

# ECONOMIC SECURITY ACT

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 19, 1935

UNITED STATES SENATE,  
COMMITTEE ON FINANCE,  
*Washington, D. C.*

The committee met, at 10 a. m., in the Finance Committee room, Senate Office Building, Senator Pat Harrison (chairman) presiding.

The **CHAIRMAN**. The witness this morning is Mr. Herbert Benjamin of New York.

## STATEMENT OF HERBERT BENJAMIN, NEW YORK CITY, REPRESENTING THE NATIONAL JOINT ACTION COMMITTEE FOR GENUINE SOCIAL INSURANCE

Mr. **BENJAMIN**. I am appearing in behalf of the National Joint Action Committee for Genuine Social Insurance. It is my purpose to show that there is not only a need but an organized broad mass movement for genuine social insurance. That the Wagner-Lewis so-called "social security bill" represents the administration's attempt to evade the obligation to provide such insurance. That the immediate and potential resources of the Nation make the provision of genuine social insurance feasible and practicable. And, that a genuine social insurance system must base itself on the principles of the workers' unemployment, old age, and social insurance bill which is now before Congress as H. R. 2827.

With your permission, I will file for the record a complete list of the organizations and groups in whose behalf we are privileged to speak with relation to the problem of unemployment and social insurance. Examination will show that this list includes several thousand of national, State, regional, and local units of a great variety of trade union, fraternal, farmers, professional, veterans, Negro, youth, women, political, cultural, civic, and other organizations. The one list includes a good many, though not all of the organizations, who, after a consideration of various social insurance measures, endorsed the workers' unemployment, old age, and social insurance bill as against all others. The second list enumerates the various organizations whose delegates participated in the national Congress for unemployment and social insurance which was held in Washington, D. C., on January 5, 6, and 7 of this year. The National Joint Action Committee and its officers were elected in this Congress which unanimously rejected all such measures as the Wagner-Lewis bill and with equal unanimity endorsed H. R. 2827, the workers unemployment, old-age, and social insurance bill.

The **CHAIRMAN**. Is that the Lundeen bill?

Mr. BENJAMIN. Yes sir. And with your permission, I may file for the record the list of organizations.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. BENJAMIN. When it is remembered that these endorsements were secured and this support rallied in the face of very bitter and vigorous opposition, and despite the many differences of policy and opinion which prevails as between the listed organizations on a great variety of other problems, the significance of this wide-spread support for the workers' bill can be more fully appreciated. This broad supporting movement for the workers' bill is proof of the fact that the great masses of producers are rapidly realizing that their very existence depends upon the establishment of a genuine system of unemployment and social insurance. It serves also to prove that as the masses become aware of this need they develop a capacity for the united action which is necessary in order to compel enactment of such a system of social insurance.

It is in behalf of the millions already associated, with our united movement and in behalf of all who suffer from and are menaced by the effects of economic insecurity, that I appear before this committee. It is the sentiment and point of view of these millions that I express when I declare that we regard the Wagner-Lewis so-called "social-security bill" as not merely inadequate, but deliberately deceptive.

For years our every demand that the Government shall assume the obligation of providing unemployment and social insurance for those who are deprived of their means of livelihood through no fault of their own, has been met by a flat "No." The Wagner-Lewis bill is just another way of repeating that "No." Through the Wagner-Lewis bill, the Roosevelt administration declares just as the Hoover administration used to declare, that government as now constituted must concern itself with preserving the profits of a few rather than with preservation of the well-being of the overwhelming majority of the population. Because we hold that the Government should serve the millions of willing workers, farmers, and professionals of this country and not merely the 3 percent who now own and control the wealth of this country, we are fundamentally opposed to the intent and provisions of the Wagner-Lewis social-security bill.

It is sufficient to compare the provisions of this bill to the professed purpose of its sponsors to prove how entirely divorced this measure is from the actual needs of the great masses who suffer hunger, want, and destitution in consequence of economic hazards that are inherent in the present (capitalist) productive system.

In his various speeches and messages, President Roosevelt has more or less correctly formulated what should be the purpose of a social insurance or social security measure. In his message to Congress on June 8, 1934, he stated this most clearly when he declared that "the security of the home, the security of livelihood, and the security of social insurance are, it seems to me, a minimum of the promise that we can offer to the American people." In the light of the administrations proposed "social security" program we may well ask whether the President was merely advising his party colleagues on the kind of preelection promises they should make. Certainly the program submitted will not by any stretch of the imagination provide security of home, livelihood, and social insurance.

When the masses demand social insurance they mean: First, assured income in an amount that will preserve living standards. Preferably the masses would have steady work for which they are fitted at a wage rate that will make possible the purchase of all necessities of life.

But the present system of production for profit rather than for use serves to deprive millions of the opportunity to work and thereby subjects all workers to the menace of unemployment.

Despite the fact that President Roosevelt chooses to "stand or fall by my refusal to accept mass unemployment as a permanent condition of our future", it is generally admitted that under the present system we are bound to have a permanent army of some 7,000,000 unemployed. This condition proceeds from the increasing disproportion between our expanding productive capacities and shrinking purchasing power. We will submit figures based on recent findings of the National Industrial Conference Board that graphically describe this process. These figures show that in October 1934 payrolls stood at 60 percent, employment at 78.6 percent, and output per man-hour at 129.5 percent as compared to the 1923-25 average. This means that for the sampling industries covered in the given survey, 61 workers are able to now produce as much as 100 did 10 years ago. Thus 39 percent are left unemployed or forced to seek employment in new occupations.

Under such conditions, the share of wealth which goes to the wage and salaried group who constitute the chief consumer group is constantly reduced. This serves to shrink the market at the very moment when productive capacity is increased. This very process also militates against the possibility for the masses in the low income group to accumulate some reserves for emergencies such as accident, sickness, old age! and so forth, likewise the life destroying speed-up which accompanies the constant intensification of the labor process, results in prematurely aging the workers and in the exclusion of the middle aged as well as those of advanced years from industry.

Finally, it must be borne in mind when designing a social-insurance program at this time, that all of these factors make for more prolonged and more frequent crises. It is a fallacy that amounts to actual deception to propose under such circumstances plans based on the accumulation of reserves. As a matter of fact, a recent study revealed that since 1790 this country has suffered 1 crisis year for every 1½ years of prosperity. Under such conditions it is manifestly impossible to meet the problem of unemployment by building up reserves during so-called "fat years" for the lean years. Certainly it cannot be done on the basis of a 3-percent tax on pay rolls.

This is the fundamental error of the Wagner-Lewis bill. And because it must be evident that no insurance against loss of income through unemployment can be provided by means of a reserve plan, we cannot regard these plans as mere errors of judgment. They must be recognized for what they are—deliberate attempts to deceive the masses and circumvent their demand for assured income.

As against these reserve plans, we propose and demand a system of unemployment and social insurance that draws funds not by taxing either directly or indirectly the meager wage income of the masses, but by taxing the huge, petrified income and wealth of the rich. We call your attention to the fact that the Government did not ask the

big corporations to build up a reserve fund before it would issue billions of dollars to these from the Reconstruction Finance Corporation. The Government drew upon the already available resources for that purpose. We demand that the Government shall do likewise for the masses who have produced this Nation's wealth.

Are there such resources? Could adequate funds be raised to pay for genuine social insurance? Our answer is both factual as well as rhetorical. We know that this is the richest country in the world. We know that if millions suffer hunger and want as they do, it is not because they are unwilling to apply their labor to the task of creating all that is necessary and can be created to provide the necessities and comforts of life.

Recently, however, we have also undertaken, with the help of competent economists, studies of immediately available sources of funds for adequate social insurance. Under the direction of Dr. Joseph Gillman, chairman of the research committee of the Inter-professional Association for Social Insurance, such a study produced the following findings:

First, if, in accordance with the provisions of the workers' bill, all incomes of \$5,000 a year and over were taxed at the same rate as now prevails in England, the Federal Government would increase its revenue from this source alone by more than five times. Thus, in 1928, 5¼ billion dollars could have been raised in this manner instead of the slightly more than one billion which was actually obtained. It should be pointed out in this connection that the rates of taxation in France and Germany are even higher in some brackets.

Secondly, corporation taxes in the United States are likewise extremely low. If, for example, a flat rate of 25 percent were imposed on all corporation earnings of \$5,000 per year and over, we could have raised in 1928, \$2,600,000,000 instead of the less than \$1,200,000,000 which was actually raised in this manner.

Thirdly, present taxation on inheritance and the transfer of estates by gifts is as low as 1 percent, on the average. In consequence of this, the total income for the State and Federal Governments from this source was in 1928 only \$42,000,000 on total transfers of \$3,500,000,000. Even on the basis of a flat 25-percent tax on such transfers—inheritance, gifts—the revenue in 1928 from this source could have been increased to \$888,000,000.

Fourthly, a seldom-mentioned but very important source of possible revenue would be a tax on now tax-exempt securities. This, it should be pointed out, is not a new source, since at one time there were no tax-exempt securities. By 1932 such securities were abroad in the amount of \$15,000,000,000. Since that time a tremendous increase has produced such securities in an amount which approximates \$28,000,000,000.

Finally, let us indicate one more neglected source of revenue. Legislators who unhesitatingly introduce sales taxes and other nuisance taxes upon the impoverished masses, choose to overlook the great accumulations of wealth that are listed as corporate surplus. The net corporate surplus in 1928 amounted to \$47,000,000,000. Even after 3 crisis years, in 1932 the total corporate surplus still amounted to over \$36,000,000,000. A corporate surplus represents undistributed wealth. It is from such surplus that corporations continue to pay dividends and high salaries long after the workers who produced,

this wealth have been reduced to pauperism. Thus, while labor has lost 60 percent of its earnings since 1929, very little change has taken place insofar as interest charges and funded debt. There has been practically no change in the years of 1929 to 1932, and even in 1933 payments on this account were only 5 percent less than in 1929.

With your permission we will file for the record tables that show just how an unemployment and social-insurance program such as we need and demand could be financed by tapping these neglected sources of revenue. I might state here that this as well as other material has been more fully elaborated in the recently concluded hearings on H. R. 2827 before the Labor Subcommittee of the House of Representatives.

This committee would do well to turn its attention to the problem of reaching these sources of revenue. Until this has been done—until a tax rate such as prevails in England and other countries where labor has been able to exert greater pressure upon government is established—we refuse to accept excuses now offered by those who decry demands for adequate social insurance.

The sponsors of the Wagner-Lewis bill who go into hysterics when mention is made of proposals for genuine social insurance cry that it is impractical. It suits their purpose to bracket the Lundeen, workers' unemployment, old-age, and social-insurance bill, H. R. 2827, with such ridiculous concoctions as the Townsend plan. We say that there can be no comparison between our program and the program of Townsend, Huey Long, Father Coughlin, and the various other demagogues whose only purpose is to exploit the misery and discontent of the masses. On the contrary, there is greater affinity both in motive and in content between the Townsend plan and the administration's program,

Neither the Wagner-Lewis bill nor the Townsend plan can provide a practical system of social insurance. Both try to detract attention from what must be the source of funds—tax upon high income and wealth accumulations. Instead, both plans propose to impose new tax burdens upon the masses, even though these taxes when raised will not serve to provide the funds necessary for the accomplishment of their professed purpose.

The Townsend brain storm proposes a 10-percent sales tax to gladden the hearts of the rich. But even if such a monstrous tax were imposed and collected, and even if sales reached the 1929 level, the total proceeds would provide only \$50 a month, or one-fourth of the amount which the sponsor of this plan calls for.

Likewise, the Wagner-Lewis bill, which pretends to be a social-security measure, is in fact merely another revenue act. As the Secretary of Labor already admitted before this committee, there is nothing in the bill which would compel the Government to use a single penny of the funds raised by this act for social insurance or relief purposes. On the contrary, these funds will, according to this Cabinet member, be available for the building of more battleships and other war purposes.

Thus while pretending to provide social security this act helps promote further insecurity for the masses who are menaced by war as well as by hunger. By means of this act, the Federal Government sidesteps the demand for a Federal system to meet a Nation-wide problem and condition. Instead it passes the buck to the several

States. Moreover, it seeks to aid those forces in the various States who are fearful lest the masses compel enactment of more nearly adequate measures. The Wagner-Lewis bill lends Federal aid to those who declare that the unemployed must be excluded from all possible benefits. The Wagner-Lewis bill suggests a method whereby even those who are not otherwise excluded shall be compelled to wait until at least 1938 before they can hope to come under the doubtful safeguards which this plan would provide. In testimony before the House labor subcommittee, Dr. Harry Lurrie, the well-known social worker, pointed out that a sample study in the city of Davton, Ohio, demonstrated that even if such a plan as the Wagner-Lewis bill had been in operation 5 years previous to the present crisis, less than 10 percent of those now unemployed would be eligible for any benefits whatever.

