

"We Come to Place Before the Government Our Demands for the Means to Live!"

Statement Submitted by the Trade Union Unity League and Affiliated Unions Before
Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins--at a Conference on May 6th

On March 31, 1933, Secretary of Labor, Perkins conferred with William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor and with many other misleaders of the A. F. of L. unions. She stated that she "desired to get all possible viewpoints", but T.U.U.L. unions were barred. This of course is part of the demagoguery of the Roosevelt government in putting through its program of aiding the employers at the expense of the working class, which is described in the statement below.

Green and the A. F. of L. misleaders left the conference full of praise for Perkins and stating that "accord was reached" between them and Perkins. No wonder, they proposed the same anti-working class program as Roosevelt and Perkins do. They called for price increases, endorsed the wage cutting Black Bill, called for unemployment insurance in a vague way, mentioning no amount of unemployment insurance; all of which naturally pleased Miss Perkins.

The T.U.U.L. wrote Perkins and demanded that it, representing scores of thousands of workers, receive a hearing too.

The Trade Union Unity League and revolutionary representatives came with a different air, than that of the A.F. of L. misleaders. They didn't come hat in hand, they didn't soft soap Perkins, they spoke out boldly and demanded what the workers wanted. In short, they acted like real representatives of the workers, and not of the bosses.

Representatives of the T.U.U.L. (Stachel and Ford) and of the Marine Workers Industrial Union, (Hudson); National Textile Workers Union, (Burlak); National Miners Union, (Myerscough); Shoe and Leather Workers Industrial Union (Biedenkapp); Unemployed Councils (Amter), spoke and gave a factual picture of the conditions of the workers, in the industries, at home, in the breadlines, a picture of how little relief is actually given; described the terror against workers, which is aided by the governmental forces. And they gave the demands of the workers, which are listed elsewhere.

They showed what the Roosevelt program, inflation, the stagger system legalized, wage cutting (of government employees), economies at the worker's expense, setting up of compulsory arbitration boards, etc., would



I. AMTER, National Secretary of the Unemployed Councils, who raised the demands for the unemployed.



WILLIAM Z. FOSTER, secretary of the Trade Union Unity League.

mean to the workers, and what those measures of Roosevelt which have been passed have already meant. It was a picture damning the Roosevelt "new deal" as a deal in

Workers' Demands

For the Workers Unemployment Insurance Bill, which provides for unemployment insurance to be not less than \$10 weekly for adult workers, \$3 a week for each dependent for entire period of unemployment.

Immediate federal appropriation of sufficient funds for adequate relief for unemployed pending enactment of Workers' Unemployment Insurance Bill.

Include in Black 30-Hour Bill that weekly earnings shall be the same for 30 hour week as at present for longer hour week, and minimum wage for all workers on basis of actual current cost to workers of all essential needs.

Payment of all wages based on actual value of dollar (cost of living).

Federal legislation against child labor under 15 and against night work for women.

Establishment of lodging and maintenance for homeless youth, free medical care, abolition of vagrancy laws.

Rescinding of 15 percent wage cut for federal employees.

Repeal of forced labor reforestation camps. No industrial arbitration boards. Legalizing formation of workers committees in shops, elected democratically by the workers.

Right to organize, strike, picket, abolition of injunctions against workers.

Equal rights for Negro people.

No deportation of foreign-born workers.

Recognition of Soviet Union and establishment of normal trade relations.

favor only of the capitalists. The following statement was presented to Perkins by the delegation:

The Statement

At no time in the history of the United States was the suffering of the masses as great as it is today. After four years of the worst economic crisis this or any other nation has ever experienced, large masses are faced with actual starvation. Millions are on the brink of starvation. Millions are living on day to day charity handouts. This condition is not caused by any natural unavoidable disaster. It exists amidst plenty in the richest and most industrially developed country in the world. It is an indictment of the whole of the present system of capitalism.

