M. MADSEN,
WM. GREEN,
Committee on International
Labor Relations.

The report of the committee as a whole was adopted by unanimous vote.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

Vice-president Woll, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

RESOLUTION OF THANKS

Resolution No. 115—By Committee on Resolutions:

WHEREAS, The hearty welcome which the Fifty-third Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor has received from the District of Columbia Central Labor Union and the consideration shown for the comfort and convenience of the Convention have been most pleasing and gratifying; and

WHEREAS, The trade unionists of Washington have been most active in providing for the comfort of the delegates, their wives and guests, and this generous hospitality has added greatly to the pleasure and effectiveness of the Convention; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Convention, in behalf of the delegates and officers and

the members of their families accompanying them, and also in behalf of all guests and visitors, tender most hearty thanks to the trade unionists and other citizens of Washington and to the following:

President Franklin D. Roosevelt
 Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt
 Postmaster General James A. Farley
 Secretary of Labor Miss Frances Perkins
 Senator Robert F. Wagner
 Senator Frederick Van Nuys
 Senator James J. Davis
 Senator William H. King
 General Hugh S. Johnson
 Hon. Sol Rosenblatt
 Commissioner Luther H. Reichelderfer

Hon. Thomas P. Littlepage
 Natl. Commander Edward A. Hayes
 Members of Musicians' Local Union No. 161 and

Messrs. George O'Connor, Fred East, William Raymond and Matt Horn, and all others who addressed and aided the convention

And be it further

RESOLVED, That we express our appreciation to the clergy of Washington and vicinity for the spirit of good will and cordiality which prompted them to extend the freedom of their pulpits to a large number of delegates and officers of the Federation and in particular to the following:

Rt. Rev. John J. McNamara, Auxiliary Bishop of Baltimore
 Rt. Rev. James E. Freeman, Bishop of Washington
 Rabbi Abram Simon
 Rev. Dr. W. S. Abernethy
 Rev. Joseph R. Sizoo
 Rev. W. L. Darby
 Rev. Vernon N. Ridgely
 Rev. R. A. McGowan
 Rev. R. Y. Nicholson
 Rev. S. B. Daugherty

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, and to the citizens generally for the fine spirit manifested by them toward the delegates and visitors to the Convention.

Secretary Woll: I move the adoption of the report by rising vote.

The motion was seconded and adopted by a unanimous rising vote.

Delegate Gassman, Maintenance of Way Employees: No doubt the officers and delegates attending this convention in the last few days have heard of the serious illness of William N. Doak, formerly Secretary of the United States Department of Labor. I would not like to see the convention close without some reference to his condition. With your consent I would like to make a motion.

I move that the Secretary of this convention be instructed to convey to Brother William N. Doak the sincere and sympathetic well wishes of the officers and delegates at this convention and the hope of his complete and speedy recovery.

The motion was seconded by Delegate Leighty, Railroad Telegraphers, and adopted by unanimous vote.

President Green: That completes the report of the Committee on Resolutions. Now, officers and delegates, we have reached about the end of our proceedings, and because we have reached the end of our deliberations the Chair announces the discharge of the convention committees with the thanks of the convention.

I feel that I would not indulge in exaggeration if I state that, in my opinion, we have concluded one of the greatest and one of the most important conventions ever held by the American Federation of Labor. You and all who have been privileged to attend this convention and to participate in its deliberations may feel themselves highly honored, and may regard it as a most fortunate opportunity to attend and participate in a most historic convention.

We gathered here two weeks ago. We have been meeting daily. We have met and considered every question courageously that has been presented to the convention. The committees of the convention have served us faithfully and well. The outstanding, perhaps the most pleasant experience enjoyed by the delegates in this convention, was the dedication of that beautiful monument permanently established here in Wash-

ington as a tribute to the memory of our great leader, Samuel Gompers.

I feel, my friends, that we can go from here back to our homes feeling inspired for new service and for the discharge of our duties. This has been an educational convention, an inspiring convention. I want to thank the officers and the delegates in attendance at this convention for the cooperation they have extended me in administering the affairs of this convention.

I shall go back to my work, as I know you will go back to yours, feeling that we are under increasing obligations to the men and women whom we have the honor to represent and that we are under obligations to render the highest and best service of which we are capable. It is in that spirit that we go forth. The American Federa-

tion of Labor stands higher in the councils of the nation and in the economic life of our people than ever before. The workers of the nation look to it with feelings of hope and inspiration. Let us make it possible for them to realize those hopes and those aspirations.

Now I wish you a happy return to your homes. I hope we may be privileged to meet again, all of us, every one of us, at San Francisco next October.

I now declare the Fifty-third Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor adjourned sine die.

At 10:00 o'clock p. m., Friday, October 13, 1933, the Fifty-third Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor was adjourned sine die.

Frank Morrison

Secretary,
American Federation of Labor.

Clyde M. Mills

Assistant Secretary of Convention.

INDEX

A	Page
Abernathy, Dr. W. S., Calvary Baptist Church, Washington, D. C., Invocation	234, 540
Adamski, Adam	379
Addresses of welcome	1-11
Agricultural Adjustment Act, NRA	47, 58, 59, 84, 423, 424, 535
Alifas, N. P.	433
A. F. of L. Building fund, Trustees' report	40, 203
A. F. of L. strategy board, proposing Resolution No. 111	235, 501-504
American Federationist	203
American Legion, address of A. F. of L. fraternal delegate, Maj. Geo. L. Berry	252-254
American Legion, National Commander, Edward Hayes, address	289, 451, 461-464, 540
American Legion, National Commander Louis Johnson, greetings	23, 161
American-made materials and supplies to be purchased by U. S. Government	106, 151, 535, 536
American Sales Book Co., protesting labor policies, Resolution No. 46 ..	175, 176, 494
American Telegraph and Telephone Company monopoly, Resolution No. 51 ..	177, 178, 495-497
Appointments:	
Assistant Secretary, Clyde M. Mills	20
Messenger, Annabel Lee Glenn	20
Sergeant-at-Arms, Edward J. Roche	20
Associated Press, labor relations, Resolution No. 7	154, 281, 282
Atlantic City, N. J., convention city invitation	234, 274, 448
Atlantic City, N. J., nominated for 1934 convention city	448, 451
Automobile manufacturing and tires, interested delegates requested to attend conference	211
Anti-trust laws application, NRA	61, 151
B	
Baer, Fred W.	287
Bagley, Charles L., delegate, Musicians, admitted to practice before U. S. Supreme Court, announcement	447
Bank deposits guaranteed	106, 151, 431
Bank deposits insurance legislation, Resolution No. 15	156, 526, 527
Banking regulations	432
Banks, nationalization, and sale of securities, resolution acted upon by New York State Federation of Labor	354, 355
Banks, nationalization, Resolution No. 38	171, 172, 431-433
Bankruptcy Act provides right of workers to organize in unions of their own choosing	78, 133, 266, 267
Barbers, Journeymen, commend A. F. of L. cooperation, Resolution No. 81 ..	190, 510, 511
Baseball, World Series games, announcement	211, 251
"Bedeaux System," B. F. Goodrich Co. and General Tire and Rubber Co., Akron, Ohio, Resolution No. 23	159, 474
Beer legislation	105, 106, 151, 536