Those who show such great concern for the handful of multi-billionaires of this country, do not hesitate to suggest that the impoverished producers shall, when unemployed or handicapped by old age, be reduced to existence on a maximum of \$15 per week. Even this miserly amount is to be withheld until after a worker has been forced to exhaust such pitiful reserves as he may have during a 4-week waiting period. Then this bill proposes that after a maximum period of 15 weeks, the worker is to be set adrift or turned into a forced laborer on some so-called "public works project" at the less than subsistence rate of under \$50 per month.

We will not attempt to detail all the many other obnoxious features of this so-called "social-security bill." We do wish to inform this committee that the masses are not to be fooled by such a hideous caricature of a social-insurance program. For proof of this we refer you to the records of the hearings before the labor subcommittee on H. R. 2827. Nearly 70 witnesses appeared in ~~these~~ hearings. They came from all parts of the country, from practically every important industry, workers, farmers, professionals, veterans, Negro, and white, men, women, and youths. Their testimony will show that they are doing serious thinking about the problems with which they are faced; Congress will do well to realize that the masses who are held in contempt by the self-anointed leaders and self-styled statesmen, are learning from the bitter experiences of these more than 5 years. They are learning to think; to see through the ballyhoo and penetrate through the organized campaign of silence and censorship which is directed against all plans and programs that make a serious practical attempt to end the present insupportable conditions. They may lack academic training, but they have that good common sense which Mr. Hearst and others like him, consider merely the special attribute of those Americans who know how to steal and cheat and exploit and thereby amass millions of unearned wealth. They have the aid and support of the trained technicians who along with the entire productive population face hunger, destitution, and destruction in a land of plenty. Some can still be led astray and deceived for a time with such panaceas as the Townsend plan. But we who are close to the masses know that the Townsend plan is by no means as widely supported as the press would have us believe. The movement behind the Townsend plan is as unsound as is the plan.

The movement for genuine social insurance rests upon the rock-bottom foundation of the basic organizations of the producing masses.

The trade unions, whose membership is sweeping aside even the opposition of their official leaders; the fraternal organizations, whose membership is originally attracted by reason of the need for a form of mutual aid in sickness and in death, but who now find that the very crisis which produces the need for protection against loss of income, serves to destroy the effectiveness of the organizations they established for such an eventuality; the veterans, who see the same forces opposing their demand for social insurance as stand opposed to their demand for immediate payment of their deferred wages, the so-called "bonus"; the Negro masses, who see that they are excluded and discriminated against in the administration's so-called "social security program" even as they were discriminated against in every other measure adopted by the present and past administrations; the professional, the domestic workers, the farmers, the self-employed persons who are rapidly sinking into the ranks of the pauperized mass; these are the forces who constitute the movement for genuine unemployment and social insurance.

Of their spokesmen who testified in the hearings before the labor subcommittee of the House, not a single one uttered a word of approval for either the Townsend plan or the equally impractical and deceptive Wagner-Lewis bill. Each explained what kind of social insurance they, as experts on their own needs and the needs of their fellow workers, require and demand.

Since it would be impossible to offer amendments to a bill which is deliberately designed to evade and defeat the demand for social insurance, we will not attempt to offer amendments to the spurious social security bill which is before this committee. Instead we wish in conclusion to outline briefly the principles that must be incorporated in a social insurance measure that corresponds to present conditions, needs, and demands of the masses.

A genuine unemployment and social insurance program must be designed to safeguard the masses against any lowering of the living standards. It must serve to increase purchasing power, stimulate productivity in the interest of a higher living standard and lead to the necessary redistribution of wealth that is now withheld from circulation.

Therefore, compensation must be at least equal to the average wages which workers could earn if permitted to work in their own normal occupation and locality. It must in no case be permitted to fall below a fixed minimum health and decency level.

Such compensation can and must be provided by and only at the expense of the Government and employers. No contribution in any direct or indirect form should be levied upon workers and other low-income groups.

All workers, regardless of age, occupation, color, sex, nationality, citizenship, religious or political belief, must be assured such compensation for all time lost because of involuntary unemployment, old age, industrial accident, or sickness and maternity.

Representatives directly elected by the workers themselves should administer the social insurance system so that it will be operated in accordance with their interests, conditions, and needs.

These principles are not arbitrarily posed. They are the product of several years of exhaustive discussion around the problem. They do not represent a utopia. They represent a practical program

developed out of the needs and experiences of the great masses who suffer and face the hazards inherent in the present system. They are not developed for an ideal society. They are developed to meet conditions created by present day society and are consistent with the present economic resources of the country. They will not provide security. There can be no real security under the present system. But such a system will provide compensation for insecurity at the expense of those who profit from the system which creates insecurity.

With the help of competent statisticians and economists we have studied the possible cost of such a system of unemployment and social insurance. In making such studies we have kept in mind the fact that the cost will not be greater than that which we workers are now forced to pay for conditions beyond our control for which we are not responsible. We feel no need to offer any apologies for the possible cost involved in the establishment of safeguards for the welfare and very existence of the great masses who are the majority of the population. We have no desire to minimize this cost. We, the wage and salary workers of this country have lost 60 billions of dollars in income since 1929. No one has yet made apologies or amend to us.

But in ascertaining the cost, we have established that it will not represent a fanciful and unrealizable figure. Taking into consideration, the fact that money paid out as compensation for unemployment, and so forth, would be converted into increased purchasing power and would thus be converted into a means for increasing production and employment, our estimate shows that the total cost of social insurance such as we propose would be on the basis of 10 million unemployed, \$3,561,000,000. A complete statement on this, together with tables showing how these figures are arrived at, is available and with your permission we can file this for the record.

Since we cannot amend the, utterly insupportable Wagner-Lewis bill, we call upon this committee to reject it and recommend for immediate enactment, the workers' unemployment, old age, and social insurance bill which is the only measure now before Congress that incorporates the principles essential to a genuine unemployment and social insurance measure. We ask you to frame and recommend the adoption of a companion bill to H. R. 2827.

With the permission of the committee, I would be glad to file the tables that I have referred to with regard to the sources of funds, with regard to the cost.

The **CHAIRMAN**. They may be filed.

Mr. **BENJAMIN**. And if the committee desires, I am in a position also to file for your information a brief on the constitutionality of the workers unemployment and social insurance act which has been prepared by the international juridical association.

The **CHAIRMAN**. Give a copy of that to the clerk so that the committee may have it.

Senator **BLACK**. I would like to find out if the figures you gave in there with reference to incomes, and so forth, do you give us the references there to the sources from which you are paid—that is, the Nation?

Mr. **BENJAMIN**. Yes, sir; we are giving you herewith both an analysis of that and the tables as such on the basis of which these figures were arrived at.



Senator **BLACK**. I think I had a letter from you or from someone stating in reference to a question I asked on the stand a few days ago as to the part of the national income which went to wages and other sources. Someone wrote me a letter and said they had those figures taken from a census report. Are you the one that wrote that letter?

Mr. **BENJAMIN**. I cannot say that I am.

Senator **BLACK**. Have you those figures?

Mr. **BENJAMIN**. I have figures here that show what the total income of the Nation has been and what the total loss has been in income and what share of that loss has been suffered by the workers.

Senator **BLACK**. The question I had asked was the amount that went to labor from the incomes in value of the manufactured articles. Someone wrote me a letter and said that they had those figures taken from the census. You do not have them?

Mr. **BENJAMIN**. No, sir. We have figures here that indicate, and on that basis we have estimated the possible amount of reemployment that would be developed by the payment of unemployment and social insurance. We find that 60 percent of the total of purchasing power goes back into wages, and in that sense we find a distribution of the income as of 60 percent.

(The matters referred to by Mr. Benjamin in his testimony are as follows:)

#### THOUSANDS OF ENDORSEMENTS

We publish below for the first time, the most complete available list of organizations and other bodies who have formally endorsed the workers unemployment and social insurance bill.

Imposing as this list is, it nevertheless includes only such organizations and bodies as have made known their action to either the National Unemployment Council, the A. F. of L. Rank and File Committee for Unemployment Insurance and the Fraternal Federation for Social Insurance. Undoubtedly hundreds and perhaps thousands of additional organizations have taken similar action in support of genuine social insurance but have failed to notify any of the bodies that have been conducting the campaign for the workers' bill.

Of the greatest significance and importance is the extensive list of trade-union organizations and locals. These as well as many of the other organizations lent their endorsement in the face of the bitter opposition of the official national leaders of the American Federation of Labor and other spokesmen for such inadequate measures as the Wagner-Lewis bill. These endorsements therefore represent the considered and firm conviction of millions of men and women of every industry and occupation in every part of the country who have learned to discriminate between spurious and genuine unemployment and social insurance plans.

**We** print this list at this time because it can be of great help to the committees and groups in all cities in the effort to secure delegates to the National Congress and in every struggle for unemployment and social insurance. **We** also take this occasion to urge all the listed organizations to follow up their endorsement by joining in the necessary united effort to compel favorable action by the **Seventy-fourth** Congress.

#### CITY COUNCILS, COUNTY, AND MUNICIPAL BODIES

Connecticut: City council, Bridgeport.

Idaho: City council, Coeur d'Alene.

Illinois: City councils, Belleville, Benald, Casey, Caseyville, Collinsville, Tarvey, Midlothian, Norwood Oak, Rockford, Thayer, Viriden, and Ziegler.

Iowa: County Board of Des Moines.

Kentucky: County board, Covington.

Maine: County board supervisors, St. George.

Michigan: City councils, Caspian, Platt, Sault Ste. Marie, board of supervisors, Baraga County, advisory board district council of Detroit City Commission, Sault Ste. Marie.

Minnesota: City councils, Eveleth, Hibbing, Minneapolis, Rochester and White City Fire Department, Eveleth.  
 Missouri: City council, St. Louis.  
 Montana: City council, Great Falls.  
 Nebraska: Douglas County Board, Omaha.  
 New Jersey: City councils, Bayonne Clifton, Garfield, Linden.  
 New York: City council, Buffalo.  
 Ohio: City councils, Bedford, Brooklyn Village, Canton, Landale, and Toledo.  
 Oklahoma: Montgomery County commissioners, city council, Cushing.  
 Oregon: City councils, Iilamath Falls and Portland.  
 Pennsylvania: Town councils, Freedom Boro, Sonway, Defience, Dudely, Longandale, city councils, Allentown, Anrold and Conway, Dickson City, Forest Hills, Glassport, Swissvale and Wilkensburg, school board of Challfont Boro.  
 Washington: City councils, Aberdeen, Tacoma.  
 Wisconsin: City councils, Cudahy, Racine, Milwaukee, Superior, West Allis, Lake.

#### VETERANS ORGANIZATIONS

Italian Es-Servicemen's League, Bridgeport, Corm. ; Veterans' National Rank and File Committee, District of Columbia; American Legion post, Chicago, Ill.; 3 American Legion posts, Schenectady, 4 American Legion posts, Long Island, Big Six Post Veterans of Foreign Wars, New York, Workers Ex-Servicemen's League, New York, Daily News American Legion Post, United States War Veterans, Manhattan Camp 1, United States War Veterans, George R. Tilly Camp 66, United States War Veterans, Roosevelt Camp 10, United States War Veterans, Abraham Lincoln Auxiliary 54, New York City, N. Y.; American Legion post, Glassport, Pa. ; American Legion posts, West Virginia.

#### INTERNATIONAL UNIONS

Iron, Steel, and Tin Workers, Amalgamated Association.  
 Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers, International Union.  
 American Federation of Full Fashioned Hosiery Workers.  
 Moulders' Union of North America.  
 Textile Workers of America, United.

#### STATE FEDERATIONS OF LABOR

State Federation of Labor, Arkansas.  
 State Federation of Labor, Colorado.  
 State Federation of Labor, Iowa.  
 State Federation of Labor, Montana.  
 State- Federation of Labor, Nebraska.  
 State Federation of Labor, Rhode Island.

#### CENTRAL LABOR UNIONS

San Diego Federated Trades and Labor Council, San Diego, Calif.  
 Central Labor Union, Danbury, Conn.  
 Central Labor Union, Gibson County, Ind.  
 Trades Labor Assembly, Sioux City, Iowa.  
 Federation of Labor, Kalamazoo, Mich.  
 Central Labor Union, Minneapolis, Minn.  
 Central Labor Union, St. Louis, Mo.  
 Building Trades Council, Great Falls, Mont.  
 Cascade Trades and Labor Assembly, Great Falls, Mont.  
 Central Labor Union, Grand Island, Nebr.  
 Central Labor Union, Lincoln, Nebr.  
 Central Labor Body, Atlantic City.  
 Central Labor Union, Newark.  
 Essex Trades Councils, Newark, Essex, N. J.  
 Central Labor Union, Albuquerque, N. Mex.  
 Central Labor Union, Jamestown, N. Y.  
 District Council of Queens and Nassau Counties, N. Y.  
 Trades Assembly, Schenectady, N. Y.  
 Bradford Trades Assembly, Bradford, Pa.  
 Federation of Labor, Hazelwood, Pa.  
 Central Labor Council, Pittsburgh District, Pa.