The present administration is not unaware of these conditions. In the last presidential election campaign the leaders of the administration asked for a change in the ruling party in order to remedy these conditions. But the whole program of the Roosevelt government is directed in saving the big fortunes of the rich, in bolstering up profits, and represents not only a total disregard for the well being of the masses, but is in itself a further enslavement and pauperization of the masses of toilers.

We come here representing hundreds of thousands of organized workers. Behind our demands are increasing millions of toilers. We come here not to beg charity. We come here to place before the government our demands for the means to live. We take the position that the capitalists and their government owe to every man and woman and their dependents a living. We demand this. We know that we shall get only what we can secure through our organized strength. We come here representing the workers in struggle. We shall continue to organize and lead the masses in struggle for the winning of these demands.

UNEMPLOYMENT GROWING

With every year of the crisis unemployment is growing. At the present time, according to the admitted figures of the Alexander Hamilton Institute, there are over 17,000,000 unemployed (March, 1933). This figure corresponds to the estimate established by the Labor Research Association. These same figures also disclose that 50% of the workers engaged in manufacturing, 85% of the building trades workers, and 46% of the railroad labor, were unemployed in March, 1933. Of the remainder, large sections are working part time. The Teagle Committee received communications from 91,000 business houses, showing that 77% of them were on the



JAMES W. FORD, Spokesman for the Delegation.

DEMAND INCREASES IN WAGES AND



ANN BURLAK, Secretary of the National Textile Workers Industrial Union, who demanded an end to deportations of militant workers.

share-the-work basis or an average of 2-3 days per week. Total wages, according to the National Industrial Conference Board, have been reduced to 33.4% of the 1929 total.

WAGE CUTS

The capitalists have utilized the present crisis and huge unemployment to cut wages in practically all industries. The A. F. of L. policy of collaboration with the employers, their no-strike policy, has resulted in the wages of even the most highly skilled and best organized workers being driven down to the starvation level. This can be seen from the earnings of the miners, the building trades workers and other organized industries. Unorganized labor and especially woman labor, is today unemployed at wages that can only be matched in the textile factories of China and Japan. In Fall River wages in one women's garment shop were found to be from 5 to 15 cents an hour. The Pennsylvania Department of Labor reports that of the women workers in the clothing and textile industries of that state, 20% receive wages less than \$5 per week. You, Secretary Perkins, have yourself given instances in New York of girls receiving 3 1/2c an hour. In the South wages are even lower.

Child labor, which is quite prevalent, is even more cruelly exploited. In Allentown, Pa., several hundred children have struck against wages in sweatshops as low as 15c a week. This is the picture of the American standard of living which we are told to be proud of. The workers of this country who are facing the most devastating unemployment, are also learning that to possess a job today is no guarantee against starvation. There are untold cases of miners and steel workers in Pennsylvania and Ohio who are compelled to ask for relief from the charities in addition to their miserable wages in order to secure a mere existence. This same condition prevails in the textile and other industries.

That the loss in total wages is not compensated by the relief given to the unemployed is to be seen at once from the fact that, according to the admissions of relief experts (Dr. Rubinoff of the Ohio Unemployment Insurance Commission) that relief paid out throughout the country amounts to only 1% of the wages lost by the working class as a whole. The overwhelming majority of the unemployed receive no relief at all. The highest estimate is that 32% of the unemployed receive relief in any form. This relief varies for different cities but in no case is sufficient to buy even the barest necessities. The relief paid for a family of five in some of the most important and larger cities is as follows: Pittsburgh, \$3.42 per week; Canton, \$2.94; Syracuse, \$3.23 in food; Illinois mining towns, \$1.25; Tulsa, Okla., \$1 a week in food; Detroit, \$3.85 in work and groceries. Negro workers everywhere are discriminated against in the handing out of relief and especially in the South. Even of this miserable charity part of it is wrested from the low paid workers through forced collections for the local community funds, and is paid for by the unemployed through forced labor.