INDEX

543

	Page
Beisel, Peter.....	448, 449
Berry, Maj. Geo. L.....	353, 391, 399
Berry, Maj. Geo. L., A. F. of L. fraternal delegate to the American Legion, address	252-254
Bids, requirements, Public Works, NRA.....	77
Billings, Warren K., Resolution No. 110.....	235, 525
Blanket code provisions, President's Re-employment Program.....	81-83, 423
Blue Eagle, President's Re-employment Program, insignia of cooperation	81-84, 422, 423
Blue Sky Law.....	105, 151, 535
Board of Labor Review, Public Works, NRA.....	76
Boardu, Violet, Full Fashioned Hosiery Workers' Union, greetings.....	273
Boot and Shoe Workers' Union, recognized by A. F. of L. in Brockton con- troversy	385
Borchardt, Selma M.....	471-473
Bowen, William J., announcement of recovery to health.....	433
Brewery Workers-Teamsters-Engineers-Firemen.....	115, 152, 317-353
Bridge and Structural Iron Workers—Pulp and Sulphite Workers.....	114, 290, 291
British Trades Union Congress, report of A. F. of L. fraternal delegates Thos. E. Burke and Christian M. Madsen.....	214, 220
Bugnizet, G. M.....	276, 279
Bugnizet, G. M., re-election to office of Eighth Vice-President.....	443
Building trades—Meat Cutters' dispute, Butte, Mont., Resolution No. 80	189, 190, 282, 283
Building trades vs. Hansen Packing Co., Butte, Mont., Resolution No. 76	187, 188, 282, 283
Building trades, activities of Construction League in opposition to agreements	414
Building trades, protesting destruction of labor standards under NRA codes, Resolution No. 78.....	189, 482
Burke, Thomas E.....	442
Burke, Thomas E., A. F. of L. fraternal delegate to British Trades Union Con- gress, report	214-220
Burt, Roy.....	270, 271

C

Capitalization of prospective earnings, fraudulent valuations and their effect on wages, to receive attention of Executive Council.....	381-383
Canadian labor movement, address of fraternal delegate Fred J. White.....	247-251
Canadian Trades and Labor Congress, report of fraternal delegate James C. Quinn	220-222
Canadian workers' immigration at Detroit, urging enforcement of restriction laws, Resolution No. 89.....	195, 430, 431
Canavan, Edward.....	442
Carpenters' Union No. 253, Omaha, Neb., greetings.....	214
Casey, Michael F.....	222
Cathedral, Washington, service, Bishop Freeman extends invitation.....	160
Central and state bodies, international organizations urged to have local unions' support.....	279, 373, 427, 428
Central and state bodies urged to co-operate in organizing campaigns.....	267
Charters, number issued.....	32
Child labor abolished under NRA codes, statement of President Green.....	7
Child labor abolished, President's Re-employment Program.....	82
Child labor prohibited on federal relief work.....	103
Child labor amendment, progress of ratification by state legislatures	108, 109, 152, 310, 311

	Page
Child labor amendment, calling for activity for ratification, Resolution No. 37	171, 235, 311-315
Chile	138, 151, 538
Christman, Elisabeth, fraternal delegate, Women's Trade Union League, address	162-164
Cigar Makers—Tobacco Workers, efforts to bring about amalgamation to be continued	115, 152, 291
City, county and state employes, right to organize under NRA, Resolution No. 33	170, 479
Civilian camps, proposing educational program be planned, Resolution No. 95	197, 304
Civilian Conservation Corps, objectionable features opposed by A. F. of L.	102, 151, 428
Clerks, Retail—Upholsterers	114, 290, 291
Clerks, retail, union shop card, Resolution No. 16	156, 157, 276, 277
Cline, Roy C.	278
Clothing Workers Amalgamated, issuance of charter, report of Executive Council	433-437
Coal, bituminous industry legislation	115, 116, 151, 453
Coeffield, John, re-election to office of Fifth Vice-President	442
Coleman, Frank J., Secretary of Local Convention Committee, announcement	233
Colleran, M. J.	414
Colleran, Michael J., elected A. F. of L. fraternal delegate to British Trades Union Congress	446
Columbia	138, 538
Committees:	
Adjustment	23, 317, 326
Auditing	201-204
Building Trades	23, 24
Credentials	11-20, 160, 200, 201, 213, 234, 252, 274, 297, 384, 401
Education	23, 297
Executive Council's report	23, 289, 379
Industrial Relations	23, 280
International Labor Relations	24, 536
Labels	23, 276
Laws	23, 385
Legislation	24, 166, 526
Local and Federated Bodies	23, 353, 370
Organization	23, 266
Resolutions	23, 222, 408, 451, 457, 465, 479, 492, 519, 539
Rules and Order of Business	20, 21, 22
Shorter workday	24, 222, 353, 362
State organizations	23, 222, 278
Compensation Commission, U. S. Employes', urging maintenance as separate government agency, Resolution No. 63	183, 532
Connors, James B.	443
Conservation Camps, complaints against wage scales paid to building trades	415
Construction League, activities in opposition to agreements reached in building trades	414
Convention city, invitations	234, 274, 297, 362, 384, 404
Convict labor, model bill, state enactments	107, 108, 151, 535
Cost of living as basis for wage rate determination, opposing, Resolution No. 61	181, 530, 531
Coughlin, Father Charles E., Resolution No. 91	196, 511-518

	Page
Court decision, Milwaukee, bearing on NRA, upholding effort of workers to unionize Simplex Shoe Co. plant.....	519
Credit expansion.....	10, 432, 433
Credit unions, proposing federal support, Resolution No. 26.....	167, 168, 431-433
Cuba	137, 537, 538

D

Darby, Rev. W. L., invocation.....	273, 540
Daugherty, Rev. Dr. Simpson B., invocation.....	455, 540
Davis, James J., U. S. Senator, address.....	455, 485-492, 540
Debt hindrance to welfare activities and recovery, address of Spencer Miller, Jr.	262
Deceased trades unionists, proposing memorial, Resolution No. 60.....	181, 498
Deceased trades unionists, tribute to.....	208, 209
Democratic government, to combat destruction of, Resolution No. 93.....	196, 465
Dickson, R. A., President, Central Labor Union, Washington, D. C., address	1-3, 4, 5
Disability, physical, favoring amendment to Canal Zone Retirement Act, Resolution No. 107.....	212, 534
Dismissal wage, demand for legislation.....	9, 10, 69
District of Columbia, right of vote for citizens, Resolution No. 50.....	177, 495
Doak, William N., sympathy and well wishes extended in illness.....	540
Donlin, John.....	446
Donnelly, Thos. J.....	165, 267, 504
Dowell, E. H.....	368, 369
Dubinsky, David.....	288
Duffy, Frank.....	24, 269
Duffy, Frank, re-election to office of First Vice-President.....	440

E

Education, proposing federal aid to states, Resolution No. 92.....	196, 302, 303
Education, twelve-point plan, Resolution No. 39.....	172, 299
Educational program for civilian camps, proposing planning, Resolution No. 95	197, 304
Educational, public schools, policies and recommendations...142-147, 152, 298, 299	
"Efficiency" systems, Resolution No. 27.....	168, 474, 475
Eighteenth Amendment repeal, A. F. of L. commended for support, Resolution No. 5.....	153, 154, 458
Eighteenth Amendment repeal, progress of ratification by states..109, 110, 151, 536	
Election of:	
Convention City.....	369, 447-451
Fraternal delegates.....	369, 445-447
Officers	369, 437-445
El Salvador.....	138, 151, 538
"Employee ownership" stock issues.....	381
Employment in producer and consumer industries.....	88, 89
Employment service, federal.....	107, 151, 451
Engravers, Friendly Society, International Metal Engravers Union...114, 290, 291	
Enlisted men, protesting assignment to work which should be performed by civilian employees, Resolution No. 57.....	180, 498
Entertainment, announcements	233, 279, 326
Executive Council, administrative work commended.....	383, 409, 410
Executive Council, meeting announced.....	384
Executive Council, proposing constitutional amendment to increase, Resolution No. 11.....	155, 385-403