Central Labor Union of Jeanette, Pa.  
 Central Labor Union of New Kensington.  
 Federated Trades Council, Reading, Pa.  
 Federated Labor Union, Providence, R. I.  
 Building Trades Council, Providence, R. I.  
 Federation of Labor, Salt Lake City, Utah.  
 Central Labor Union, Spokane, Wash.  
 Trades Labor Council, Racine, Wis.

**LOCAL UNIONS**

*Asbestos Workers, International Association of Heat and Frost Insulators*

Local 31, Providence, R. I.

*Barbers' International Union, Journeymen*

Locals: 175, Danbury, 72, Norwalk, Conn.; Belleville, Ill.; 182, Boston, Mass.; 913, Brooklyn, N. Y.; 2, Philadelphia, Pa.; Salt Lake City, Utah.

*Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America*

Chicago, Ill. 2519; Benkelton, Pa. 43; Fresno, 79, 244 New York City, Calif.; 14, Portland, 68, 237, N. Y.; 49, 39, 334 Cleveland, 177 Youngstown, Ohio; 45 Boston, Mass.; 204 Pittsburgh, Y.; Pa.; 122 Providence, R. I.; 473 Bellingham, Wash.

*International Alliance of Bill Posters and Billers of America*

Local: 49 Seattle, Wash.

*International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and Helpers*

Locals: 303 Butte, Mont.; 77 Milwaukee, Wis.

*International Brotherhood of Boiler Makers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America*

Locals: 244 Sioux City, Iowa; 81 Readville, Mass.; 104 Seattle, Wash.; 249 Huntingdon, W. Va.

*International Union, Brewery, Flour, Cereal, and Soft Drink Workers of America*

Locals: Butte, Great Falls, Mont.; Tacoma, Wash.; Newark, N. J.

*Bricklayers, Mason and Plasterers International Union of America*

Locals: Baltimore, Md.; 2 Detroit, Mich.; 19 St. Louis, Mo.; Brooklyn, 3 locals in New York, N. Y.; 18 Cincinnati, Ohio; 3 Philadelphia, Pa.; Providence, R. I.; 2 locals, Oshkosh, Wis.; 8 Milwaukee, Wis.; 5 Huntingdon, W. Va.

*Building Service Employes' International Union*

Locals: 1077 New York, N. Y.; 125 Providence, R. I.

*Bridge and Structural Iron Workers International Association*

Locals: 420 Reading, Pa.; 2416 Portland, Oreg.; 350 Atlantic City, N. J.

*Carmen of America, Brotherhood Railway*

Locals: 227 Chicago, Ill. and 210; 23 Princeton, Ind.; 2031, '266 Sioux City, Iowa; 56 Atchison, Kans.; 431 Bay City, 1054 Detroit, 641 Port Huron, Mich.; 299 Minneapolis, Minn.; 628 Providence, R. I.; 823, 1085 New York, N. Y.; 698 Spokane, Wash.

*International Wood Carvers' Association of North America*

Locals: Philadelphia, Pa.; Chicago, Ill.; New York.

*National Federation of Post Office Clerks*

Local: 10 New York, N. Y.

*Retail Clerks, International Protective Association*

Local: 753 Philadelphia, Pa.; Butte, Mont.

*Cigarmakers' International Union of America*

Locals: 225 Salt Lake City, Utah; 14 Chicago, Ill.

*Coopers, International Union of North America*

Local: 9 Philadelphia, Pa.; 54 Detroit, Mich.

*United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America*

District councils: Carpenters District Council, Kansas City, Mo. 29th Annual Convention, N. J. State Council of Carpenters, Newark, N. J.

Locals: 1687 Montgomery, Ala.; 1089 Phoenix, Ariz.; 891 Hot Springs, Ark.; 210 Stamford, Conn.; 132 District of Columbia; 352 Anderson, 1953 Greencastle, 487 Linton, Ind.; 523 Keokuk, 948 Sioux City, Iowa; 1784, 416, 419, 13, 58, 62, 181, 504 Chicago, 896 Crystal Lake, 1366 Quincy, 16 Belleville-Springfield, Ill.; 720 Auburn, 11, 56, 157 Boston, 297 Brockton, Mass.; 116 Bay City, 337 Detroit, 1299 Iron River, 1199 Pontiac, Mich.; 361 Duluth, 7, 1865 Minneapolis, 87 St. Paul, Minn.; 1329 Independence, Mos.; 286 Great Falls, Mont.; 2237 Bayonne, 349 East Orange, 119, 1782 Newark, 299 Union City, N. J.; 2717 Brooklyn, 2372 Garnersville, 66 Jamestown, 2090, 2163 New York City, 163 Peekskill, 1115 Pleasantville, 203 Poughkeepsie, 1660 Raymondsville; 188 Yonkers, N. Y.; 224 Cincinnati, 1180, 2159 Cleveland, 735 Mansfield, 186 Steubenville, Ohio; 226, 2218, 2154 Portland, 1065 Salem, Oreg., 2008 Ponca City, Okla.; 59 Lancaster, 207 Chester, 122, 277, 1050, 1051, 1073, 1856, 2194 Philadelphia, Pa.; 1695 Cranston, 810 Kingston, R. I.; 2016 Eastland, 1666 Kingsville, Tex.; 1984 Magna, Utah; 317 Aberdeen, 562 Everett, 1184, 1335 Seattle, 84, 98 Spokane, Tacoma, Wash.; 161 Kenosha, 2244 Little Chuta, 849 Manatowoc, 1053, 2073 Milwaukee, 4G0 Wausau, Wis.; 1620 Rocksprings, 1241 Thermopolis, Wyo.

*Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America*

Joint Council St. Louis, Mo.; Joint Board of Philadelphia, Pa.

Locals: 1 Boston, Mass.; 4 New York, N. Y.; 75 Philadelphia, Pa.; 38 Chicago, Ill.

*Draftsmen's Union, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects*

Local: 54 Milwaukee, Wis.

*International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers of America*

Locals: 82 Los Angeles, Calif.; 122 Great Falls, Mont.; 292 Minneapolis, Minn.; 31 Brooklyn, N. Y.; 623 New York City; 65 Butte, Mont.; 48 Sioux City, Iowa.

*International Union of Operating Engineers*

Locals: Sioux City, Iowa; 5 Detroit, Mich.; 34 Minneapolis, Minn.; 48 Los Angeles, Calif.; 3 Brooklyn, N. Y.; 506, 506a, 835 Philadelphia, Pa.; 37 Providence, R. I.; 83 Spokane, Wash.

*International Engravers Union of North America*

Local: 5 Chicago, Ill.

*Federal unions*

Ice and Cold Storage Workers, 16918 Centralia, Casket Makers, 19306 Chicago, Ill.; Automobile Workers, United, Federal Labor, 18677 Detroit, Ternsted Local of United Auto Workers Union, Detroit, Buick Local A. F. of L., Flint, Mich.; Federal Local 19253 Great Falls, Mont.; Dental Laboratory Technicians, 18405 St. Louis, Mo.; Federal Labor Union, 19128 Lincoln, Nebr.; Aeronautical Workers, Federal Labor, 18286 Buffalo, N. Y.; Midvale Steel Federal Union, Philadelphia, Brass Bobbin Winders, 14659 Philadelphia, Brass Bobbin Winders, Philadelphia, Radio Workers, Federal Labor, 18832 Philadelphia, Pa.; Auto-

bile Workers, United Federal Labor, 18614 Cleveland, Ohio; Federal Labor, Providence, R. I.; Federal Labor Union, 19155 Breckinridge, Tex.; Sawmill, 19515 Huntington, Chemical Workers, 18634 Huntington, W. Va.; Federal Labor (Vincent McCall), 18846 Kenosha, Simmons Bed Federated Union, 18456 Kenosha, Federal Labor, 18546 Milwaukee, Wis.

*International Association of Fire Fighters*

Locals: 37 Chicago, Ill. ; 301 Burlington, Iowa; 96 Butte, Mont.; 287 Long Beach, Long Island, N. Y.

*International Brotherhood of Firemen and Oilers*

Locals: 32 Detroit, Mich.; 13 Spokane, Wash.

*International Fur Workers' Union of United States & Canada*

Local: 3 Brooklyn, N. Y.

*International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union*

Locals: 65, 64 Los Angeles, Calif.; 64 Chicago, Ill.; 20, 22, 66 New York, N. Y.

*United Garment Workers of America*

Locals: 75 Philadelphia, Pa.; 27 Minneapolis, Minn.

*Window Glass Cutters' League of America*

Local: 528 New York, N. Y.

*American Flint Glass Workers' Union*

Locals: 93 Chicago, Ill.; 2 Glassport, Pa.

*International Glove Workers' Unions of America*

Local: 69 Gloversville, N. Y.

*Granite Cutters, International Association of America*

Locals: Concord, Penacook, N. H.; Barre, Vt.

*United Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers International Union*

Locals: 10 Danbury, Conn.; 8 New York, N. Y. ; 6 Philadelphia, Pa.

*International Hod Carriers, Building & Common Laborers' Union of America*

Locals: 591 Santa Barbara, 270 San Jose, Calif.; Bridgeport, Conn.; 455 New Haven, 524 Norwich, 499 Stamford, Conn.; Belleville, Centralia, Zeigler, Ill.; Princeton, Ind. ; Waltham, 210 Worcester, Mass.; 563 Minneapolis, Minn.; 150 Butte, 278 Great Falls, 187 Missoula, Mont.; 690 Newark, 31 Union City, N. J.; 141 Port Chester, 435 Rochester, N. Y.; 173 Pittsburgh, Pa.; 271 Providence, R. I.; 242 Seattle, Spokane, Wash.

*Hotel and Restaurant Employees and Beverage Dispensers, International Alliance*

Locals: 94 San Francisco, 271 Petaluna, Calif.; 781 Washington, D. C.; 733 Detroit, Mich.; 34 Minneapolis, Minn. ; 109 Newark, 508 Atlantic City, N. J.; 325, 2 Brooklyn, N. Y.; 72 Cincinnati, Ohio; 659 Dallas, Tex.

*Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel, and Tin Workers*

Locals: 709 New Britain, Conn.; 184 Sioux City, Iowa; Sparrows Point, Md.; 410 Great Falls, Mont.; 149 Clairton, Pa.; Ellwood City, 169 Ellwood City, 68, 67 Johnstown, Pa.; 37 Providence, R. I.; 1 Follansbee, W. Va.

*Jewelry Workers Union International*

Locals: 2 Newark, N. J.; 1, 21 New York.

*International Union of Wood, Wire, and Metal Lathers*

Locals: 305 Great Falls, Mont.; 113 Sioux Falls, Iowa; 455 Lake Worth, Fla.

*Laundry Workers, International Union*

Local: 108 St. Louis, Mo.

*United International Union Leather Workers*

Locals: New York, N. Y.; Chelsea, Mass.; 52 Philadelphia, Pa.

*Lithographers' International Protective and Beneficial Association of the United States and Canada*

Local: 5 St. Louis, Mo.

*Longshoremen's International Association, Pacific Coast Convention*

Locals: 38, 12 Seattle, Wash.

*Machinists International Association of Convention of International Association of All Machinists of New England, Boston, Mass.*

Locals: 84 Berwyn, 234, 83, 337, 915 Chicago, 390 Park Ridge, Ill.; 178 Sioux City, Iowa; 404 Baltimore, Md.; 64 Massachusetts; 1122 Detroit, Mich.; 459 St. Paul, Minn.; Concord, N. H.; 816 Hokoken, N. J.; 447, 402, 226 New York, 417 Staten Island, N. Y.; 162, 729 Cincinnati, 439 Cleveland, 203 Akron, 404 Youngstown, Ohio; 187 Sharpsville, Pa.; 119 Newport, 110 Newport, R. I.; 79 Seattle, Wash.; 57 Huntington, W. Va.; 116 Milwaukee, Wis.

*International Association of Marble, Slate, and Stone Polishers, Rubbers and Sawyers, Tile and Marble Setters, Helpers and Terrazzo Helpers*

Locals: 62 Philadelphia, Pa. ; 8 Providence, R. I.; 47 Milwaukee, Wis.

*Amalgamated Meat Cutters & Butcher Workmen of North America*

Locals: 333 Butte, Mont.; 545 St. Louis, Mo.; 18, 174 New York, N. Y.; 110 Philadelphia, Pa.

*Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees*

Locals: 1077 New York, N. Y.; Sioux City, Iowa.

*Sheet Metal Workers' International Association*

Locals: 2 Stockton, Calif; 615 Buffalo, 137 New York, N. Y.; 329 Salisbury, N. C.; 37 Providence, R. I.; 446 Great Falls, Mont.

*International Union of Mine, Mill, Smelter Workers*

Local: Bessemer, Ala. ; Eveleth, Minn.; 3 Bingham, Utah; Spelter, W. Va.; 125 Iron River, Mich.; 1636 Kansas City, Mo.; Salt Lake City, Utah.