DISASTROUS EFFECTS OF LOWERED INCOME

What effect this reduction in income has upon the health and well-being of the workers and their families is not difficult to surmise. Homes are destroyed. Families are broken up. Homeless workers and homeless youth wander through the streets of our cities and towns. Millions have already been evicted from the homes which they rented or thought they owned. The workers live in overcrowded tenements. In Chicago alone 4,000 a month is the average of eviction cases—and the figure reached 7,600 in March, 1933. Workers live in flop houses or are homeless while millions of rooms are vacant. Suicides have greatly increased. Every 26 minutes, night and day during 1931, an individual in the United States ended his own life. The Illinois Health

Messenger of December 15, 1932 reports the highest suicide rate on record in Illinois in 1931, 1,412, compared to 1,302 in 1930, and double that of 1918. The rate was highest among the starving coal miners—61 per 100,000. Sickness and disease is everywhere on the increase. Undernourished children will grow up as a living heritage of our present brutal system of exploitation and oppression.

THE CAUSE IS CAPITALISM

Why do these conditions exist in the face of an overabundance of all goods, in the face of the rich natural resources of the country, in the face of the existence of a plentiful and highly skilled working class, in the face of the most advanced modern machinery? What is the cause of this catastrophic crisis which is not limited to the United States, but which exists in every capitalist country in the world? The cause is capitalism itself!

Capitalism is based upon the exploitation of labor by a handful who own and control all the machinery, the land, the wealth produced by the workers. They are willing to run these machines only if they can thereby make more profits. The driving force of capitalism is profit. The masses of toilers are sacrificed on the altar of profits. If no profits can be made, the factories are shut down. And this is what we have today. Such a condition has taken place from time to time throughout the existence of capitalism. The exploitation of labor, the robbing from the workers of the greatest portion of what they produce, inevitably brought capitalism from time to time to the point when there was produced an overabundance in relation to what the workers can buy with the wages they receive.

The crisis was a means through which capitalism, on the backs of the workers, was able by the destruction of a portion of the accumulated capital, through the introduction of new industries, to enter into a new upswing. But the point has been reached today when the crisis is world-wide, when capitalism is already old and shaken and unable to withstand the severe shock which it is now experiencing. The high productive capacity of industry, the crisis in agriculture, the very existence of monopolies in the present stage of capitalism, make impossible the solution of the crisis as of old. But in place of the old competition, the present gigantic monopolies, and they, through the capitalist governments of the various countries, are now carrying on the old competitive struggle in new forms—tariff wars, currency wars, race in armaments, leading to a new world imperialist war. Capitalism today, confronted with the most severe crisis, is in each country attempting to get out of this situation by making new attacks on the living standards of the masses in order to lower the cost of production, to place each country in a more favorable condition on the world market, and is building up huge armaments for a world slaughter.

In our country we have seen the workings of this capitalism in the last years of the crisis. We have seen the promises of a returning "prosperity" go up in smoke. We have seen a constant lowering of the living standards. The capitalists have taken every advantage of the situation to reduce wages. They have had no concern for the sufferings of the unemployed. Nor have they succeeded in alleviating the crisis. On the contrary, with every measure they proposed, the crisis grew deeper. The only thing that the capitalists have accomplished is to put over their attack on the masses.

TERROR TO ENFORCE ATTACKS ON MASSES

This they were able to do only with the full support of every branch of their government. The government refused adequate relief. The government used the courts, the police, the militia, to issue injunctions, break strikes, deport militant workers. In the mining fields of Pennsylvania, Ohio, Kentucky and Illinois, hundreds of



FRANCES PERKINS, the "liberal" Secretary of Labor, who had nothing to say to the Real Representative of the Workers.



I. POTASH, Secretary of the Needle Trade Workers' Industrial Union, spoke in behalf of the Needle Workers' Demands.

miners are still in jail for daring to fight against wage cuts. A terror that will not be put to shame even by Hitler was instituted in Tampa, Florida, to break the strike of the tobacco workers. In Talapoosa, Alabama, share croppers were forced to accept starvation through a lynch terror aided by the government of that state. The Labor Department is used to break strikes and deport militant foreign born workers.