	Page
Executive Council's report.....	27-150
A. F. of L. Building Fund, Trustees Report.....	40, 203
Bankruptcy Act provides right of workers to organize in unions of their own choosing.....	78, 133, 266, 267
Brewery Workers-Teamsters-Engineers-Firemen.....	115, 152, 317-353
Bridge and Structural Iron Workers-Pulp and Sulphite Workers.....	114, 290, 291
Charters, number issued.....	32
Chile.....	138, 151, 538
Child labor amendment, progress of ratification by state legislatures	108, 109, 152, 310, 311
Cigar Makers-Tobacco Workers, efforts to bring about amalgamation to be continued.....	115, 152, 291
Convict labor, model bill, state enactments.....	107, 108, 151, 535
Coal, bituminous industry, legislation.....	115, 116, 151, 453
Codes, NRA, must be reopened for constructive revision.....	70, 413
Columbia.....	138, 538
Cuba.....	137, 151, 537, 538
Educational, public school, policies and recommendations.....	142-147, 152, 298, 299
Eighteenth Amendment repeal, progress of ratification by states	109, 110, 151, 536
El Salvador.....	138, 151, 538
Employment in producer and consumer industries.....	88, 89
Financial reports.....	29-39, 40, 201-204
Flint Glass Workers-Glass Bottle Blowers.....	114, 290
German labor movement.....	141, 151, 251, 465-473
Gompers, Samuel, Memorial fund.....	32, 202, 203
Gompers, Samuel, Memorial dedication.....	150, 152, 305-310, 409
Guatemala.....	138, 151, 538
Hatters—Cap Makers, amalgamation agreement.....	113, 114, 152, 290
Hitler government, Germany, protesting persecutions.....	141, 142, 465-473
Iglesias, Santiago, elected Resident Commissioner of Puerto Rico.....	140
Injunction Act provides right of workers to organize in unions of their own choosing.....	78, 152, 266, 267
Injunction legislation, state enactments.....	108, 151, 451, 452
International Labor Office, Geneva conference on shorter workday, representation of labor.....	141, 151, 369
Jurisdictional disputes.....	114, 152, 290, 291
Kindergarten instruction, importance to child training.....	143, 144, 300
Labels, union, list of organizations using.....	38
Labor Institutes held under leadership of Workers Education Bureau	148, 149, 263, 315
Legislation, national.....	100-107
American-made materials and supplies to be purchased by U. S. Government.....	106, 151, 535, 536
Bank deposits guaranteed.....	106, 151, 431
Beer legislation.....	105, 106, 151, 536
Blue Sky Law.....	105, 151, 535
Child labor prohibited on federal relief work.....	103
Civilian Conservation Corps, objectionable features opposed by A. F. of L.....	102, 151, 428
Employment service, Federal.....	107, 151, 451
Farm recovery, processing tax.....	102, 151
Government employees, wage reduction law.....	100-102, 151, 428
Home mortgage relief.....	104, 151, 431
Immigration.....	103, 151, 428, 429
Japanese immigration, campaign to bring under quota law.....	104, 428, 429

INDEX

547

	Page
Executive Council's report—Continued:	
Mexican immigration.....	103, 428, 429
Muscle Shoals, government operation.....	104, 105, 151, 431
Philippine independence law.....	107, 151, 451
Relief work, wages to conform to NRA blanket code.....	103
Retirement provision, Independent Office appropriation.....	102, 151, 529, 530
Securities law.....	105, 151, 535
Unemployment, Emergency Relief for.....	102, 151, 428
Machinists-Carpenters.....	114, 290, 291
Membership report.....	33-35
Mexico.....	138, 151, 538
Miners progress under NRA in remedying conditions in the bituminous coal industry.....	115, 116, 453
Minimum wage laws for women and minors, state enactments.....	110, 152, 278, 279
National Labor Board.....	84, 85, 151, 286, 424
National Recovery Act.....	41-80, 409-414
Administration policies.....	60-62, 151, 412
Agricultural Adjustment Act.....	47, 58, 59, 84, 423, 424, 535
Anti-trust laws application.....	61, 151
Code procedure.....	62-64, 151, 410, 412
Codes of fair competition.....	43-45, 60, 61, 64-69, 151, 410, 412, 413
Automobiles.....	66, 67, 69
Child labor provisions.....	68, 69, 413
Coats and suits, women's.....	65, 69
Corset and brazziere industry.....	64, 65
Cotton textile industry.....	64
Dismissal wage proposed for automobile code.....	69
Electrical industry.....	65
Hosiery.....	68
Lace manufacturing.....	64
Lumber.....	67, 68
Men's clothing.....	67
Petroleum.....	65, 66
Photographic industry.....	66
Shipbuilding.....	66
Steel.....	68
Theatres, legitimate.....	67
Woolen industry.....	64
Codes must be reopened for constructive revision.....	70, 413
Collective bargaining under codes, trade union recommendations.....	71, 72, 151, 410, 413, 414
Company unions, provision defeated in drafting act.....	42
Convict labor excluded from public works and construction projects..	42
Emergency Administration technical staff, Public Works.....	74
Labor Advisory Board contract with	
Public Works Emergency Administration.....	74-77
Administration policies.....	77, 151
Bids, requirements.....	77
Board of Labor Review.....	76
Labor employment.....	76, 151
Sundays and legal holidays, work not permitted.....	77
Thirty-hour week application.....	76, 77
Workmen's compensation insurance.....	77
Zone divisions, minimum wage rates.....	74-76
Labor code research group, A. F. of L.....	72, 73, 151, 412, 415, 416
Labor provisions of Act.....	41, 42, 62, 71, 72, 266, 267, 286, 294, 295, 409

Executive Council's report—Continued:	Page
Labor should have equal representation with all other members on code authority.....	63, 64, 69, 417, 424
Loans, tests of eligibility, applied to applications, Public Works.....	74
Long range planning board, Public Works.....	73, 74
Office, clerical and service workers organization.....	71
Organization of wage workers' unions, essential to Labor's participation in national planning and economic control.....	70, 413
Pay rates, fair differentials for mechanics and skilled workers must be established.....	70
Penalties.....	45, 48
Policy proposals.....	70, 151, 413
Public Works and Construction Projects.....	42, 48-59, 73-77, 411
Right to organize.....	41, 78, 151, 414
Text of Act.....	42-59
Title I—Industrial Recovery.....	43
Administrative Agencies.....	43
Agreements and licenses.....	45, 46, 61
Agricultural Adjustment Act, application.....	47, 58, 59, 84, 423, 424, 535
Codes of fair competition.....	43-45, 60, 61, 64, 410, 412, 413
Cotton, Secretary of Agriculture authorized to regulate sale..	59
Limitations upon application of title.....	46, 47
Oil regulation.....	48
Policy declaration.....	43
Rules and regulations.....	48
Title II—Public Works and Construction Projects.....	48-59, 73-77, 151, 411, 416
Federal Emergency Administration of Public Works.....	48-54
Appropriation.....	58, 59
Reemployment and relief taxes.....	54-58
Securities and sinking fund, issue of.....	54
Subsistence homesteads.....	54
Rules and regulations.....	54
Title III—Amendments to Emergency Relief and Construction Act and Miscellaneous Provisions.....	59
Reconstruction Finance Corporation, decrease of borrowing power.....	59
Thirty hour week.....	42
Trade associations.....	45, 63, 64, 410
Trade unions.....	45, 63, 64, 70, 71, 413, 414
Wages and hours provisions of established codes do not meet requirements.....	69, 70, 151, 413
National Recovery Act and Agricultural Adjustment Act, agreement distinguishing industrial workers.....	84, 151, 423, 424, 535
Old age security, progress of campaign of organized labor for federal and state legislation.....	110, 111, 152, 452, 526
Older worker, discrimination.....	9, 10, 93, 94, 151, 425, 426, 526
Organizing activities stimulated by NRA.....	78, 151, 267
Pan-American Federation of Labor.....	136-138, 151, 537-539
Pavers and Rammermen—Hod Carriers.....	114, 290, 291
Peru.....	138, 538
Political, A. F. of L. non-partisan, policy.....	112, 152, 452, 453
President's Reemployment Program.....	81-84, 151, 422, 423
Blanket code provisions.....	81-83, 151, 423
Blue Eagle, insignia of cooperation.....	81