*United Mine Workers of America*

Locals: 3664 Auburn, 3543 Benton, 52, 1397 Centralia, Glen Ridge, 3644 Gillespie, 2840 Middlegrove, 2109 Nashville, 721 Pana, 2403 Springfield, 720 Staunton, 691 Troy, 5599 Westville, Ill.; 6303 Bicknell, 5584 Princeton, Ind.; 13 Des Moines, 916 Hitema, Iowa; 191 South Hibbling, Minn.; 1 Butte, Mont.; 4472 Glen Robins, 5497 Powhatan, Ohio; 1451 Connerton, 2399 Dairytown, 4439 Fayette, 494 Homer City, 1560 Lost Creek, 807 Maple Hill, 2587 Raven Tun 1545 Terty Fort, 5383, 3506 Renton, 1398 Shaft, 2611, 113, 2346, 1509, 1414, 14-23, 1685, 6109, 1467 Shenandoah, Three Locals Westmoreland, Six Mile Run, 4439 South Brownsville, 458 Swoyersville, Pa.; 6147 Besoco, 6107 Killarney, 6106 Meade, 2980 Pimberton, W. Va.; Ladies Auxiliary 920, Pittsburgh, Ladies Auxiliary 762 Pittsburgh, Pa.

*International Molders' Union of North America*

Locals: 161 Stamford, Conn.; 182 Belleville, 275 Chicago, 153 Hazelcrest, Ill.; 24 Baltimore, Md.; 388 Kalamazoo, Mich.; Anaconda, Mont.; 84 Buffalo, 78 Watertown, N. Y.; 27 Cleveland, Ohio; Cheltenham, Philadelphia, 111 Philadelphia, 348 Reading, Pa.; 171 Port Orchard, 158 Seattle, 338 Spokane, Wash.

*American Federation of Musicians*

Locals: 403 Willimantic, Conn.; 219 Stanton, Ill.; 24 Akron, Ohio; 362 **Huntington**, W. Va.

*Oil Field, Gas Well and Refinery Workers of America*

Chemical and Oil Workers Union, Oakland, Calif.; Local 210 Hammond, Ind.

*Brotherhood of Painters, Paperhangers and Decorators of America*

District councils: Painters District Council 46, Los Angeles, Painters District Council, San Francisco, Calif.; District Council-Advisory Bd. Painters Bro., Detroit, Semiannual Conference Mich. State Painters, Lansing, Mich.; Painters District Council Kansas City, Mo.; Painters District Council, Newark, N. J.; Painters District Council 21, Philadelphia.

Locals: 713, 449 Glendale, 235, 5 Hollywood, 1346 Inglewood, 256 Long Beach, 1065, 92, 1345, 1348, 51, 202, 1345, 51, 831, 792, 644, 511, 636, 202, 1348, 1063 Los Angeles, 92 Montrose, 1147 Roseville, 315 San Jose, 821 Venice, 441 Whittier, 949 Wilmington, Calif.; 930 Denver, Colo.; 190 Bridgeport, 1276 Westport, Conn.; 368 Washington, D. C.; 1088 Dayton Beach, 1321 Clearwater, 1175 Coral Gables, Fla.; 193 Atlanta, Ga.; Belleville, 627, 275, 294, 637 Chicago, 863 Lake Forest, 460 Hammond, 111.; 1215 Boone, Iowa; 277 Atlantic City, 653 East Rutherford, 997, 426 Haddon Heights, 705 Irvington, 777 Newark, 174, 140 Passaic, 144 Perth Amboy, N. J.; 201 Albany, 442 Brooklyn, 504 Flushing, Long Island, 822 Glen Cove, 721 Islip, 498 Jamestown, 121 Long Island City, 848, 892, 499, 997, 1101, 905, 261 New York City, 707 Oneida, 1035 Richmond Hill, Long Island, 795 Rockaway Beach, Long Island, 1134 Rockville Center, N. Y.; 229 Kansas City, Kans.; 1244 New Orleans, La.; 623 Chelsea, 258 Boston, Mass.; 675 Dearborn, 42, 357, 591, 37, 552 Detroit, Mich.; 9 Kansas City, Mo.; 1086, 386 Minneapolis, 681 Rochester, 540 Winona, Minn.; 720 Butte, 260 Great Falls, Mont.; 50, 308, 866, 531 Cincinnati, 765, 867, 128 Cleveland, 1103 Mentor, 546 Toledo, Ohio; 443 Okmulgee, 935 Tulsa, Okla.; 788 Sandusky, 438 Steubenville, 476 Youngstown, Ohio; 751 Gibsonia, 1114 Danesville, 380 Lancaster; 887 Oil City, 306, 997, 703, 632 Philadelphia, 479, 282, 6, 84 Pittsburgh, Pa.; 15 Central Falls, 195, 692 Providence, R. I.; 586 Spartanburg, S. C.; 965 Jackson City, Tenn.; 123 Gilman, Vt.; 743 Olympia, 1220 Tacoma, 1114 Janesville, Wash.

*Pattern Makers League*

Local: Detroit, Mich.

*Paper Plate and Bag Makers*

Local: 107 New York City, N. Y.

*Paving Cutters' Union of the United States of America and Canada*

Locals: Clark Island, 108 Tenants Harbor, '9 Thomaston, Maine; 43 Woodstock, Md.; 53 Rockport, Mass.; Concord, N. H.

*Plasterers International Association of the United States and Canada United*

Locals: 87 Montgomery, Ala.; 343 Long Beach, 460 San Francisco, Calif.; 32 Denver, Colo.; Bloomington, Ill.; 155 Baltimore, Md.; 65 Minneapolis, Minn.; Omaha, Nebr.; 60 New York, N. Y.; 1 Cincinnati, 7 Toledo, 179 Youngstown, 214 Hamilton, Ohio; 40 Providence, 182 Franklin, R. I.; 31 Pittsburgh, Pa.; 746 Mount Vernon, 77 Seattle, Wash.; 110 Great Falls, Mont.; 428 Racine, Wis.; 352 Ovel, Wyo.

*United Association of Plumbers and Steam Fitters of the United States and Canada*

Locals: 230 San Diego, Calif.; 18 Sioux City, Iowa; 64 Northampton, Mass.; 98 Detroit, Mich.; 41 Butte, 139 Great Falls, Mont.; 1 Brooklyn, 206 Elmira, N. Y.; 98 Cleveland, 108 Hamilton, Ohio; 42 Reading, Pa.; 476, 29 Providence, R. I.; 504 Beaumont, Tex.; 608 West Allis, Wis.

*International Union Metal Polishers*

Locals: 6, 277 Chicago, Ill.

*Printing Pressmen's and Assistants' Union of North America*

Locals: 140 San Diego, Calif.; 147 Wichita, Kans.; 3, 4 Chicago, Ill.; 196, New Brunswick, N. J.; 23 New York City, N. Y.

*International Brotherhood of Pulp, Sulphite, and Paper Mill Workers of the U. S and Canada*

Locals: 37 East Millinocket, 27 Woodland, Maine.

*United Textile Workers' of America-Plush Weave*

Local: 471 Philadelphia, Pa.

*Quarry Workers, International Union of North America*

Locals: 82 Rockport, 81 Lanesville, Mass.

*Railway Brotherhood, Order of Railway Conductors of America*

Local: 55 Port Jervis, N. Y.

*Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen*

Local: Milwaukee, Wis.

*Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers*

Delegates from 150 divisions of locomotive engineers, Kansas City, Mo. ; locals: 405 Milwaukee, Wis.; West Virginia.

*Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen*

Locals: 23 Jersey City, N. J.; 183 Cleveland, Ohio; Montivedo, Minn.; 1 Port Jervis, N. Y.

*Order of Railway Conductors of America*

Locals: 69 El Paso, Tex.; 1 Oak Park, Ill.; 698 Chicago, 227 Chicago, Ill.

*United Slate, Tile, and Composition Roofers, Dam and Waterproof Workers' Association*

Locals: 80 Great Falls, Mont.; 4 Newark, N. J.

*International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees and Moving Picture Machine Operators of the United States and Canada*

Locals: 130 Altoona, Pa. ; 361 Kenosha, Wis. ; 475 Eau Clair, Wis.; 598 Marion, Ohio; 644 New York, N. Y.; 3 in Sioux City, Iowa; 150 Los Angeles, Calif.; 306 New York, N. Y. ; 223 Providence, R. I. ; 460 Racine, Wis.; International Alliance of-Projectionists, New York, N. Y.

*International Stereotypers' and . Electrotypers' Union of North America*

Locals: 8 East St. Louis, Ill.; 114, 15 Dayton, Ohio.

*Journeyman Stonecutters' Association of North America*

Locals: Akron, Ohio; Concord, N. H.

*Switchmen's Union of North America*

Locals: 240 Liberia, Kans.; 291 Paducah, Ky.

*International Typographical Union*

Locals: 231 San Jose, 899 Whittier, 221, 21 San Diego, Calif.; 41 Atlanta, Ga.; 491 Pocatello, 241 Turvi Falls, Idaho; 330 Berwyn, 215 Decatur, 306 Alton, Ill.; 292 Cedar Rapids, Iowa; 590 Hobart, 10 Indianapolis, Ind.; 727 Hibbing, Minn. ;



131 Elmhurst, Long Island; 6 New York, N. Y.; 499 Okmulgee, Okla.; 62 Toledo, 2 in Toledo, Ohio; 242 York, Pa.; 43 Charleston, S. C.; 202 Seattle, Wash.; Daily News Chapel, New York City, N. Y.

*Journeymen Tailors' Union of America*

Locals: Youngstown, Ohio; 46 Buffalo, N. Y.; 131 Pittsburgh, 323 Bethlehem, Pa.; 1.06 Spokane, Wash.; 86 Milwaukee, 282 Green Bay, Wis.

*American Federation of Teachers*

Local: 256 Grand Rapids, Mich.

*International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen, and Helpers of America*

Locals: 429 Reading, Pa.; Los Angeles, Calif.; Atlantic City, N. J.; Duluth, Minn.; 156 Philadelphia, Pa.

*United Textile Workers of America*

'United Textile Workers Convention; District Council of American Federation of Full Fashion Hosiery Workers of New Jersey; District Council of American Federation of Full Fashion Hosiery Workers of New York, New York City, N. Y.; Convention of American Federation of Hosiery Workers, Reading, Pa.

Locals: New Orleans, La.; 31 Northampton, Mass.; 1733 Paterson, 2052 Union City, N. J.; 8 New York, N. Y.; Allentown, 4 Langhorm, 1750, 702, 1589, 1526, '706 Philadelphia, Pa.

*Upholsterers' International Union of North America*

Locals: 75 Baltimore, Md.; 77 Philadelphia, Pa.

**INDEPENDENT UNIONS**

*California*

Agricultural and Cannery Workers Industrial Union.

*Connecticut*

Shoe Makers Association of New Haven.

*Illinois*

Progressive Miners of America of Cuba, Taylor Springs, and Springfield, Workers Alliance Union of Staunton.

*Massachusetts*

Weavers Progressive Association of Fall River.  
Workers Protective Union of Lowell.  
National Textile Workers Union.

*Michigan*

Registered Pharmacists Association of Detroit.  
Sheet Metal Workers of Detroit.  
Auto Workers Union of Detroit.  
International Society of Detroit.  
United Workers of Detal Co. of Escanaba.

*Minnesota*

Packinghouse Workers Industrial Union.

*New York City*

Association of Laboratory Technicians.  
American Newspaper Guild.  
Alteration Painters.

Drygoods Workers' Union.  
 Food Workers Industrial Union.  
 Furniture Workers Industrial Union.  
 Glass and China Decorators Industrial Union.  
 Laundry Workers Industrial Union.  
 Marine Workers Industrial Union.  
 Needletrades Workers Industrial Union.  
 Tobacco Workers Industrial Union.  
 Steel and Metal Workers Industrial Union.  
 Soft and Bristle Hairdressers Union.  
 Toy Workers Industrial Union.  
 Photographic Workers Industrial Union.

*Ohio*

Mechanics Educational Society, Cleveland.

*Pennsylvania*

Union of Beaver County of Rochester.  
 National Miners Union of Pittsburgh.  
 United Ribbon Workers Association of Allentown.  
 Independent Coal Operators Association of Shamokin.  
 Independent Union of the Columbia Steel and Shaft Co. of Carnegie.

*Rhode Island*

American Independent Textile Workers Union of Pawtucket.

*Texas*

Laborers Association of Breckenridge.  
 Asociacion de Domesticos.  
 Asociacion de Jornaleros.

*Washington*

Fisherman and Cannery Workers Industrial Union of Seattle.  
 National Lumber Workers Union of Seattle.

**CLUBS**

*Connecticut*

New Britain Association of Lithuanian Workers, Inc., Br. 108, Lithuanians' Citizens Independent Club, Polish Workers, Scandinavian Entertainers, Scandinavian Workers, First Polish, Slovak Political.

*Illinois*

Polish Democratic Club, Chicago, Progressive Workers of Brookside Township, Polish-American Citizens, Chicago Heights, Hunters Protective Club.

*Michigan*

Chippewa County Workingmen's of Sault Ste. Marie, Slovak American Citizens Club.