The government set the pace and encouraged wage cutting by cutting down the wages of the government employees. The government refused to introduce compulsory federal unemployment insurance. It not only refused to undertake extensive public works to give employment to the unemployed, but even cut down public works. Public works expenditures throughout the country in 1932 were \$1,918,000,000 and estimated for 1933 at \$1,700,000,000—less than in 1928 (the amount then was \$3,480,000,000—from Engineering News Record). Instead billions were given to the bankers, to the railroads and to the rich generally, to help them to save their huge fortunes and to increase their profits. Billions are spent for war preparations. The policy of the government throughout the crisis has been subsidies to the rich and not a cent to the unemployed.

THE A. F. OF L. BACKS THE GOVERNMENT

The A. F. of L. leadership has been an instrument aiding the capitalists in putting over the attack against the masses. From the very beginning of the crisis, President Green of the A. F. of L. arrived at an "agreement" with President Hoover that throughout the crisis there are to be no wage cuts, and no strikes for wage increases. The A. F. of L. have kept more than their bargain. While the capitalists everywhere cut the wages of the workers, the A. F. of L. assisted the bosses in breaking the strikes of the workers who fought against the wage cuts. The result of the policy of the A. F. of L. leaders is clear from the present living standards of the masses of the employed and unemployed.

The A. F. of L. carried on a persistent and militant fight against unemployment insurance for three years. Workers inside the A. F. of L. who organized the fight for unemployment insurance, who resisted wage cuts, were expelled from the organization. The A. F. of L. encouraged and supported gangsterism in the unions in the use of force against the militant workers, and made common cause with the racketeers who have spread their clutches into the labor movement.

But the argument is advanced that while these conditions and the indictment against capitalism and the government may be true before the Roosevelt administration came to power, it is no longer true today. That the Roosevelt government is really trying to solve these questions in the interests of the workers. We are even told that Roosevelt has already accomplished so much in so little time. Let us deal with this question now. Let us examine the operation of the promised new deal.

THE "NEW DEAL"

The Roosevelt new deal is now unfolding itself in all its nakedness. The first stages of the Roosevelt program has already robbed billions of dollars from small depositors, cut the veterans' allowances by more than 500 millions, cut the wages of the low paid government employees by 15%, introduced forced labor camps at a dollar a day wage, while at the same time it consisted of strengthening the position of the big bankers through additional subsidies already handed out during the Hoover administration through the Reconstruction Finance Corporation.

All of these acts were clearly class measures in the interests of the rich and against the toiling masses. The Roosevelt plans for "relief" to the farmers and the small home owners are of the same character. Under the guise of helping the farmer and the small owner he is in reality planning to hand over billions to the bankers, the insurance companies, the mortgage sharks, to compensate them for valueless paper in their possession, and to disrupt the growing struggles against foreclosures which have assumed

RELIEF TO MEET INFLATION PRICES

a very militant character, as in Iowa at present.

Here we wish to deal primarily with the Roosevelt program regarding the regulation of production, wages, hours of labor, etc. These plans are not yet completed and in some details there may yet be certain changes. But the outline of the program is already clear. This program is presented in the form of a "revolutionary" departure from the former practices of capitalism and wholly in the interests of the masses. In reality it is wholly in the interests of the capitalists. This program is put forward as a means to get out of the present crisis.

A TURN FOR THE WORSE

The truth of the matter is that the Roosevelt administration and the capitalist class as a whole are quite worried. The much heralded turn for the better has already brought an admittance of a further fall in production in the month of March and a very substantial fall in the dollar. Not a single problem that existed at the time when Roosevelt took power has been solved. On the contrary, the crisis is growing sharper and the whole situation has become very much aggravated. The New York "Times" reported on April 22, that the business index for the week ending April 22, was at 54.2, or nearly 46% below "estimated normal," or only slightly above the lowest point for 1932. Building construction, the Annalist on April 28 stated, was for the April daily average "10% below the astonishing low figure for March."