INDEX

549

Executive Council's report—Continued:	Page
Child labor abolished.....	32
District and state recovery boards, councils and local compliance boards	81
Primaries, activity of affiliated organizations urged.....	113, 453
Public Works, affiliated organizations urged to cooperate to secure action	77, 411, 416, 417
Puerto Rico, report on labor and political activities.....	139-141, 152, 279
Radio advertising.....	111, 112, 152, 452
Railroad Workers, developments.....	116-136, 453, 454
Company unions, procedure and statement of Federal Coordinator Joseph B. Eastman.....	133-136
Emergency Railroad Transportation Act.....	125-132, 151
Employment.....	121-123, 151
Full crew bill.....	132, 133
Organizing activities.....	133, 151
Relief measures, proposed.....	124, 125, 151
Retirement insurance bill.....	132, 133
Shorter workday and work week.....	123, 151
Six-hour day bill.....	132, 133
Wages, negotiations dealing with.....	116-119, 151
Wages, Canadian railroad workers.....	119-121, 151
Railway Labor Act provides right of workers to organize in unions of their own choosing.....	78, 266, 267
Relief, Federal appropriations.....	91-93, 151, 425
Relief measures, A. F. of L. recommendations.....	93, 151, 425
Right to organize.....	78, 151, 266, 372, 414
Santo Domingo.....	138, 151, 538
School financing and Federal aid.....	144-147, 152, 298, 299, 302, 303
Secretary's report.....	29-38, 201-203
Summer schools, workers education courses.....	149, 315
Tax measures for school support.....	147
Teachers' salaries and standards of employment.....	144, 152, 300, 301
Teamsters—Railway Clerks.....	114, 290, 291
Theatrical Stage Employes—Electrical Workers.....	114, 290, 291
Trade union benefits.....	94-99, 152, 289, 290
Trade union organization insures freedom of workers in collective bargaining activities	78, 266
Trade union representation of workers essential on all NRA agencies	80, 81, 84, 151, 417, 424
Treasurer's report.....	39, 202
Unemployment, statistical information.....	85-90, 151, 416, 424, 425, 473, 474
Vocational education, Federal Administration policies advocated by A. F. of L.....	146, 303
Voting strength of affiliated unions.....	36, 37
Wages, higher standards necessary to achieve purposes of NRA	69, 70, 362-365, 413
Women's trade union auxiliaries.....	115, 152, 291
Workers' Education Bureau, review of educational activities	147-149, 152, 263-266, 315
"Yellow dog" contracts, state enactments.....	108
Executive Council's report, summary read.....	24, 25

F

Farley, James A., Postmaster General, address.....	165, 251, 258-260, 540
Farm recovery, processing tax.....	102

	Page
Farmers, economic rehabilitation support pledged.....	535
Fascist principles, protesting application in U. S., Resolution No. 99.....	197, 198, 465-473
Federal labor unions, initiation fees, Resolution No. 47.....	176, 494, 495
Federal labor unions, jurisdiction of, Resolution No. 21.....	158, 500-504
Federal labor unions, proposing constitutional amendment extending authority of Executive Council to issue charters, Resolution No. 25.....	167, 404-408
Federal Relief Surplus Corporation.....	285
Federation Bank and Trust Company, reorganization, report submitted to the New York State Federation of Labor Convention.....	353, 354
Financial reports.....	29-39, 40, 201-204
Fire departments, condemning false economy policies, Resolution No. 35.....	171, 480
Fire fighters' salary reductions, to resist, Resolution No. 31.....	170, 479, 480
Fire fighters, shorter hours, Resolution No. 36.....	171, 369
Five-day week and six-hour day, Resolution No. 12.....	155, 368, 369
Flaherty, Thomas F., deceased, Resolution No. 69.....	181, 498
Flint Glass Workers—Glass Bottle Blowers.....	114, 290
Flore, Edward, elected fraternal delegate to British Trades Union Congress.....	446, 447, 451
Flynn, Thomas F.....	440
Franklin, Joseph A.....	443, 446
Freeman, Rt. Rev. James E., Bishop of Washington, invocation.....	160, 306, 540
Fraternal delegates, addresses of:	
British Trades Union Congress.....	165, 236-247, 376-378
Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.....	165, 247-251, 378
Fraternal delegates, A. F. of L., reports:	
British Trades Union Congress.....	214-220
Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.....	220-222
Fraternal delegates, presentation of badges.....	165, 166
Presentation of gifts.....	376-379
Frey, John P.....	504
Fry, Charles.....	442
Fur industry, NRA code, thirty-hour week, Resolution No. 65.....	184, 499
Fur workers' campaign against Communism, Resolution No. 64.....	183, 498, 499
Fur Workers' Union No. 55, Buffalo, N. Y., Joseph M. Schmitt, President, greetings.....	273
Furriers' Joint Council, New York, Harry Begoon, greetings.....	210

G

Gainor, E. J.....	280, 291, 353, 365, 474
Garment Workers, Ladies, telegram from President David Dubinsky.....	271, 272
Gassman, F. C.....	540
German labor movement.....	141, 151, 251, 465-473
German trade union movement, persecutions by Hitler, statement of British fraternal delegate James Rowan.....	237, 238
Gilbert, Cass, greetings.....	210
Glenn, Annabel Lee, appointed Messenger of Convention.....	20, 233, 279, 326
Gompers, Samuel, Memorial, dedication.....	152, 204, 271, 272, 276, 305-310, 409
Gompers, Samuel, Memorial fund.....	32, 202, 203
Gompers, Samuel, proposing display of portrait in union meeting halls, Resolution No. 70.....	185, 500
Gompers, Samuel, commemorating, Resolution No. 112.....	275, 276
Gorman, Patrick E.....	437
Government buildings, Washington, strike termination, announcement.....	518
Government buildings erected on American soil, all work on contracts should be executed within U. S., Resolution No. 75.....	187, 507

	Page
Government bureaus, reorganization, statement of President Babcock, Government Employees.....	532, 533
Government Employees, American Federation of, progress noted.....	383
Government employes, favoring abolishment of clauses of Economy Act prohibiting salary increases, Resolution No. 109.....	213, 534, 535
Government employes, thirty-hour week, Resolution No. 20.....	158, 368
Government employes, thirty-year optional retirement, Resolution No. 59.....	181, 529, 530
Government employes, urging restoration of 15 per cent pay cut, Resolution No. 105.....	211, 212, 533
Government employes, wage reduction law.....	100-102, 151, 428
Government employes, urging restoration of working conditions, Resolution No. 61.....	181, 182, 530, 531
Government employment, urging higher labor standards, Resolution No. 62.....	182, 183, 531, 532
Government, representative, to combat attacks on, Resolution No. 93.....	196, 465
Green, President, address at dedication of the Samuel Gompers Memorial.....	308-310
Green, President, address delivered at the Washington Cathedral.....	291-294
Green, President, presentation of Fire Fighters' gift.....	287, 288
Green, William, re-election to office of President.....	437-440
Green, President.....	6-11, 22, 160, 161, 164, 165, 166, 199, 204, 208, 214, 230, 235, 251, 254, 258, 260, 261, 280, 283, 284, 288, 297, 314, 315, 355, 366, 368, 373, 375, 376, 378, 379, 385, 414, 422, 433, 437, 445, 455, 457, 464, 467-471, 485, 504, 540.
Guatemala.....	138, 151, 538