*New York City*

Associated Workers Club, Moshulu Progressive, Pelham Parkway Workers, New Youth Group, Fordham Progressive, Tremont Progressive, Midas Youth, Ridgewood Youth, Utica Center, Canarsie Workers, New Youth, Progressive Workers, Social Youth, Progressive Community Center, American Youth, Taxpayers Civic Ann's of Maspeth, Inc., Italian American Progressive, New Group, Pequots Ladies Social, Tamacqua Social, Unionport Political, Yorkville Workers, A. C., Oceana Social, Boro Park Culture, New Group, New Culture, Rugby Youth, Red Sparks, Cli Grand, West Side, W. C., New Youth Center, Hollis Circle Democratic Club, Elmhurst, Crematorial Society Bremer Ladies, James W. Husted Fellowcraft, National John Reed Clubs, Italian American Progressive Club.

*New Jersey*

American Slovak Citizens' Club.

*Ohio*

Julian Marchlewski Polish Club, Doumanian Democratic Social Club.

*Pennsylvania*

Polish Club, Carnegie, Workers Educational Club, Monessen, Polish Workers Club, Fairhope Rod and Gun Clubs.

**FRATERNAL ORGANIZATIONS***California*

Workermen's Sick and Death Benefit fund of U. S. A.

*Connecticut*

Italian Fraternal Association.

St. Stanislaus Society 102 Polish Union of America.  
Daughters of Mary.

St. Vincent Society.

L. D. S. Youth Branch 143.

Modern Woodman of America Camp 10431.

Grand Duke Withold.

Ladies Evangelical Congregational Circle.,

National Slovak Society.

Slovak Evangelical Union A. C. of America.

Hungarian Aid Association of America.

Education Zirgvoikis Benefit Society.

International Workers Order.

St. George Benefit Society.

St. Andrews Benefit Society.

St. Joseph Benefit Society.

St. Kasimer Benefit Society Lithuanian.

Russian Mutual Aid Society of America.

Sons and Daughters Benefit Society..

Towarzystwo, Swietego Kryzyza.

*Illinois*

Russian National Mutual Aid Society.

Mutual Protective Association Inland Steel Local.

Scandinavian Unity Conference.

Italo-American National Union.

Aido Chorus.

Slovak Evangelical Union A. C. of America.

*Indiana*

Slovak Evangelical Union A. C. of America.

*Iowa*

Slovak Evangelical Union A. C. of America.

*Louisiana*

Knights of Peter Claver.

*Montana*

Slovak Evangelical Union A. C. of America.

International Workers Order.

Slovak Evangelical Union A. C. of America.

*Maryland*

Polish American Citizens League.

*Massachusetts*

Polish District Chamber of Labor.  
Tadensz Kosiuszko.  
S. B. Liasve's Chorus.

*Minnesota*

Slovak Evangelical Union A. C. of America.

*Missouri*

Slovak Evangelical Union A. C. of America.  
International Workers Order.

*West Virginia*

Slovak Evangelical Union. A. C. of America.

*Michigan*

Lithuanian Art Chorus.  
United Ukrainian Toilers.  
Italian Lodge.  
Czechoslovak Baptist Church.  
Evangelical Slovak Women's Union.  
National Slovak Society.  
Slov. Ev. Av. Confession Union.  
All Saints Society.  
Slovak Evangelical Union A. C. of America.  
United Sausage Distributors Union L. 122.  
Slovak Gim U Sokol.

*New Jersey*

International Workers Order.  
Association of Lithuanian Workers.  
Russian National Mutual Aid Society.  
Slovak Evangelical Union A. C. of America.  
Russian National Mutual Aid Society.  
Elso Newarki Magyi Garoby Gaspar B. S. E.  
Rakocsi Hungarian Sick Benefit Association.  
Verhovay Aid Association.  
Czechoslovak Society of America, Lodge 236, Dunellen, N. J.  
Bohemian Workers Sick and Death Society.  
Hungarian Workers Home and Amateur Society.  
Joseph Poniatowski Beneficial Ass'n, Inc.  
Carteret Workers Ass'n.  
Slovak Gymnastic Union, Sokol, Lodge 220.  
Slovak National Society.  
National Slovak Society.  
First Catholic Slovak Union.

*New York City*

Independent Order of Odd Fellows: Thomas Jefferson Lodge 441; Pannonia Lodge 185.  
Knights of Columbus: Brendan Council 306; Vincentian Council.  
Foresters of America: Grand Court State of New York; Court 16, 200, 211, 211, 349, 439, 453.  
Independent Sons of Italy: Supreme Lodge.  
Sons of Italy Grand Lodge: Loggia Cesare Battisti 583; Loggia Uguaglianza 83.  
Workmen's Circle: Branches 35, 38, 396, 405, 407, 417, 515, 554, 956.  
Workmen's Sick and Death Benefit Fund: National Committee; Manhattan Agitation Committee; Branches 1, 6, 23, 24, 25, 28, 70, 103, 157, 158, 180, 224.  
Biellese Workers Mutual Society.  
Geisen Sick Benevolent Society: Ind. Ostrolenker Y. M. B. A.  
Adolph Ullman Aid Society: Radnick Chorus.  
Slovak Evangelical Union A. C. of America: Branch 28.  
International Workers Order: 1,100 Branches.  
International Workers Order, Youth Section: 450 Branches.

Independent Tomashpoler Society.  
 Prager Warschauer Y. M. A. S.  
 Russian National Mutual Aid Society: Branches 45, 47, 65, 66, 69, 86, 88, 104.  
 Slovak Catholic Sokol Society.  
 Woodman of the World, Liberty Camp 279.  
 Workmen's Benevolent and Benefit Society.  
 Loggia B. Cellini.  
 First Dimerer Progressive Society.  
 Sun Ray Democratic Association.  
 Fraternal Federation for Social Insurance.  
 Bershader Benevolent Society.  
 Catholic Sokol.  
 Fathers Club of the Lavanburg Homes.  
 Societa' Campobello di Mazzara.  
 Societa' Cittadini di Favara.  
 Societa' Concordia Partanna.  
 Societa' Cor Bonum Corigliarrere.  
 Societa' Progressiva Italiana.  
 Ribera Mutual Aid Society.  
 Sant'Agata Militello Rosmarino.  
 S. M. S. Sauteramio in Colle.  
 Unita' Adornese di M. S., Inc.  
 Societa' Mutuo Soccorso Furnarese.  
 Association of Lithuanian Workers, Inc., Branch 13, 14, 15.  
 Association of Lithuanian Workers, Youth Branch.  
 Lithuanian St. George's Society.  
 Roumanian Christian Society.  
 Roumanian Society Avram Iancu.  
 Ukranian Benefit Society "Bukowina".  
 Ukranian Free Alliance.  
 Vereinigte Arbeiter Kranken und Sterbe Kasse, of N. A. Branch 6.  
 Arod and Vicinity Sick and Benevolent Association.  
 First Stepiner Benevolent Association.  
 Warschauer Brotherly Love Benevolent Society.  
 First Orgayever Benevolent Association.  
 Maramaros Young Men's Society of Brooklyn.  
 First Stepiner Benevolent Society.  
 Lomzer Young Men's B. A.  
 Ind. Forest Odessa S. Ben. Association.  
 Polonker Society.  
 Odesser Young Ladies Benevolent Ass'n.

*New York State*

Independent Sons of Italy in America.  
 Workmen's Sick and Death Benefit Fund Branches 211, 28.  
 Russian National Mutual Aid Society.  
 Association of Lithuanian Workers.  
 Slovak Evangelical Union A. C. of America.  
 Bohemian Citizens Benevolent Ass'n.  
 Workmen's Circle Branch 221.

*Ohio*

Slovak Evangelical Union A. C. of America.  
 Societa' di Mutuo Soccorso.  
 San Nicola Savoia di San Polo Matese.

*Pennsylvania*

Superior Order of Lithuanian Local 3.  
 Pennsylvania Slovak Union.  
 Croatian Benefit and Education Society.  
 Croatian Fraternal Union 94.  
 Slovenian National Benefit Union 505.  
 Dante Alighieri Society, Inc.  
 Fraternal Order of Eagles of Pitcairn.  
 Polish Beneficial Association of St. John Ceanitus.

American Slavic Benevolent Association.  
 Italian Sons and Daughters of America.  
 Polish Workers Aid Fund N-107.  
 Ukranian Women's League.  
 Lemko Association, Chapter 8.  
 A. L. D. L. D., Branch 399.  
 National Slovak Society.  
 Slovak Evangelical Union A. C. of America.

*Rhode Island*

Swedish Workingmen's Association.

*Wisconsin*

Italian-American Society.  
 Blue Bird Lodge 116.  
 W. A. Gardner Lodge 191.  
 Polish National Alliance.  
 Slovak Evangelical A. C. of America.

**WOMEN'S ORGANIZATIONS**

Lithuanian Girls and Ladies Benefit Society, New Britain; **International Women's Council**, New Haven, Conn.; **P. M. A. Women's Auxiliary**, Belleville, Ill. ; Ukranian United Toilers Women's Section, Br. 4 Detroit, **Mich.**; United Council Working Class Women, New York; Ladies Auxiliary to United Mine Workers of America 762, South Brownsville, Pa.; Women's Auxiliary International Association of Machinists **Loc.**, Milwaukee, Wis.

**UNEMPLOYED AND RELIEF WORKERS' ORGANIZATIONS**

*California*

California Workers Association.

*Colorado*

Workers Unemployed Council of **Nucla**.

*Connecticut*

Unemployment Protective Association of New Haven.

*Florida*

Florida State Federation of Workers League, Tampa.

*Kansas*

American Workers Union.

*Illinois*

Chicago Workers Committee.  
 Illinois Workers Alliance.

*Indiana*

Fort Wayne Unemployed League.

*Massachusetts*

Springfield Unemployed League.

*Michigan*

Single Men's Club of **Gaspian**, Iron River.

*Minnesota*

Central Council of Workers of Minneapolis.  
 Roosevelt C. W. A. Club of Eveleth.

*Montana*

Butte Workingmen's Union 12985 of Butte.

*New Mexico*

Clayton Unemployed Council.

*New York*

South Shore Unemployment Association of **Elmont**, Long Island.  
 Eastern Federation of Unemployed and Emergency Workers.  
 Unemployed Hatters Union 8.  
 Workers Unemployed Union.  
 County Unemployed and Relief Workers Union of Schenectady.

*Ohio*

National Unemployed League, Columbus.

*Pennsylvania*

Unemployed Ribbon Workers Association of Allentown.  
 Unemployed Citizens League of Allegheny County.  
 Workers Relief Protective Association of Erie.  
 Roosevelt, New Deal Federation of Monessen.  
 Druggist Unemployed of Philadelphia.  
 Unemployed Teachers Council of Philadelphia.

*South Dakota*

United Workers League of Sioux Falls.

*Washington*

Relief Workers Association of Port Angeles.

*West Virginia*

West Virginia Unemployed League District 2 (22 locals) of Huntington.  
 Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers Unemployed Union.  
 West Virginia Unemployed Leagues.

*Wisconsin*

Wisconsin Federation of Workers Committees of **Racine**.  
 Communist Party of America.  
 Farmer Labor Federation, Minnesota.  
 Socialist Party, Bridgeport, Conn.  
 Bethlehem, Pa.  
 Young Communist League.  
 Young People's Socialist League, Washington, D. C.  
 Scandinavian Workers League, New Britain; A. M. E. Zion Methodist Church;  
 Inter-Racial Protective League; Chicago, Ill.; A. M. E. Zion Methodist Church,  
 Baltimore, Md.; Conference of Jewish Social Service, Atlantic City, N. J.;  
 League of Struggle for Negro Rights, American Youth Congress; Brighton  
 Beach Parent Teachers Society, Class Room Reachers Groups, Social Workers  
 Discussion Club, Interprofessional Association for Social Insurance, Federation  
 of Architects, Engineers, Chemists and Technicians, Associated Office and Pro-  
 fessional Emergency Employees, League Against War and Fascism, Interna-  
 tional Labor Defense, Daily News Subs' Club, New York City, N. Y.; Church  
 of Assembly of God, Cushing Okla.; Young Bay Coop Diary, Astoria, Oreg.;  
 Farmers National Committee of Action, Pennsylvania; A. M. E. Zion Methodist  
 Church, Philadelphia, Pa.

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NATIONAL ACTION COMMITTEE FOR GENUINE SOCIAL INSURANCE

Chairman: F. Elmer Brown, N. Y. C.; vice chairman: Mary van Kleeck,  
 N. Y. C.-F. S. Kidneigh, Denver, Colo.—Joseph Vasas, Bridgeport, Conn.;  
 executive secretary: Herbert Benjamin, N. Y. C.; treasurer: T. Arnold Hill,  
 N. Y. C.

*Alabama*.-A. A. Thorpe, Switchmen's Union No. 46, Fairfield; Larry Walker,  
 U. C., Pratt City; Jos. Howard, U. C., Birmingham.

*Arkansas*.-Horace Bryan, U. C., Greenwood; Floyd Lowery, U. M. W. of  
 America, Midland.