The object of the proposed legislation is to carry through further attacks on the living standards of the masses and at the same time to create new illusions that will facilitate the carrying through of these attacks with the minimum of resistance on the part of the workers. It is presented as a "humanitarian" program against the "money changers." But it is in reality a mouthing of worn out phrases to cover up the old method of shifting the whole burden of the deepening crisis on the shoulders of the masses.

(Since this was written there has been a flow of "prosperity ballyhoo" against which President Roosevelt spoke in his speech last Sunday but which is in reality promoted by the administration in the fine division of work which is being established. The press is filled with so-called reports about increased production and "voluntary" wage increases. What are the facts?)

The slight increase in production especially in the steel industry is not the result of any basic improvement in the economic situation. It is due to buying which was delayed during the banking holiday, seasonal increases which by themselves would be below normal and above all speculative buying in the expectation of rising prices. The auto industry for example according to "Iron Age" has already bought steel for use up to the third quarter (October 1st). We can therefore look forward to a big drop in production very soon. This foundation of sand is the basis for the prosperity propaganda.

Regarding wage increases. First, this comprises an insignificant number of workers. Secondly, much of this increase is accompanied by "adjustments" in hours upward. Thirdly, in some plants where some operations are resumed wages were so low that the bosses fearing strikes, "voluntarily" gave small increases to avoid giving bigger ones.

Thus we see that President Roosevelt no less than his predecessor is trying to fool the masses with "prosperity" ballyhoo.—Edit. note.)

THE PRODUCTION-LABOR PROGRAM

What does this latest production-labor program consist of? First, it claims to undertake to organize planned and controlled production. Secondly, as an incentive for the capitalists it proposes to guarantee profits. Then it proposes that the hours of labor be cut down to 30 hours (this is still under discussion) and together with



BEN GOLD, secretary of the Needle Trades Workers' Industrial Union.

this to establish a minimum wage. Next, to inaugurate a public works program. It proposes to organize Boards to regulate not only production, but also hours and wages. And in connection with this whole program, there is to be undertaken a gigantic inflation program.

With one stroke the Roosevelt government has slashed the living standards of every workingman and workingwoman. Through the inflation policy which reduces the value of the dollar and raises the prices of all commodities in order to increase profits, the wages of the workers and the relief given to the unemployed have undergone a great shrinkage. Already the official figures show that in the first day after the announcement of this policy, prices have gone up 10% and the commodities most vital for the every day needs of the masses by even more. This brings a new era of exploitation of the masses of workers through a reduction of real wages, as nominal wages continue lagging behind the rising cost of commodities. This will be followed by even bigger increases in prices as the inflation policy is developed.

INFLATION PROGRAM--AN ATTACK ON LIVING STANDARDS

Senator Thomas, of Oklahoma, one of the chief inflation proponents, says openly: "My purpose is to add another plan to raise the commodity prices of the farmers and the producers of raw materials," according to the New York "Times" of April 25, 1933. Only a handful of the very rich will gain through these measures. The masses will be the losers. Wages and relief can buy less. Small deposits and insurance policies are worth less. The farmers are made to believe that they will profit by high prices. But this is a fraud. The big speculators and financiers will profit. The small farmer whose dollar is today worth 43c, according to March price indexes, will have to pay higher prices for the goods he needs. The Roosevelt inflation program is a universal attack on the living standards of the masses. The wages of the workers are also being lowered through sales taxes, which are introduced in many states, among which are New York, Illinois, etc.

Naturally this whole program is not separated from the whole international position of the United States. It is clearly a program which has in mind the quickest possible mobilization for war. The intended powers to the President under this measure, and the powers already given to the President, establish a dictatorial power for the rapid carrying through of the wishes of finance capital. But we shall here limit ourselves to the consideration of these measures only with regard to the internal effects.

PLANNING IMPOSSIBLE UNDER CAPITALISM

First, as to control of production and planning. This has been spoken about and tried in other capitalist countries. It is an attempt to utilize the advantages of planning in the Soviet Union under capitalism. It also aims to create illusions that the capitalists here will be able to solve the problems of unemployment as they have been solved in the Soviet Union. But this will be impossible in the United States as it has proved impossible in other capitalist countries. The capitalist system is based upon anarchy in production. It is production for profit. It is the quest for profits which is the driving force and not service to the masses (the latter is the underlying principle in the Soviet Union).