H

Haas, Rev. Francis J., Director, National Catholic School of Social Service, address.....	165, 233, 251, 254-258
Haggerty, Dan.....	450
Hall, Joseph A., fraternal delegate of British Trades Union Congress, address.....	241-247, 377, 378
Hall, Mrs. Joseph A., gift.....	377
Hansen, Florence Curtis.....	297, 317
Harrison, Pat, U. S. Senator, telegram of greetings.....	465
Hatters—Cap Makers, amalgamation agreement.....	113, 114, 152, 290
Hansen Packing Co., Butte, Mont., protest of building trades, Resolution No. 76.....	187, 188, 282, 283
Hayes, Edward, National Commander, American Legion, address.....	289, 451, 461-464, 540
Hebrew Actors' Union, R. Guskin, greetings.....	273, 274
Hebrew Trades, United, New York, Secretary M. C. Feinstone, greetings.....	210
Henning, R. A.....	280, 283, 442
Hesketh, Robert B.....	444, 454
Hillquit, Morris, death, Resolution No. 113.....	275, 288
Hitler Government, Germany, protesting persecutions.....	141, 142, 465-473
Hitler Government, proposing economic boycott against, Resolution No. 96.....	197, 465-473
Hitler policies, address of British fraternal delegate, James Rowan.....	237, 238
Hitler policies, protesting application in United States, Resolution No. 99.....	197, 198, 465-473
Home Loan Bank System, address of Chairman, William F. Stevenson.....	230-233
Home Mortgage relief.....	104, 151, 431
Horn, Roy.....	393, 407, 408
Hotel and Restaurant Employes, announce union agreement with chain cafeterias.....	210

	Page
Hotels, Restaurant and catering establishments, patronage, Resolution No. 4	153, 457, 458
Hotel and Restaurant Employes' dispute with Cleveland hotels, Resolution No. 6	154, 280, 281
Hotel and Restaurant Employes' organizing campaign, Resolution No. 3	153, 267, 268
Hours of labor must be revised downward and wage rates increased, solution of the machine problem	364
Howard, Charles P.	391-393, 394, 401, 403, 442, 444, 450, 502-504
Hutcheson, William L.	415, 420, 421, 437, 439, 440, 450
Hyatt, Gilbert E.	526, 535, 536
Hynes, John J.	401, 437, 446, 454

I

Iglesias, Santiago	275
Iglesias, Santiago, elected Resident Commissioner of Puerto Rico	140
Immigrants shipped as seamen, urging enactment of King bill to correct violations of Exclusion Laws, Resolution No. 54	179, 430
Immigration	103, 151, 428, 429
Immigration restriction to be enforced against Philippine labor, Resolution No. 43	429, 430
Industrial labor act, for permanent legislation embodying labor provisions of Railway Labor Act and National Recovery Act, Resolution No. 42	174, 493
Inflation of currency	10, 432, 433
Injunction Act provides right of workers to organize in unions of their own choosing	78, 152, 266, 267
Injunction in labor disputes, condemning use, Resolution No. 30	169, 476, 477
Injunction legislation, state enactments	108, 151, 451, 452
Insurance companies requiring physical examination of employes	426, 427
International Labor News Service, proposing A. F. of L. take over, Resolution No. 101	198, 199, 305
International Labor Office conferences, representation of U. S., Resolution No. 48	176, 539
International Labor Office, plea for cooperation, address of fraternal delegate, James Rowan, British Trades and Labor Congress	239
International Labor Office, Geneva, conference on shorter workday, representation of labor	141, 151, 369
International Labor Office, tribute to Samuel Gompers	310
Invocations	1, 160, 200, 234, 252, 273, 297, 362, 404

J

Japanese immigration, campaign to bring under quota law	104, 428, 429
Johnson, Gen. Hugh S., National Recovery Administration, address	233, 274, 280, 326, 353, 355-361, 540
Jurisdiction disputes	114, 152, 290, 291

K

Kane, Vincent J.	287
Kennedy, Thomas	386-388, 403, 478
Kindergarten instruction, importance to child training	143, 144, 300
King, William H., United States Senator, address	3, 4, 540
Kovesleski, Emanuel	210, 267, 268
Kugler, Albert J.	334-336

INDEX

553

L

	Page
Label, union, activity.....	277, 278
Labelled, union, products and union establishments, urging patronage.....	276, 277
Labels, union, list of organizations using.....	38
Labor Advisory Board contract with Public Works Emergency Administration	74-77
Labor Department, U. S., Frances Perkins, Secretary of Labor, address	222-230, 540
Labor displacement by machinery and new processes, proposing federal legislation to establish technological research and statistical division, Resolution No. 19.....	157, 158, 473, 474
Labor institutes held under leadership of Workers Education Bureau	148, 149, 263, 315
Labor party, independent, Resolution No. 1.....	152, 452
Labor Statistics, Bureau, U. S., Department of Labor, bulletins and publications display	214
Laekland, Rev. George, address.....	204-208
Lane, Dennis, name withdrawn as candidate for fraternal delegate to British Trades Union Congress.....	437
Laundry Workers' organizing campaign, Resolution No. 102.....	199, 270, 271
Legislation, national.....	100-107
American-made materials and supplies, to be purchased by U. S. Government.....	151, 535, 536
Bank deposits guaranteed.....	106, 151, 431
Beer legislation.....	105, 106, 151, 536
Blue sky law.....	105, 151, 535
Child labor prohibited on federal relief work.....	103
Civilian Conservation Corps, objectionable features opposed by A. F. of L.....	102, 151, 428
Employment service, Federal.....	107, 151, 451
Farm recovery, processing tax.....	102, 151
Government employes, wage reduction law.....	100-102, 151, 428
Home mortgage relief.....	104, 151, 431
Immigration.....	103, 151, 428, 429
Japanese immigration, campaign to bring under quota law.....	104, 428, 429
Mexican immigration.....	103, 428, 429
Muscle Shoals government operation.....	104, 105, 151, 431
Philippine independence law.....	107, 151, 451
Relief work, wages to conform to NRA blanket code.....	103
Retirement provision, Independent Office appropriation.....	102, 151, 529, 530
Securities law.....	105, 151, 535
Unemployment, Emergency Relief for.....	102, 151, 428
Leighty, G. E.....	540
Lewis, John L.....	396-398, 399, 400, 437-439
License law, federal, Resolution No. 18.....	157, 461
Lindelof, L. P.....	443
Littlepage, Thomas P., President, Washington Chamber of Commerce.....	5, 540
Local unions, importance of functions in enforcing provisions of NRA codes	372, 373

M

Machine displacement of labor, struggle of labor movement to meet problem, report of Shorter Workday Committee.....	364
Machinery, displacement of labor, address of fraternal delegate James Rowan, British Trades Union Congress.....	241
Machinists-Carpenters.....	114, 290, 291