California.-Harry Adams, Public Works and Unemployed Union, San Francisco; Harry Bridges, President San Francisco Local, International Longshoremens Association.

Connecticut.-Raymond Jonas, Pratt and Whitney Ind. Aircraft Union, Hartford; Joseph Nygren, Progressive Party of Naugatuck, Naugatuck; Joseph Vasas, Rokossi Hungarian Sick and Death Benefit Society, Bridgeport.

Colorado.-F. S. Kidneigh, Boilermaker and Iron Ship Builders, S. P., Denver (Local No. 179); Allan O. Herring, Farm Holiday Association, Cahone.

District of Columbia.—Harold Hickerson, national chairman, veteran rank and file committee, Washington.

Florida.-Ricardo Diz, U. C., S. Jacksonville.

Georgia.-J. A. Moreland, I. W. O., Atlanta.

Illinois.-William Frame, Progressive Miners of America, Local No. 1, Gillespie Elmer Johnson, Painters Local No. 637, Chicago; Nuck Orphanos, Amalgamated Steel and Tin Association No. 52, Gary; Karl Lockner, U. C. of Cook County, Chicago; Frank Hamilton, Small Home and Land Owners Federation of Illinois, Chicago; Rudolph Martinowix, Czechoslovak United Front, Chicago.

Iowa.—Ira R. Meade, Iowa U. C., Des Moines.

Kansas.-Carl O. Glenn, State Organizer American Workers Union, S. P., Kansas City; Waldo McNutt, National Chairman, First National Youth Congress Topeka.

Kentucky.-Jim Garland, U. C., Pineville.

Louisiana.-Richard Babb Whidden, S. P., Alice Pratts, U. C., New Orleans.

Maine.—Frank H. Maxfield, State secretary of Main S. P., Portland.

Maryland.-Cass Bailey, United Building Trades Federation, Baltimore; William Seeberger, Washington Lodge No. 3 Masons, Baltimore; Rabbi Edward L. Israel, Central Conference of American Rabbis; Broadus Mitchell, Professor, John Hopkins University.

Massachusetts.—Roscoe Faretta-Local No. 9, United Shoe & Leather Wkrs. Union, Haverhill; Philip V. Moore-V. Pres. Interstate Discrimination Council, U. T. W., Indian Orchard; Pres. Ludlow Local of U. T. S.; Benjamin E. Waite—United Shoe & Leather Workers Union, Lynn; Jasob Hirsch-Lasters Local, Bro. Shoe and Allied Crafts, Brockton; Karl Kimberley-Decorators Branch of Plasterers Local No. 10, Bedford; Seymoud E. Allen-No. 18385 Federal Labor Union, Springfield.

Michigan.-Richard Kroon-Sec'y A. F. of L. Committee for Unemployment Insurance, Detroit; J. F. Chapman—General President, Mechanics Ed. Society of America.

Minnesota.-John Baker-A. F. of L. Committee for Unemployment Insurance, Minneapolis; H. G. Bearson—Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers Union, Gov. Olson Local, Eveleth; A. D. Offley-U. F. L. Holiday Ass'n, U. C., Ottertail County, Vergas; R. R. McGraw--Labor Advancement Ass'n, Truck Drivers Local No. 346, Painters Local No. 106, Duluth.

Missouri.-John Dav-Route No. 1, Joplin, U. U.

Nebraska.—Carl Filsinger-Farmers' Holiday Plan; Herschel Martin—Amal. Butchers Union.

New Mexico.—R. F. Richards-U. S., Albuquerque; John Socoro-Spanish League, Los Vegas.

New Hampshire.-Malcolm D. Young—U. T. W. Local No. 2301, Treasurer, Sunapee.

New Jersey.-John Turgyan-Hungarian Action Corn., Trenton; Joseph Jannerelli-Dyers Local No. 1733 A. F. L., Patterson; Fred Haug-State Fed. of Unemp. & Relief Workers Orgs., Irvington; W. H. O'Donnell, Jr.-Chairman State Fed. Unemp. & Relief Orgs.; Ed. Wintenberger-Painters Local No. 989, Newark.

New York.- M. Cowl-Womens Committee, N. Y. C.; McQuiston-Marine Workers Unemp. Council; Fred Milton-I. L. A.; Ben Gold-Needle Trades Wkrs. Ind. Union; Harry Warner—Local No. 75 Bricklayers; Phil Flick-Local No. 131 Painters, Mt. Kisco; Dora Rich-Womens Councils; Gardner Jones—Home Relief Bureau Association; Alexander Taylor-A. O. P. E. E.; Arthur Berry-L. S. N. R.; Albion Hartwell-I. P. A.; Jules Korchien-National Sec'y, Federation of Architects, Engineers, Chemists, and Technicians; Corliss Lamont—Author; Harry L. Lurie-Economist and Social Worker; William B. Spofford—Executive Sec'y, Church League for Industrial Democracy; Louis Weinstock—National Sec'y, A. F. of L. Committee for Unemployment Insurance; Alfred G. Winters-Personnel Director, American Ass'n. of Social Workers; Dr. Reuben Young-National Treasurer, League of Struggle for Negro Rights; H. S. Had-



dock-President, American Radio Telegraphers' Ass'n.; Herbert Benjamin—National Organizer, National Unemployment Council; John P. Davis, Joint Corn. for Nat'l Recov.; Peter C. Giambalvo, Supreme Council, Ind. Order Sons of Italy; H. Dulitzky, Workmen's Circle; George Primoff, Sec'y Fraternal Fed. for Social Insurance; Paul Brissenden-School of Business, Columbia University; Hevwood Broun—Pres. American Newspaper Guild; Earl Browder-General Sec'y, Communist Party, U. S. A.; F. Elmer Brown-National Chairman, Amalgamated Party, Int'l Typo. Union; Ben Davis, Jr.-Editor, The Negro Liberator; William Z. Foster-National Sec'y, Trade Union Unity League; Granville Hicks-Editor, New Masses, Troy; T. Arnold Hill-The National Urban League; Roy Hudson—National Sec'y Marine Workers Industrial Union; Grace Hutchins-Labor Research Ass'n; I. Amter-National Sec'y, National Unemployment Council, U. S. A.; Roger Baldwin-Director, American Civil Liberties Union; Max Bedacht-General Sec'y, International Workers' Order; John C. Hopewell-Traction Workers Union; Max Shulman-Typographical No. 6; Dolitsky-Workmen's Circle; Elsa Jansen-Workers Sick & Death Benefit Society; Theodore Mischell-National Fraternal Advisory Committee for Unemployment & Social Insurance.

Albany-Schenectady Territory: Clarence Carr-Pres. Ind. Leather Workers Union Local No. 1, Fulton County, Johnstown; Western & Central New York Territory; George Brickner—U. C., Buffalo; Ragnar Videll-S. M. W. I. U., Jamestown; Joseph Stenglein—Bakers Local No. 14, Rochester.

*North Dakota.*—D. J. Todd-Labor Association, Williston.

Ohio.—J. J. Vanacek-Chairman U. F. Committee Czech Slovak, S. P., Cleveland; Frank Rogers—City General Committee U. C., Cleveland; E. C. Greenfield-State Ch. Small Home and Land Fed., Ch. Sponsoring Corn.; Giny R. Venditti-Italian Fraternal United Front of Ohio, Bedford.

*Oklahoma.*—J. D. Smith-Heavener; John Parker-No. 7 Workingman's Union of the World, Spiro.

Oregon.—Dirk De Jonge-State U. C., Portland.

*Pennsylvania.*—Chas. Nolker-U. M. W. A., Library; Mike Stanovich—C. T. C. Pres. U. M. W. A., Renton; Frank Bury-Nat. Slovak Society, Pittsburgh, Pa.; Clark Noonan-Jeanette Central Trades Council, Rubber Worker, Jeanette; John Reedy-Am. Lace Operative Local No. 1, Philadelphia; O. J. Hull, Jr.—Midvale Steel Fed. Labor Union No. 18887, Midvale; Arthur H. Fauset—Am. Fed. of Teachers, Local No. 192, Philadelphia; Charles Sykes—Radio and Metal Workers Union (indep.), Philadelphia; Helen Pierce-U. C., Philadelphia; Paul Sturman—Slovak Evangelical Union A. C. of Am.; James Egan-Sec'y, Steel and Metal Workers Industrial Union; Lem Harris-Executive Sec'y, Farmers National Committee for Action, Philadelphia.

*Rhode Island.*—John Francis O'Brien—Vice Pres. Painters Local No. 195, Providence; Albert Jannuccillo-Providence Central Federated Union, Providence-Business Agent, Journeyman Barbers Union; Madilene Rondina—Alumnae Ass'n Bryn Mawr; Y. W. C. A. from Providence, R. I.; Earl P. Ormsbee-State Corn. S. P. of R. I., Providence.

*South Carolina.*—Niels Christensen-South Carolina Barter Exchange, Beaufort.

*Texas.*—E. V. McKinney—U. C., Dallas; J. D. Ansley-Harris City U. C., Houston.

*Tennessee.*—L. A. Weeks-Unico, Washington and Carter Counties Workers' Leagues, Jonesboro.

*Wyoming.*—Mack Smith-Farm Holiday Ass'n, Yoder.

Vermont.—Richard Truba-Granite Cutters' International, Barre.

*Virginia.*—Tilmon Cadle-U. M. W. A. Ky. Dist., Roda.

*Washington.*—W. H. Murray-U. C. L., Seattle.

*West Virginia.*—Luther Fast-U. C., Grafton; Odus Spiker-U. C., Morgantown.

*Wisconsin.*—Arnold Timpson-U. C., Gleason; W. A. Harju-Workers and Farmers' Cooperative Unity, Superior.

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TELEGRAMS OF GREETINGS TO THE CONGRESS WERE RECEIVED FROM THE FOLLOWING ORGANIZATIONS

Friends City Committee Unemployed Mens Councils Philadelphia; Holland Ohio Unemployment Council Local No. 2; Hungarian Workers Federation of Gary, Ind.; Unemployment Council, Akron, O.; Unemployed Council Local

No. 6, Woods Run, Pa.; United Farmers League of Dickey County, N. Dak.; Ella May Branch of the I. L. D., Brooklyn, N. Y.; Metal and Machinery Local No. 311, 92 Waverly St., Yonkers; New Lots Workers Club of Brooklyn, N. Y.; Workmans Sick and Death Benefit Fund, Ridgewood, N. Y.; Local Sponsoring Committee of Canton, Ohio; Twenty-Second Ward Cleveland Unemployment Council; Mass Meeting of Unemployed and Employed citizens of Bell County, Ky.; Italian Workers Society for Mutual Benefit of the West Side, Cleveland; Eastern Ohio Valley District Ways and Means Committee, Wheeling, W. Va.; Milk Drivers and Dairy Employees Union Philadelphia Local 60; Superior Wisconsin Finnish Working Womens Clubs; Members of Camp Williams Penn Number 14 Order of Brotherly Love, Philadelphia, Pa.; Thompson Street Unemployed Council No. 3, Philadelphia, Pa., Secretariat Minnesota Wisconsin District Finnish Working Womens Club, Superior, Wis.; Lemko J. R. S. of Cleveland, O.; A. F. L. Rank and File Committee, Oakland, Cal.-6 Locals A. F. L. Unions comprising 3,500 members; Sons of Labor Mutual Aid Society, Wilmington, Delaware; Small Home and Land Owners Federation Bohemian Members of Branch Five, Cleveland, Ohio; Mullen Local No. 9 I. U. M. M. and S. W., Mullen, Idaho; Get Together Club of Superior, Wis.; Workers of Mayfield, Cleveland, Ohio; Jewish Women's Council, Lynn, Mass.; Assembly of Societa' Artigiani, Philadelphia, Pa.; German Workers Club, Milwaukee, Wis.; District Plenum of I. W. O., South California; 150 members of the 10th ward assembly of the Unemployment Councils, Cleveland, Ohio; District Conference of Polish Sick Aid Incorporation, New York, N. Y., Canton Slovaks, Canton, Ohio; Members of Seventh Ward Club of Youngstown, Ohio; Members of Bohemian Branch of the International Workers Order, Cleveland.

Ohio and members of audience assembled in Bohemian National Hall, January 6; Workers Cultural League of Massachusetts, Dorchester, Mass. (representing 650 members) ; 600 workers representing many organizations, assembled in mass meeting and demonstration for unemployment insurance, January 6, San Francisco, California; Cleveland Unemployment Council Central Body representing 5,000 members; James Eagan Branch International Labor Defense, Pittsburgh, Pa.; Pharmacists Union of Greater New York; Jugoslav Branch 4251, IWO, of Cleveland, Ohio; National Convention Mechanics Education Society of America assembled in Cleveland, Ohio; Altro Work Shop of New York City; Uj Elore Hungarian Daily of Cleveland, Ohio; Executive Committee Socul Club, Brooklyn, N. Y.; Unemployment Councils of Buckeye, neighborhood of Cleveland, O.; International Workers Order of Cleveland, Ohio; International Workers Order, Branch 2550, of Cleveland, O.; Hungarian United Front for Social Insurance of Chicago, Ill., International Workers Order, Branch 1026, of Newark, N. J.; Bayridge Unemployment Council of Brooklyn, N. Y.; Oddz Spojnia of Detroit, Mich.; Youth of the Hungarian Workers Federation of Cleveland, Ohio; Centro Obrero Puertorriqueno of New York City; Central Federation Unemployed Citizens League of Seattle, Wash., Brighton Beach Unemployment Council of Brooklyn, N. Y.; Authors League of America of New York City; Ujich, Carlson, Popoff, Mannisto, Kettleinen, of Ellis Island; Fur Floor Workers Union, Local No. 3, of Brooklyn, N. Y.; Downtown Section of International Labor Defense of New York City; Workers League of Ludington, Mich.; Association of Employee Optometrists of New York State; Unit No. 4, Illinois Workers Alliance of Sandoval, Ill.; National Guardsman, 131st Infantry, 33rd Division, Chicago, Ill.