The growth of monopolies under capitalism, the driving out of the small capitalists, does not do away with competition, with anarchy in production. On the contrary, it introduces it in new and sharper forms. The big capitalists being more powerful, carry on this competition with more deadly effects. And internationally this culminates in imperialist wars. What will result from all this will be state subsidies to the big capitalists who will be able to compete with the smaller capitalists, and who will also attempt to sell their products in markets now occupied by their competitors in other imperialist countries.

This will not solve the problems of capitalism, it

will only mean greater profits to the big capitalists to be paid for by the masses, and an accentuation of the danger of a new world imperialist war.

THE 30-HOUR WEEK

As to the 30-hour week and minimum wage proposal, The 30-hour week without any wage compensation for the hours lost is the old Hoover stagger plan. The Black Bill does not carry any wage compensation with it—it is a general wage-cutting scheme, inasmuch as it is assumed by most supporters of the Bill (including the manufacturers) that workers' wages are to be reduced. William Green "admitted there might be a temporary reduction in weekly earnings under a shorter work week," according to the Daily News Record, April 27, 1933. And Ralph W. Robey, financial editor of the New York "Evening Post," wrote: "There is a danger that because of the shorter hours the employers would be inclined to reduce wages." And the Daily News Record reports that in mills where wages now average about \$12, "it is felt there would be a compromise so that wages in question would be about \$9," a reduction of 25%. In many cases it would be more. And Textile World, employers' organ, admits that the Black Bill would mean "a gigantic wage-cut."

The proposal of the Trade Union Unity League, which made this an amendment to the Black Bill through its representative appearing before the Senate Judiciary Committee, which held hearings on this bill, was rejected. The T.U.U.L., in its amendment, also proposed a minimum wage proposal. But the minimum wage proposal of Roosevelt without guaranteeing no wage reductions side by side with the reduction of hours, means that the minimum wage will become the maximum wage. It will result in wholesale wage cuts for the greatest portion of the workers. Furthermore, the heavy inflation which accompanies this bill, will mean in practice that while the minimum wage will remain fixed in dollars, the actual standard of living will continually decrease as prices rise.

President Roosevelt, in his address before the Chamber of Commerce of the U. S. appealed to the capitalists to increase wages "insofar as it lies in their power." These are almost the identical words of President Hoover in his conference with the employers immediately following the beginning of the crisis. We now know the results. The workers must fight for higher wages in order to force the capitalists to grant them. President Roosevelt is surely not so naive as to believe that the capitalists will voluntarily grant higher wages. Or was this speech intended to create new illusions among the workers and to stop them from organizing strikes for higher wages?

THE PUBLIC WORKS PROGRAM

Now as to the Roosevelt Public Works Program. Thus far this program has resulted in the stopping of federal construction. Roosevelt has already indicated that he would assign to the public works the building of more warships and other war machinery. Roosevelt's economy program is exposed for what it is by the fact that army and navy appropriations for 1933-34 amount to the staggering sum of \$565 million, a sum which the organized unemployed demand be transferred for the immediate relief of the unemployed. Thus, while the government is trying to present a good front at the coming world conference by cutting the war budgets, they would in reality increase the war budget by carrying this work under the guise of a big public works program.

Furthermore, this work of building battleships as well as other construction now carried on through regular labor, would be replaced by forced labor of unemployed at a wage similar to that given to the forest camp workers, who are being enrolled under the war department. The Roosevelt public works program would therefore not do anything more than carry through the war preparations program and at the same time set the wages for all workers at a lower level.