	Page
Madsen, Christian M., A. F. of L. fraternal delegate to British Trades Union Congress, report.....	214-220
Maloney, James.....	317, 353, 441, 442, 446
Manion, E. J.....	444, 450
Manning, John J.....	440, 441, 448
Martel, Frank X.....	278, 390, 391, 411, 444, 512
Mass, St. Patrick's Catholic Church, letter of invitation.....	252
McCurdy, Joseph P., elected fraternal delegate to Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.....	447
McDonough, M. J.....	415, 442
McGowan, Father Robert A., invocation.....	362, 540
McMahon, Thomas F.....	509, 510
McNamara, Rt. Rev. John J., Auxillary Bishop of Baltimore, invocation 1, 310, 540	
McNamara, John F.....	338, 339
Meetings of local unions should have educational features.....	371, 372
Members, new, importance of training in trade union philosophy.....	9, 370, 371
Membership increase influenced by NRA.....	8, 9
Membership report.....	33-35
Memorial to deceased trade unionists.....	208, 209
Merchants, Manufacturers and Employers Association, Stockton, Calif., proposing investigation, Resolution No. 41.....	143, 492, 493
Mexican Federation of Labor, wreath for Samuel Gompers Memorial.....	310, 538
Mexican immigration.....	103, 428, 429
Mexico.....	138, 538
Miles, delegate.....	448, 451
Miller, Spencer, Jr., Secretary, Workers Education Bureau, address.....	261-266
Mills, Clyde M., appointed Assistant Secretary of the Convention.....	20
Miners progress under NRA in remedying conditions in the bituminous coal industry.....	115, 116, 453
Miners' Unions, Harlan County, Ky., protesting conditions of trial and conviction of sentenced union miners, Resolution No. 114.....	288, 289, 525-526
Mining industry, Great Britain, address of British fraternal delegate Joseph A. Hall.....	245, 246
Minimum wage laws for women and minors, state enactments.....	110, 152, 278, 279
Minimum wages must maintain union standards of employment.....	374, 375
Molders' Union No. 164, San Francisco, Calif., convention city invitation.....	274
Montreal, Can., Trades and Labor Council, Joe Pelletier, Secretary, greetings	273
Mooney, Thos. J., Resolution No. 110.....	235, 525
Morrin, P. J.....	447, 451
Morrison, Secretary.....	152, 204, 214, 234, 273, 297, 351, 385, 399, 404, 444, 445, 451, 455, 479
Morrison, Frank, re-election to office of Secretary.....	444-445
Muscle Shoals, government operation.....	104, 105, 151, 431
Musicians, members of Local No. 161, Washington, D. C., entertain delegates at opening session.....	1, 540
N	
National Labor Board.....	84, 85, 151, 286, 424
National Recovery Act.....	41-80, 409-414
Administration policies.....	60-62, 171, 412
Agricultural Adjustment Act.....	47, 48, 59, 84, 423, 424, 535
Anti-trust laws application.....	61, 151, 410
Code procedure.....	62-64, 151, 410, 412
Codes of fair competition.....	43-45, 60, 61, 64, 151, 410, 412, 413
Automobiles.....	66, 67, 69

	Page
National Recovery Act—Continued:	
Child labor provisions.....	68, 69, 413
Coats and suits, women's.....	65, 69
Corset and braziere industry.....	64, 65
Cotton textile industry.....	64
Dismissal wage proposed for automobile code.....	69
Electrical.....	65
Hosiery.....	68
Lace manufacturing.....	64
Lumber.....	67, 68
Men's clothing.....	67
Petroleum.....	65, 66
Photographic industry.....	66
Shipbuilding.....	66
Steel.....	69
Theatres, legitimate.....	67
Woolen industry.....	64
Codes must be reopened for constructive revision.....	70, 413
Company union provision defeated in drafting Act.....	42, 410
Convict labor excluded from public works and construction projects.....	42
Emergency Administration technical staff, Public Works.....	74
Labor code research group, A. F. of L.....	72, 73, 151, 412, 415, 416
Labor provisions of Act.....	41, 42, 62, 71, 72, 266, 267, 286, 294, 295, 409
Labor should have equal representation with all other members on code authority.....	63, 64, 69, 417, 424
Labor advisory board contract with Public Works Emergency Administration.....	74-77
Administration policies.....	77, 151
Bids requirements.....	77
Board of Labor Review.....	76
Labor employment.....	76, 151
Sundays and legal holidays, work not permitted.....	77
Thirty-hour week application.....	76, 77
Workmen's compensation insurance.....	77
Loans, tests of eligibility, applied to applications, Public Works.....	74
Long range planning board, Public Works.....	73, 74
Office, clerical and service workers organization.....	71
Organization of wage workers in unions essential to Labor's participation in national planning and economic control.....	70, 413
Pay rates, fair differentials for mechanics and skilled workers must be established.....	70
Penalties.....	45, 48
Policy proposals.....	70, 151, 413
Right to organize.....	41, 78, 151, 266, 372, 414
Text of Act.....	42-59
Title I—Industrial Recovery.....	43
Administrative agencies.....	43
Agreements and licenses.....	45, 46, 61
Agricultural Adjustment Act, application.....	47, 58, 59, 84, 423, 424, 535
Codes of fair competition.....	43-45, 60, 61, 64-69, 410, 412, 413
Cotton, Secretary of Agriculture authorized to regulate sale.....	59
Limitations upon application of title.....	46, 47
Oil regulation.....	48
Policy declaration.....	43
Rules and regulations.....	48

	Page
National Recovery Act—Continued:	
Title II—Public Works and Construction Projects	
48-59, 73-77, 151, 411, 416	
Appropriation	58, 59
Federal Emergency Administration of Public Works.....	48-54
Reemployment and relief taxes.....	54-58
Rules and regulations.....	54
Securities and sinking fund, issue of.....	54
Subsistence homesteads.....	54
Title III—Amendments to Emergency Relief and Construction Act and Miscellaneous Provisions.....	59
Reconstruction Finance Corporation, decrease of borrowing power	59
Thirty-hour week.....	42
Trade associations.....	45, 63, 64, 410
Trade unions.....	45, 63, 64, 70, 71, 410, 413, 414
Wages and hours provisions of established codes do not meet require- ments to create adequate purchasing power.....	69, 70, 151, 413
National Recovery Act, address of General Hugh S. Johnson, Administrator	355-361
National Recovery Act, address of Senator Robert F. Wagner.....	284-287
National Recovery Act, address of Postmaster General James A. Farley	259, 260
National Recovery Act, Agricultural Adjustment Act, agreement distinguish- ing industrial workers.....	84, 151, 423, 424, 535
National Recovery Act boards, opposing service of A. F. of L. officials, Resolu- No. 100.....	198, 419-422
National Recovery Act codes, importance of local union functions in en- forcement	372, 373
National Recovery Act codes must include five-day week and six-hour day without pay reductions.....	8, 362-365, 367
National Recovery Act codes must be reopened for constructive revision...	70, 413
National Recovery Act codes, protesting destruction of labor standards in building trades, Resolution No. 78.....	189, 482
National Recovery Act committees, representation of organized labor, Resolu- tion No. 58.....	180, 181, 417, 418
National Recovery Act committees, labor representation, Resolution No. 17	157, 417
National Recovery Act compliance boards, representation of organized labor, Resolution No. 88.....	195, 418, 419
National Recovery Act, extension of period of Act.....	423
National Recovery Act investigation and compliance boards, representation of organized labor, Resolution No. 67.....	184, 418
National Recovery Act, labor provisions defined by Father Haas.....	256
National Recovery Act, Public Works construction program, regulations to protect wage standards, Resolution No. 84.....	190-193, 482-485
National Recovery Act, support extended by representatives of organized labor.....	6, 7, 363, 372, 373, 410
Naval field employees, allocation under classification legislation, Resolu- No. 29.....	168, 169, 528
Naval vessels and equipment, urging manufacture be confined to U. S. Navy Yards, Resolution No. 53.....	179, 497
Navy Yard employees, program for improvement of working conditions, Res- olution No. 49.....	176, 528, 529
Negro workers, alleging discrimination under NRA, Resolution No. 87.....	194, 195, 523
Negro workers, proposing employment of colored organizers, Resolution No. 85	193, 268, 269
Negro workers, recognition in trade union movement, Resolution No. 97	197, 269, 270
Nevada State Federation of Labor, greetings.....	252

INDEX

557

	Page
Night work elimination, Resolution No. 28.....	168, 475, 476
New Deal, interpretation, address of Senator Robert F. Wagner.....	285, 286
Nicholson, Rev. R. Y., D.D., invocation.....	404, 540

O

Obergfell, Joseph.....	318-326, 345-349
O'Connell, John A.....	449, 450
Office Workers, NRA code, Resolution No. 2.....	152, 153, 457
Olander, Victor A.....	409, 417, 421, 427, 441, 451, 465, 473, 478, 479
Old age pension legislation, Resolution No. 13.....	156, 526
Old age pension legislation, Canadian provinces.....	249
Old age pensions for teachers, recommendations.....	302
Old age security, progress of campaign of organized labor for federal and state legislation.....	110, 111, 152, 452, 526
Older workers, discrimination.....	9, 10, 93, 94, 151, 425, 426, 526
"Organized labor" to protect name from perverted usage, Resolution No. 66.....	184, 499
Organization of workers, complete, essential under NRA principles.....	9
Organizing activities stimulated by NRA.....	78, 151, 267