#### REPORT OF CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE

##### NUMBER <sup>1</sup> OF DELEGATES ACCORDING TO STATES

Alabama, 6; Arkansas, 9; California, 6; Colorado, 12; Connecticut, 54; Florida, 12; Georgia, 1; Indiana, 8; Illinois, 112; Iowa, 8; Kansas, 1; Kentucky, 7; Louisiana, 6; Maine, 5; Maryland, 70; Massachusetts, 89; Michigan, 48; Minnesota, 19; Mississippi, 4; Missouri, 4; Montana, 1; Nebraska, 1; New Hampshire, 7; New Jersey, 145; New Mexico, 3; New York, 904; North Carolina, 10; North Dakota, 2; Ohio, 217; Oklahoma, 1; Oregon, 1; Pennsylvania, 554; Rhode Island, 11; South Carolina, 1; Tennessee, 1; Texas, 6; Vermont, 6; Virginia, 39; Washington, 2; West Virginia, 15; Wyoming, 1; Wisconsin, 35; Canada, 1; District of Columbia, 61. Total number of delegates 2,506.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The above figure does not represent the total number of delegates present in Washington since some delegations failed to turn in all their registration cards with their credentials. In addition, many delegations conducted their own registrations and overlooked certain of the questions so that we must give an incomplete accounting on the questions: Male and Female present—Negro and White—Political, Fraternal, and Trade Union Affiliation.

## SOCIAL COMPOSITION OF DELEGATIONS

*Total of delegations*

American Federation of Labor .....	742
Local Unions .....	338
Independent Unions .....	221
Trade Union Unity League .....	207
Shop Delegates & Rank & File .....	37
Professional Unions- .....	145
Unemployed Organizations- .....	517
Fraternal Organizations .....	578
Political Parties- .....	53
Farm Organizations- .....	40
Other Divisions .....	370
Total .....	2,506

*Trade Union affiliation*

American Federation of Labor .....	742
Independent Unions .....	397
Trade Union Unity League- .....	291
Number Employed .....	1,046
Unemployed 6 Months .....	329
6 Months to 1 Year .....	189
1 to 2 Years .....	206
Over 2 Years .....	397
Female .....	463
Male .....	1,777

## ORGANIZATIONS OFFICIALLY REPRESENTED

*American Federation of Labor*

Cascades County Trades and Labor Assembly, Montana; Central Labor Union of Buck's County, Pennsylvania; Central Labor Union of Easton, Pa.; Central Labor Union of Newport, Rhode Island; Central Trades Council of Jeanette, Pa.; Providence Central Federated Union, Rhode Island; United Labor Council of Tarentum, and vicinity, Pa.; United Textile Workers Interstate Council; Painter District Council No. 10 of Newark, N. J.

And from locals of: Actors and Artists of America, Ass'n; Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International; Barbers' International Union, Journeymen; Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and Helpers International; Boot and Shoe Workers Union; Boiler Makers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America; Bricklayers, Mason and Plasterers, International; Brewery, Flour, Cereal and Soft Drink Workers of America; Building Service Employees, International; Carmen of America, Brotherhood Railway; Carpenters and Joiners of America; Cigarmakers' International Union; Clerks' International Protective Association, Retail; Clerks, National Federation of Post Office; Clothing Workers of America, Amalgamated; Engineers, International Union of Operating; Garment Workers of America, United; Garment Workers' Union, International; Glass Cutters' League of America, Window; Government Employees, American Federation; Granite Cutters International Association; Hatters of North America, United; Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union; Hotel and Restaurant Employees and Beverage Dispensers International; Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, Amalgamated; Lathers' International Union of Wood, Wire and Metal.

Laundry Workers International Union; Leather Workers, United, International; Lithographers' International Protective and Beneficial Association; Machinists, International Association of; Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, Amalgamated; Metal Workers International Association; Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, Inter.; Mine Workers of America, United; Moulders' Union of North America, Int.; Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America Brotherhood; Plasterers' International Association; Printing Pressmen's and Assistants; Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers; Stereotypers' and Electrotypers; Switchmen's Unions of North America; Teachers, American Federation; Telegraphers Union of North America; Textile Workers of America; Tobacco Workers International Union; Typographical Union, International; Upholsterers' International Union; Weavers Protective Association, American Wire.

*Local unions*

Federal Labor Union; Federal Labor Fisher Lodge; Federal Labor 18651; Federal Labor Battery Workers; Federal Labor Cleaners and Dyers; Federal Labor Union, Midvale Steel 18857; Federal Local 14659 Brass Bobbins Union; Federal Union, Amalgamated Lace Operators; Federal Local 19114; Battery Workers 18551; Citrus Workers, United; Cleaners and Dyers 18233; Die Casting Workers, National; Lead Oil Varnish and Paint Workers; Neckwear Makers 11016, United; Radio Television 18368; Shafting Workers Union; Suitcase and Bag Makers; USTM Lodge; Woolen Worsted 1586.

**INDEPENDENT TRADE UNIONS**

Alteration Painters; Amalgamated Chiropractors Association; American Newspaper Guild; Association of Laboratory Technicians; Associated Industrial Workers; Association of Philadelphia Co. Relief Board Employees; Association of Federation Workers; Building Trades Group; Building Service Union; Brotherhood Shoe and Allied Crafts; Car and Foundry Workers; Columbia Metal Stamping Products Workers; Construction Workers Independent Union; Coopers Independent Union; Dental Society Northern District; Dental Technicians Equity; Farmers and Workers Unempl. Union; Federation of Art Workers; Federation of Architects, Engineers, Chemists, and Technicians; Fish Workers Union; Furniture Workers Union; Hebrew Painters and Paperhangers; Independent Aircraft Workers of America; Independent Building Trades Union; Independent United Floor Workers Union; Independent House Wreckers; Laundry Cleaners and Dyers; Local Union of Plymouth; Mechanics Educational Society; National Association of Substitute Postal Employees; National Leather Workers; Nurses and Hospital Workers League; Pharmacists Union; Postal Workers of America; Progressive Miners Union; Radio and Metal Workers Union; Sharecroppers; Table Makers Union; Taxi Drivers Union; Textile Trimming Workers; Tool and Die Makers Club; Union of Private School Teachers; Union Mechanics Association; United Anthracite Miners of Pennsylvania; United Building Trades Federation; United Shoe and Leather Workers; United Telegraphers of America; and Waterheaters Union of Pittsburgh.

**TRADE UNION UNITY LEAGUE**

Trade Union Unity League; Trade Union Unity Council, N. Y.; Agricultural and Cannery Workers Industrial Union; Domestic Workers Industrial Union; Food Workers Industrial Union; Furniture Workers Industrial Union; Laundry Workers, Industrial Union; Marine Workers Industrial Union; National Miners Union; Needle Trades Industrial Union; Office Workers Union; Packing House Workers Industrial Union; Steel and Metal Workers Industrial Union.

**COMPANY UNIONS**

Catholic Union, Pennsylvania.

**RANK AND FILE GROUPS AND SHOP DELEGATES**

Amalgamated Clothing Workers; American Federation of Teachers; Cap Makers; Carpenters Union; Classroom Teachers; Cleaners and Dyers; Cloak Makers; Enjay Shop; Goldsheer Dress Company; Hatters; International Longshoremen Association; International Ladies' Garment Workers Union; Israel Zion Hospital; Knit Goods Workers; Local Workers Division of Painters and Paperhangers; Logansferry Blacklisted Coal Miners; Neckwear Group; Newspaper Group of Yorkville Advance; Painters Local; Pocket Book Workers; Shop Committee Altro Workshop, Inc.; Shop Easy Dress Shop Group; United Carpenters and Machinists Club.

**UNEMPLOYED AND RELIEF WORKERS ORGANIZATIONS**

Actors Emergency Association.; Amalgamated Labor League of Virginia; American Workers Union; Associated Independent Workers; Associated Professional, Office Emergency Employees; Carteret Workers Association; Chinese Unemployed Alliance; Community Club; Community Workers Council; Conference of Unemployed Groups; Cooperative Workers of New Castle, Pa.; County Relief Workers Union; Crawford County Labor Association; Dancers Emergency Ass'n; Elmont Unemployed Workers Association; Erie County

Lodging House; E. R. A. Workers Protective Union; Farmer Labor Union; Federation of Ohio; Federation of Unemployed; F. E. R. A. Teachers Organization; Gibson County F. E. R. A.; Home Relief Buro E. A.; Illinois Workers Alliance; Indiana Unemployed Union; Irvington Workmen's Relief Association; Italian Unemployed Groups; Labor Relief Organization of Wisconsin; Leonia Unemployed Relief Association; Maryland Unemployed Leagues; Metuchen Mutual Welfare; National Unemployment Council, U. S. A. (338 Delegates representing 150 cities) ; National Unemployment Council, Women's Committees; Niles Unemployed Union; Northampton, Pa., Unemployed Citizen's League; Ohio Unemployed Leagues; Owosso Chamber of Labor; Professional Workers Project Welfare Clubs; Public Relief Investigators; Public Works and Unemployed Leagues; Public Works and Unemployed Union; Recreation Leaders Association; Relief Association and Workers Clubs; Relief Workers League; Relief Workers and Unemployed Committees.

Relief Workers Union; Resident Workers Protective League of Mansfield; Right-to-Live Club; Stick-Together-Club; Summit Unemployed League; Social Security League of Ohio; Unemployed Citizens League of Seattle, Wash.; Unemployed Club; Unemployed Conference; Unemployed Council of Metal Trades Workers Ind. Union; Unemployed Council of Needle Trades; Unemployed Leagues; Unemployed League of Allentown; Unemployed Leagues of New Jersey; Unemployed League of Bethlehem, Pa.; Unemployed League of Columbus; Unemployed League of Emaus, Pa.; Unemployed League of Parsons, Pa.; Unemployed League of Plymouth, Pa.; Unemployed League of Pa.; Unemployed and Relief Workers Organizations; Unemployed and Relief Association ; Unemployed Relief Workers Union; Unemployed Relief Association of N. J.; Unemployed Teachers Association; Unemployed Union; Unemployed Workers Union; Unemployed Workers Association of Michigan; Unemployed Workers Union of Farrell, Pa. ; United Mine Workers of America-Unemployment Council; United Citizens League of Ohio; United Unemployed & Relief Workers Association of N. J.; United Unemployed Railroad Workers; United Workers League; Washington Co. (Tenn.) Workers League; West Side Workers Welfare Association; Workers Committee of Milwaukee Co.; Workers Committee on Unemployment; Workers Council of Kenton County; Workers Protective Association of Lancaster, Pa.; Workers Union of the World; Workers Protective Union of Ohio.

#### FRATERNAL ORGANIZATIONS

American Ass'n Fort Duquesne Lodge; American Democratic Club; American Lithuanian Literary Ass'n; American Lithuanian Workers Ass'n; Association Boleslevs the Great; Association of Lithuanian Workers (L. D. S.); Bricklayers Progressive Benevolent Club; Bridesburg Polish Club; Bohemian Sick and Death Benefit; Brotherhood Hebrew Painters Aid Ass'n; Bulgarian Macedonian Federation; Campo; Carteret Hungarian Federation; Columbus Italian Citizens Club; Columbus Hungarian (Columbus, Ohio) ; Societa' Concordia Partinus; Croatian Fraternal Union; C. S. P. J. Grand Lodge; Czech Catholic Society of Ohio; Czech Progressive Federation; Czecho-Slovak Society of America, Buffalo; Czech Society of America, Grand Lodge of Ohio; Czechoslovak Fraternal Federation, Hillside, N. J.; First Aid Hungarian Sick Benefit Society; Federation of Italian Societies, East Buffalo; Federation of Italian Societies; Finnish Literary Federation; Finnish Workers Federation; Finnish Workers Federation, Youth Section; George Washington, Betegsezodro; German Sick and Death Benefit; Hungarian Aid Society; Hungarian Association of Trenton; Haulick of Buffalo, Buffalo, N. Y.; Hungarian Church and Social Federation; Hungarian Federation of Culture; Hungarian Reformed Church; Hungarian St. James Society; Hungarian Workers Federation of Ohio; I. A. G. T. Traja No. 17; Ind. Order of Good-Templars, Burnside, Conn.