Conscious of the fact that the masses would resist such attacks and this would result in strikes and unemployed struggles, the Roosevelt government in addition to militarizing large sections of the unemployed youth

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Official Monthly Organ of the Trade Union Unity League

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Fight for Federal Unemployment Insurance

is also setting up government arbitration boards that would regulate wages and hours of labor. This is the most vicious, anti-working class legislation ever introduced in this country. It would destroy the trade unions, outlaw strikes and introduce compulsory arbitration. It is a direct act in the interests of the capitalists and against the toiling masses. The Coordination Plan proposed for the railroads would throw additional tens of thousands of railroad workers out of employment, and carry through the vicious attacks against labor with the aid of the Watson-Parker Law and the new Roosevelt proposals.

It is not alone through open force and the oppressive machinery of the government that the capitalists are carrying through the attacks on the masses. The leaders of the Socialist Party and of the American Federation of Labor are misleading and drugging the masses, trying to prevent them from fighting against these attacks. Norman Thomas, the leader of the Socialist Party, has endorsed the Black stagger bill. So have the leaders of the A. F. of L. Neither the A. F. of L. nor the Socialist Party opposed in any serious manner the cut in the pay of the government employees. The Socialist Party supported the slashing of the veterans' allowances. Norman Thomas praises President Roosevelt for his achievements. He demanded the Roosevelt inflation policy more than a year ago.

GREEN'S GESTURE

President Green of the A. F. of L. has just issued a statement to the effect that the A. F. of L. will demand higher wages to meet the inflation prices. This is a mere gesture to stop the masses from struggle. What has the A. F. of L. done during the last three and a half years when the living standards were reduced by 67%? Is there any reason to believe that the A. F. of L. leaders will now fight? They will have to prove it by more than mere empty words.

The supporters of the Roosevelt administration argue that these measures, no matter how displeasing they may be to some for a while, will in the long run pull us out of the crisis. The Socialists and the A. F. of L. leaders who support the various Roosevelt measures make the same explanation. But this is entirely false. How will the inflation program which means reducing the standard of living of the masses solve the problem of unemployment? By lowering the living standard of the masses it will only increase unemployment.

This program of attack on the living standards of the masses, the destroying of the workers' organizations, would not solve the crisis of capitalism. The whole program of the 30-hour week and inflation, of public works, would not add more workers to the factories. The 30-hour week will be used as a means to speed up the workers and lower the production costs. The actual wages which have already declined for all workers of the United States to 33 per cent of the 1929 total, would only be further reduced. Inflation would further reduce the purchasing power of the masses.

THE WORKERS WILL NOT STARVE

We state here that the workers of this country will not continue to starve in silence. Nor will they submit to forced labor and stagger plans, no matter under what name they are smuggled in. They will not continue to starve on the miserable charity handouts. The workers are not idle because of their own choice, they are asking for work. And they are asking for work at a wage to enable them to take care of themselves and their families. So long as the capitalist system and the government cannot furnish them with work, they will demand of the government the means with which to live. The government must insure them the right and the means to live. For this reason we state that the main demand that we make here in the name of the masses of employed and unemployed is for federal unemployment insurance. In demanding unemployment insurance we are also not unmindful of the fact that many schemes are being proposed in the name of unemployment insurance which are in no ways unemployment insurance for the workers. We therefore propose that the WORKERS' UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE BILL, which is supported by millions of unemployed and employed workers, shall immediately be enacted into law. This Bill was endorsed by over 1,000 locals of the American Federation of Labor. It is endorsed by the Unemployed Councils with hundreds of thousands of followers throughout the country. It was presented to the President and to Congress. The Bill reads as follows:

THE UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE BILL

"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 weekly for adult workers, \$3 for each dependent, to all workers wholly unemployed through not fault of their own, for the entire period of unemployment.

"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.

"Insurance 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.

"Administration by the workers—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.

"For other forms of social insurance—That social insurance be paid to workers to the amount not less than \$10 weekly for adult workers, \$3 for each dependent to compensate for loss of wages through sickness, accident, old age, maternity, etc.

"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 unhealthy conditions, nor where hours are longer than the usual trade union standards in the particular trade or locality.

"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."