P

Painting, proposing that provisions of Prevailing Wage Law be extended to include, Resolution No. 74.....	187, 533
Pan-American Congress of governmental representatives, Uruguay, urging representation of Labor on U. S. delegation.....	537
Pan-American Federation of Labor.....	126-138, 151, 537-539
Panama Canal employes, proposing 25-year retirement measure, Resolution No. 106.....	212, 530
Panama Canal Zone, proposing resident Commissioner, Resolution No. 108.....	212, 213, 534
Panama Railroad Steamship Service, urging continuance, Resolution No. 104.....	211, 525
Pavers and Rammermen—Hod Carriers.....	114, 290, 291
Payne, John Barton, Chairman, American Red Cross, address.....	22
Perkins, Frances, Secretary of Labor, address.....	164, 210, 222-230, 540
Perkins, Frances, Secretary of Labor, invites delegates and visitors to visit Department of Labor.....	20
Peru.....	138, 538
Philippine independence.....	107, 151, 451
Philippine labor, legislation for immigration restriction urged, Resolution No. 43.....	174, 429, 430
Photograph of Convention, announcement.....	199
Political, A. F. of L. non-partisan policy.....	112, 152, 452
Possehl, John.....	326-334, 442
Post Office Clerks, Pennsylvania Federation of, John P. Holleran, President, greetings.....	362
Postal workers, tribute of Postmaster-General Farley.....	259
Powers, Frank B.....	459, 460
President's Reemployment Program.....	81-84, 151, 422, 423
Blanket code provisions.....	81-83, 151, 423
Blue Eagle, insignia of cooperation.....	81
Child labor abolished.....	82
District and state recovery boards, councils, and local compliance boards.....	81
Primaries, activity of affiliated organizations urged.....	113, 453
Public school system, preservation, Resolution No. 39.....	172, 299

	Page
Public school system, protection, proposing petition to President Roosevelt, Resolution No. 94.....	197, 304
Public utilities workers, proposing organization in federal labor unions, Resolution No. 25.....	167, 404-403
Public utilities workers, proposing waiving of jurisdiction of craft organizations, Resolution No. 83.....	190, 500-504
Public Works Act, proposing appropriations to stimulate construction work in cities and villages, Resolution No. 73.....	186, 187, 481, 482
Public Works Act, administration, failure to provide relief for building tradesmen, Resolution No. 40.....	172, 173, 416, 480, 481
Public Works and Construction Projects, National Recovery Act	48-59, 73-77, 411, 416
Public Works, affiliated organizations urged to cooperate to secure action	77, 411, 416, 417
Public Works Emergency Administration, Labor Advisory Board contract.....	74-77
Public Works construction program, NRA, regulations to protect wage standards, Resolution No. 84.....	190-193, 482-485
Puerto Rico, economic rehabilitation, proposing federal legislation, Resolution No. 24.....	166, 167, 527, 528
Puerto Rico Free Federation of Workingmen, greetings.....	161
Puerto Rico, report on labor and political activities.....	139-141, 152, 279
Pullman Company be included under Emergency Railroad Transportation Act, 1933, proposing, Resolution No. 86.....	193, 194, 519-523
Price, Dr. Geo. M., telegram.....	362

Q

Quarry Workers, organization of, Resolution No. 69.....	185, 268
Quinn, James C., A. F. of L. fraternal delegate to Canadian Trades and Labor Congress, report.....	220-222

R

Racketeers, commending A. F. of L. activities against, Resolution No. 82.....	190, 511
Racketeers, report of Committee on Resolutions.....	523, 524
Radio advertising.....	111, 112, 152, 452
Railroad Workers, developments.....	116-136, 453, 454
Company unions, procedure and statement of Federal Coordinator Joseph B. Eastman.....	133-136
Emergency Railroad Transportation Act.....	125-132, 151
Employment.....	121-123, 151
Full Crew bill.....	132, 133
Organizing activities.....	133, 151
Relief measures proposed.....	124, 125, 151
Retirement insurance bill.....	132, 133
Shorter workday and workweek.....	123, 151
Six-hour day bill.....	132, 133
Wages, negotiations dealing with.....	116-119, 151
Wages, Canadian railroad workers.....	119-121, 151
Railway Labor Act provides right of workers to organize in unions of their own choosing.....	78, 266, 267
Randolph, E. Philip.....	268, 269, 520-523
Red Cross, American, address of Chairman John Barton Payne.....	22
Reicheiderfer, Luther H., President, Board of Commissioners, District of Columbia, address.....	3, 540
Relief, federal appropriations.....	91-93, 151, 425

INDEX

559

	Page
Relief measures, A. F. of L. recommendations.....	93, 151, 425
Relief work, wages to conform to NRA blanket code.....	103
Research group, A. F. of L.....	72, 73, 412, 415, 416
Retirement Act, Canal Zone, favoring amendment to cover physical disability, Resolution No. 107.....	212, 534
Retirement legislation for Government employes, A. F. of L. program.....	9, 10
Retirement, proposing 25 year measure for Panama Canal Zone employes, Resolution No. 106.....	212, 530
Retirement, Government employes, favoring thirty-year optional measure, Resolution No. 59.....	181, 529, 530
Retirement provision, Independent Office appropriation.....	102, 151, 529, 530
Rickert, Thomas A., re-elected to office of Second Vice-President.....	440, 441
Rickert, T. A.....	287, 349-351
Ridgely, Rev. Vernon Norwood, invocation.....	297, 540
Right to organize.....	78, 151, 266, 372, 414
Roche, Edward J., appointed Sergeant-at-Arms of Convention.....	20
Roosevelt, Franklin D., President of the United States, address at the dedi- cation of the Samuel Gompers Memorial.....	306-308, 540
Roosevelt, President, tributes to.....	8, 10, 363
Roosevelt, Mrs. Franklin D., announcement of reception to women delegates and visitors.....	326, 540
Rosenblatt, Sol., Deputy Administrator National Recovery Administration, address.....	353, 373-375, 540
Rowan, James, fraternal delegate of British Trades Union Congress, address	236-241, 376
Rowan, Mrs. James, acknowledges gift.....	376, 377
Rubber Workers, Federal Labor Union No. 13319, Akron, Ohio, greetings.....	213, 214
Ryan, Rev. John A., sermon.....	279, 294-296
Ryan, Martin Francis.....	222, 385, 399
Ryan, Martin Francis, re-election to office of Treasurer.....	443, 444

S

St. Louis, Mo., Convention city invitations.....	234, 384, 447, 448, 450
St. Louis, Mo., nominated for 1934 convention city.....	447, 448, 451
Salesmen and collectors, outside, appeal for issuance of charters, Resolution No. 10.....	155, 200, 379, 380
San Francisco, Calif., convention city invitations.....	274, 362, 404
San Francisco, Calif., elected for 1934 convention.....	448, 449, 451, 479
Santo Domingo.....	138, 151, 538
Schmal, Henry F.....	384
Schmal, Henry F., name withdrawn as candidate for fraternal delegate to British Trades Union Congress.....	447
School financing and federal aid.....	144-147, 152, 298, 302, 303
School, public buildings, sanitary and safety standards.....	147, 302
School, public, system, preservation, Resolution No. 39.....	172, 299
School, public, system, protection, proposing petition to President Roosevelt, Resolution No. 94.....	197, 304
Seapower and safety for United States, urging enactment of La Follette bill, Resolution No. 55.....	180, 529
Sea safety treaty, London, protesting ratification, Resolution No. 56.....	180, 497, 498
Secretary's report.....	29-38, 201-203
Securities law.....	105, 151, 535
Sharrenberg, Paul.....	234, 235, 317, 452, 504
Simon, Rabbi Abram, invocation.....	200, 540
Simons, John.....	278, 362

	Page
✓ Six-hour day and five-day week, Resolution No. 12.....	155, 368, 369
✓ Six-hour day and five-day week, without pay reductions.....	362-365, 367
Sizoo, Rev. Joseph R., invocation.....	252, 540
Socialist Party, National Secretary Clarence Senior, greetings.....	234
Soderberg, Gust.....	290, 415, 436, 437, 456
State employes, efforts to raise standards of employment, Resolution No. 68	184, 185, 499, 500
State federations of labor delegates, conference, announcement.....	165
✓ Statistical information covering cost of living and unemployment, urging Congressional action for Government research.....	416, 424, 425, 473, 474
Steiner, Benjamin, greetings.....	161
Stevenson, William F., Chairman, Federal Home Loan Bank Board, address	164, 165, 210, 230-233
✓ Stocks issues, fraudulent practices, report of Committee on Executive Coun- cil's report.....	380
✓ Strategy board, A. F. of L., proposing, Resolution No. 111.....	164, 235
✓ Strikebreaking agencies, proposing Congressional investigation and legisla- tion, Resolution No. 72.....	186, 505, 506
✓ Strikebreaking agencies, proposing legislation to prevent misleading adver- tisements, Resolution No. 90.....	195, 196, 506
✓ Strikes, address of Senator Robert F. Wagner.....	286, 287
✓ Strikes, minimum wages must maintain union standards to avert.....	374, 375, 411
Sullivan, John L.....	21, 279
Summer schools, workers' education courses.....	149, 315
Sumner, Charles A.....	289, 379, 380
Sundays and legal holidays, work not permitted, Public Works, NRA.....	77
Suny, R.....	271, 417, 420, 421
Swartz, Luther E.....	276, 353, 370, 373, 401

T

Tailors' jurisdiction claims in clothing industry.....	436, 437
Tailors, Merchant Tailors' Association, St. Louis, refuses to sign union shop agreement as violative of NRA law.....	456, 457
Taylor, T. N.....	317
Tax measures for school support.....	147
Teachers, adequate retirement provisions.....	302
Teachers' employment under provisions of Federal Emergency Relief Ad- ministration.....	144, 265, 266
Teachers' right to organize in affiliation with trade union movement.....	299, 300
Teachers' salaries and standards of employment.....	144, 147, 152, 300, 301, 302
Teachers, tenure laws.....	301, 317
Teacher training in federal vocational education program, Resolution No. 45	175, 303, 304
Teamsters—Railway Clerks.....	114, 290, 291
Technocracy, address of Spencer Miller, Jr.....	261, 262
Technological research and statistical division, federal, proposing, Resolu- tion No. 19.....	157, 158, 473, 474
Telegraph communications industry, urging NRA code for, Resolution No. 8	154, 155, 458
Telegraphers, Commercial, organizing campaign, Resolution No. 9.....	155, 459, 460
Textile industry, violations of NRA codes, Resolution No. 79.....	189, 508-510
Thanks for hospitality and courtesies extended to delegates and visitors, Res- olution No. 115.....	539, 540
Theatrical Stage Employes—Electrical Workers.....	114, 290, 291

INDEX

561

	Page
Theatrical Wardrobe Attendants, request for support of theatrical organizations, Resolution No. 22.....	158, 159, 268
Thirty-hour week application, Public Works, NRA.....	76, 77, 424
Thirty-hour week, for Government employes, Resolution No. 20.....	158, 368
Thompson, Mary Gordon, address.....	456
Tobin, Daniel J.....	280, 339-345, 351, 394-396, 399, 400, 401
Tracy, D. W.....	443
Tracy, Edward J.....	379, 447
Trade unions, attempted disruption by political agents, Resolution No. 77.....	188, 189, 507, 508
Trade union benefits.....	94-99, 152, 289, 290
Trade union organization insures freedom of workers in collective bargaining activities.....	78
Trade union representation of workers essential on all NRA agencies.....	80, 81, 84, 151, 417, 424
Treasurer's report.....	39, 202
Trotter, William R.....	311, 504
Typographical Union No. 377, Atlantic City, N. J., convention city invitation... ..	274

U

Unemployed members, proposing exemption of dues, Resolution No. 32.....	170, 478, 479
Unemployed members, proposing exemption of dues and out-of-work stamps, Resolution No. 44.....	174, 175, 493, 494
Unemployed workers cannot be restored to industry on long work-week and long work-day basis, statement of President Green.....	367
Unemployment, emergency relief.....	102, 151, 428
Unemployment, statistical information.....	85-90, 151, 416, 424, 425, 473, 474
Unemployment insurance, Resolution No. 14.....	156, 460, 461
Unemployment insurance, Resolution No. 31.....	169, 170, 477, 478
Union establishments and union labeled products, urging patronage.....	276, 277
Upholsterers—Retail Clerks.....	114, 290, 291
U. S. Employees' Compensation Commission, urging maintenance as separate Government agency, Resolution No. 63.....	183, 532

V

Van Nuys, Fred, U. S. Senator, address.....	233, 274, 297, 540
Vocational education, Federal Administration policies advocated by A. F. of L.....	146, 303
Volstead Act, modification, A. F. of L. commended for support, Resolution No. 5.....	153, 154, 458
Volz, Edward J.....	385, 389, 390, 404, 408
Voting strength of affiliated unions.....	36, 37

W

Wage rate determination on basis of cost of living, opposing, Resolution No. 61.....	181, 530, 531
Wage requirements to avert strikes, address of Sol Rosenblatt, Deputy Administrator, National Recovery Administration.....	374, 375
Wagner, Robert F., U. S. Senator, address.....	233, 274, 284-287, 540
Waldman, Louis, New York State Chairman, Socialist Party.....	362
War munitions, urging manufacture be confined to U. S. Navy Yards, Resolution No. 53.....	179, 497
Washington, D. C., Southern Zone classification under NRA, Resolution No. 52.....	178, 179, 497

	Page
Watt, Robert J.....	222, 405-407, 426, 427
Wealth accumulation, advocating limitation and regulation, Resolution No. 71	185, 186, 504, 505
Weaver, Chauncey M.....	276, 369, 442-443, 445
Weaver, Chauncey M., delegate, Musicians admitted to practice before the U. S. Supreme Court, announcement.....	447
Weber, Joseph N.....	450
Weber, Joseph N., re-election to office of Seventh Vice-President.....	442, 443
Wharton, Arthur O.....	235, 291, 403, 421, 450
Wharton, Arthur O., re-election to office of Sixth Vice-President.....	442
White, J. Fred, fraternal delegate of Canadian Trades and Labor Congress, address	247-251, 378, 379
White, Mrs. J. Fred, acknowledges gift.....	379
Wilson, James, re-election to office of Fourth Vice-President.....	441, 442
Wisconsin State Employes Association, efforts to raise standards of employment, Resolution No. 68.....	184, 185, 499, 500
Woll, Matthew, re-election to office of Third Vice-President.....	441
Woll, Matthew.....	291, 417, 422, 429, 433, 447, 457, 471, 474, 478, 526, 536
Women's trade union auxiliaries.....	115, 152, 291
Women's Trade Union League, address of Fraternal Delegate Elisabeth Christman	162-164
Women workers, equal compensation with men for equal work, Resolution No. 103.....	211, 524
Workers' Education Bureau, review of educational activities	147-149, 152, 263-266, 315
Workers' Education Bureau, announcements in regard to convention sessions and meetings.....	166, 210, 264, 451
Workers' education program, recommendations.....	316
Workmen's compensation insurance, Public Works, NRA.....	77
Y	
"Yellow dog" contracts, state enactments.....	108
Young Women's Christian Association, National Industrial Council, Violet Boardu, greetings.....	273
Z	
Zone divisions, minimum wage rates, Public Works, NRA.....	74-76