ADEQUATE RELIEF

We demand the immediate federal appropriation of sufficient funds to give adequate relief to the unemployed pending the enactment of the WORKERS' UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE BILL. We consider the proposed Wagner bill as entirely inadequate. We demand a stop to the discrimination against the Negro people practiced in the distribution of relief, and on public works. We demand a public works program for the building of workers' homes, hospitals, schools and not battleships. That full union wages be paid on all public work undertakings.

OTHER DEMANDS

We demand that the proposed Black 30-hour Bill be amended as we proposed before the Senate Judiciary Committee to include that weekly earnings shall be the same for the 30-hour week as now for the longer hour week. That the Bill carry with it the minimum wage for all workers on the basis of the actual current cost of the essential needs of the workers (food, clothing, shelter, education, recreation, etc.)

We demand the enactment of legislation by the federal government making it mandatory that all wages and wage rates be paid on the basis of computing the actual value of the dollar (cost of living).

We demand the enactment of federal legislation against child labor under 15 with state maintenance; against night work for women workers.

We demand federal legislation to establish lodging and maintenance for the homeless youth, free medical care, abolition of vagrancy law.

We demand the restoration of the old wages before the 15 per cent cut to the government employees.

We demand the repeal of the forced labor reforestation camps. We are opposed to the creation of industrial arbitration boards. We demand enactment of legislation to legalize the formation of workers' committees in all establishments, to be elected democratically by all the workers; these committees to see to it that all labor measures established in the interests of the masses, all agreements as to hours, wages, etc., are enforced.

We demand the right to organize, to strike, to picket.

full workers' rights. We demand the abolition of all use of injunctions against the workers in strikes.

We demand a stop to the deportation of foreign-born workers.

We demand equal rights for the Negro people.

We demand the recognition of the Soviet Union by the United States Government and the establishment of normal trade relations.

We also wish to record ourselves in favor of the demands of the war veterans' for the restoration of the veterans' disability allowances and the immediate cash payment of the bonus. We support the poor and bankrupt farmers in their fight for relief, against foreclosures and for cancellation of debts.

NO ONE WOULD GO HUNGRY UNDER WORKERS' RULE

We state here that there is no need for anyone to go hungry in this rich country of ours. There is plenty for everyone. The capitalists have proven their inability to run the industries, to provide the workers with the barest necessities. We believe that the workers must organize themselves and fight against such a system which starves them in the midst of plenty. We believe the workers will be able to run the industries and manage them so that the standard of living of all the toilers will be considerably higher than the highest wages ever paid to the workers in this country under capitalism. The experiences of the workers and peasants of the Soviet Union show this to be true in a large country of 160 million people, covering one sixth of the globe. We know that only the workers through their organized strength and numbers will be able to achieve such a new system without exploitation of man by man.

In the meantime, while the capitalists are in control, we demand that the government which represents them, shall put a tax on capital, on high incomes of \$5,000, and the money spent for war preparations, to provide the necessary funds for relief, for public works, and for federal unemployment insurance, and that a stop be put to the subsidizing of the capitalists to guarantee profits.

NATIONAL UNIONS AND LEAGUES

Affiliated to the Trade Union Unity League

- National Miners Union, 1524-5th Avenue, Pittsburgh, Pa.
- Steel and Metal Workers Industrial Union, 1524-5th Ave., Pittsburgh, Pa.
- Marine Workers Industrial Union, 140 Broad Street, New York, N. Y.
- National Railroad Industrial League, 209 W. Randolph St., Chicago, Ill.
- Food Workers Industrial Union, 4 W. 18th St., New York, N. Y.
- National Textile Workers Union, 1775 Westminster St., Providence, R. I.
- Auto Workers Union, 4210 Woodward Ave., Detroit, Mich.
- Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union, 131 W. 28th St., New York, N. Y.
- Lumber Workers Industrial League, 1915 1st St., Seattle, Wash.
- Shoe and Leather Workers National Committee, 96 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y.
- Building and Construction Workers Industrial League, 799 Broadway, New York, N. Y.
- Office Workers Union, 80 E. 11th St., New York, N. Y.
- Trade Union Unity League Councils and Committees in all industrial centers