Independent Order Sons of Italy; International Workers Order (215 delegates representing 50 cities) ; Italian Progressive Institute; Jewish National Workers Alliance; J. S. K. J.; Karvygospar and Hungarian Workers Federation; Kossuth Association; Kraccsin-Fraternal-Sussardi; Kranken Unterstutzung Verein; Lemko Association; Lidumila J. C. D.; Lithuanian No. 29 Supreme Lodge; Lithuanian Workers Order; Lithuanian Workers Society; Lithuanian Sons and Daughters; Lodge of Daughters of Liberty; Lodge of Sobe-Slavia; Lodge 202 F. Union; L. S. L. A. Supreme Lodge; Magyar Home; Mansfield Liederkrantz; Masonic Lodge; Mutalista Obrera Mexicana; National Slovak Society\* ; National Slovak Society Supreme Lodge; No. 3555—Oddziat—Marchewski; Phila. Hungarian Singing; Polish American Citizens League of Pennsylvania; Polish American Youth League; Polish Chamber of Labor; Polish Crown Assn'.

Polish Peoples Home Ass'n.; Polish White Eagles; Polish Workmen's Aid Federation of Ohio.

Polonja Society; Rakozi Benefit Ass'n; Rovnort-Benefit-Baltimore; Russian-American Citizens Ass'n; Russian Benevolent Society; Russian National Mutual Aid Society; Serbian National Alliance; Scandinavian Workers Unity League; Sick Benefit Aid Ass'n; Sick Benefit Society; Slavist Lodge; Slovak Ass'n of Trenton; Slovak Evangelical Union, A. C. of America; Slovak National Benefit Society; Slovak Women's Club; S. N. P. J.; S. N. P. T.-T. S. K. J.-Export, Pa.; S. P. J. (Martha Washington Branch) ; S. S. C. N. of A., Trinidad, Colo.; Society of Fara S. Martino; Society of Old Czech Colonists; Sons of Italy Grand Lodge; Society Uniti Italy; Soccitia Phillippo Paligsiodi-vasto; South Slav Fraternal and Cultural Organizations; Trenton-Hungarian Businessmen's Ass'n; T. Y. M. Benevolent Ass'n; Ukranian Society Bukovina; Ukranian Workingmen's Ass'n; United Czechoslovak Society; United Hungarian Societies; United Russian League; United Ukranian Toilers; Villma Sokolova Y. J. C. D.; Vytaut Lithuanian Benefit Society; Workmen's Circle; Workmen's Sick and Death Benefit Fund.

(Lack of time and space prevents a listing of each local as of these various unions and Fraternal bodies. Such a listing is being prepared and will be subsequently published.)

#### AGRICULTURAL AND FARM ORGANIZATIONS

Farm Holiday Association; Farmers National Committee for Action; Farmers National Weekly; Free Acres Association; National Conference Agricultural, Lumber and Rural Workers; Ohio Farmers League; United Farmers League; United Farmers Protective Association.

#### COOPERATIVES

Associated Cooperative Trading Ass'n; .Central Council Cooperative Ass'n.; Consumers' Tradesmens Labor League; Farmers Cooperative Merchants Ass'n; Hungarian Workers Home; South Carolina Barter Exchange; Workers Colony Corporation, Bronx; Workers and Farmers Cooperative Unity.

#### CHURCH AND CIVIC ORGANIZATIONS

Anathot Spiritual Church; Baptist Church of Washington, D. C.; Father Divine's Peace Mission; First Hungarian Baptist Church; Holy Ghost Assembly of Moon Run, Pa.; Hungarian Baptist Church, Cleveland, Ohio; Hungarian Reformist Church; Rocco (Church) Benefit Society; United Church Societies of Farrell, Pa.; Y. W. C. A. of Washington, D. C.; Y. W. C. A. Nursery School of Charleston, W. Va.; Y. W. C. A. Industrial Dept. of Pennsylvania.

#### CULTURAL ORGANIZATIONS AND CLUBS

Aida Chorus and LDS; Allentown Workers Club; Ardelan Social Club; Armenian Workers Club; Balkan Workers Club; Boro Park Cultural Club; Bridge Plaza Workers Club; Bronx Park Center; Bronx Workers Club; Brownsville Workers Center; Bulgarian Workers Club; Canarsie Youth Club; Chilean Workers Club; Cli Grand Youth Club . Columbus Italian City Club\* Croatian Workers Club; Culture Club; Czech Democratic Club\* Downtown Workers Club; East New York Workers' Club; Estonia Workers Club; Fellow Craft Club; Finnish Workers Club; Fraternal Athletic Society; Freiheit Gesangs Ferein; German Painters Club; Grand Workers Club; Greek Workers Educational Club; Harlem Jewish Workers Club; Harlem Needle Workers Club; Harmonica Polish-American Citizens Club; Hinsdale Workers Club; Hungarian Singing Society of Ohio; Irish Workers Club; Italian American Club; Italian Workers Center; Jewish Cultural League; Jewish Educational Club; John Reed Clubs; Yugoslav Club; Lithuanian Club; Lithuanian Music Hall Ass'n; Lithuanian Workers Club; Middle Bronx Workers Club; Mosholu Progressive Club; New Dance Group; New England Youth Clubs; Obrana Readers Clubs; Pen and Hammer; Phoenix Park Club; Pierre Degeyter Club; Polish Workers Club; Proletpen; Prospect Workers Club; Roosevelt Workers Club; Roumanian Club; Round Table Discussion Club; Roxbury Civic Club; Roxbury Workers Club; St. Paul Workers Club; Scandinavian Workers Club; Social Labor Club; Spanish Workers Center; Spanish Workers Club; Spanish Workers League; Spartacus Workers Club; Tampa Workers Club; Turkish Workers Club; West Side Workers Club; Williamsburg

Workers Club; Workers Chorus of Philadelphia; Workers Cultural Club; Workers Cultural League; Workers Self-Educational Club; Workers Social League of Massachusetts; Zukunft Workers Club.

**EDUCATIONAL**

Affiliated School for Workers; Alumnae Association of Bryn Mawr Summer School of Women Workers; Benedict College Club; Commonwealth College; Easton Labor College; Fellowship House; Hunter College Bulletin; Jewish High School; Labor Research Association; New York City Summer School for Workers; New World Educational Association; Parents Association Bronx House; Parent Teachers Association of P. S. No. 60; Steinmetz Club of Cooper Union; The Workers School; Washington Irving Evening School; West Virginia Labor Summer Schools.

**NEGRO ORGANIZATIONS**

Baltimore Urban League; Baltimore Workers League; Industrial Dept. Federation of Colored Women; Joint Committee on National Recovery; League of Struggle for Negro Rights; National Negro League Council; National Urban League; New Negro Alliance; Warren Urban League; Young Women's Christian Association.

**PROFESSIONAL GROUPS**

Artists Association; Artists Union; Council of Allied Professionals; Dental Society; Economic Federation of Dentists; International League of Writers; League of Allied Medical Professions; Medical Society of Bronx County; Music Teachers Association; National Film and Photo League; Nursery School League; Playwrights Association; United Artists League; Teacher's Discussion Group; Theatre Collective.

**PROMOTIONAL ORGANIZATIONS**

A. F. L. Trade Union Committee for Unemployment Insurance; American Association of Social Workers; Association of Brooklyn Federation Workers; Association of White Collar Workers; Association of Workers in Social Agencies; Central Registration Bureau of C. W. A.; Czechoslovak Association for Unemployment Insurance; Fraternal Federation for Social Insurance; Interprofessional Association for Social Insurance; Italian Organizations for Social Insurance; Italian Society for Social Insurance of Pennsylvania; Jewish Conference for Social Insurance of Pennsylvania; Jewish United Front Committee for Social Insurance; Jugoslav Association for Unemployment Insurance; New York Association of Federation Workers; Northumberland Inter-County Organization for Unemployment Insurance; Social Workers Discussion Club; Slovak Fraternal Federation for Social Insurance; University Settlement Rank and File; Workers Unemployment Insurance Club.

**SOCIAL SERVICE AND SETTLEMENT HOUSE WORKERS**

Alma Mathews House; Birth Control Federation; Bronx League for the Protection of Children; Graduate School for Jewish Social Work; Harlem House; Hebrew Orphan Asylum; Hebrew Sheltering and Guardian Society; Jewish Social Service Association; Jewish Board of Guardians; Lavenberg House; League for the Protection of Children; Psychological Exchange; Wesley Everest.

**TENANT AND SMALL HOME OWNERS ORGANIZATIONS**

Austrian Property Owners Protective Association; City Federation Garden Club; Knickerbocker Village Tenants Asso's; Tenants ASSO's, 2830 Olinville Ave., Bronx, N. Y.; Small Home and Land Owners of New Jersey; Small Home Owners Federation of Illinois; Small Home and Land Owners Federation of Ohio.

**UNITED FRONT CONFERENCES AND NEIGHBORHOOD MEETINGS**

Alliance of Lithuanian Organizations of New Jersey; Bergen County Conference for Unemployment Insurance; Bronx Neighborhood Sponsoring Committee; Chicago Conference Lithuanian Citizens; Conference of Jewish Organizations; Conference of Russian Organizations; Conference of Lithuanian Benefit Societies of Pennsylvania; Conference of Hungarian Fraternal Organizations of Corapolis, Pa.; Conference of Fraternal Organizations of Monnessen, Pa.; Conference of 52 Organizations of Ohio; Conference of Croatian Organizations of Pittsburgh; Conference

of Polish Organizations of New Jersey; Connecticut Local Convention; Czech United Front Committee of 82 Organizations; Czecho Workers Organizations; Czechoslovak Action Committee; East Side Neighborhood Association; Finnish United Front Committee; Fitchburg Conference; General Conference of Buffalo; Greek Federation; Hancock United Front; Hungarian Conference of Buffalo; Hungarian United Front of Columbus; Hungarian United Front of Milwaukee; Hungarian Association of Carteret; Italian United Front of Ohio; Jewish Workers Clubs of Chicago; Jewish Conference of Cleveland, Ohio; Lithuanian Unity Conference; Long Island Sponsoring Committee; Mass Meeting of Coney Island; Millinery United Front; Mass Neighborhood Meeting of Philadelphia; Middle Village Sponsoring Committee New York City; Mount Eden Sponsoring Committee; Neighborhood Committees of Action; Neighborhood Group 14 and 15, New York City; New Jersey Sponsoring Committee.; New York City Sponsoring Committee; 180th Street Sponsoring Committee; Polish United Front Conference; and Polish United Front of Providence.

Roumanian Conference Organizations; Russian Workers Organizations; Scandinavian Workers Unity League; South Slav United Front of Ohio; Slovak Workers United Front of Wisconsin; Sponsoring Committee of Columbus; Sponsoring Committee of Philadelphia; United Front Conference of Chicago; United Front Czech Organizations; United Front Conference of Jamestown; United Jewish Fraternal Committee.; United Front Conference of Cleveland; United Front Conference of Bridgeport, Ohio; United Front of Finnish Organizations of Cleveland; United Front of Hungarian Organizations of Dayton, Ohio; United Front of Hungarian Organizations of Lehigh Valley; United Front of Hungarian Organizations of Allentown; United Action Committee of Erie; United Front of Slovak Organizations of Throop, Pa.; United Czechoslovakian Organizations of Penna. ; United Lithuanian Organizations of New Jersey; United Front of German Societies of Wisconsin; United Slovak Church Organizations of Wisconsin; United Front Conference of Polish Organizations of Ohio; Ukrainian United Front of Pennsylvania; Washington Arrangements Committee; Westchester Mass Meeting; West End Sponsoring Committee.

#### VETERAN GROUPS

American Legion Post 108; 33rd Division of National Guard; Veterans Rank and File Committee; Voters Veteran League; Workers Ex-servicemen's League.

#### WOMEN'S ORGANIZATIONS

Czech Ladies' Club (Grand Lodge) ; Daughters of Armenia; Finnish Women's Workers Clubs; Finnish Working Women; Glenville Council Women's Federation; Jewish Mothers Council; Ladies' Auxiliary of Unemployed League of Allentown, Pa.; Ladies' Auxiliary of Unemployed League of Bethlehem, Pa.; Slovak Women's Club; United Council of Working Class Women; Women's Auxiliary of C. W. A. Union; Women's League of Philadelphia; Working Women's Committee; Working Women of Hamtramch.

#### YOUTH AND STUDENT

American Youth Congress; Chicago University National Students League; Hunter College Liberal Club; Liberal Club of George Washington University; Politics Club of the College of the City of New York; University of Virginia National Students League; University of Wisconsin National Students League; Young Communist League.

#### MISCELLANEOUS ORGANIZATIONS

American League against War and Fascism; Armenian Workers Organization; Comite Pro Porto Rico; Committee for Protection of Foreign Born; Committee for Support of Southern Textile Workers; Correspondents for Canadian Workers Press; Crusader News Service; Friends of the Soviet Union; Icor; International Labor Defense; Joint Conference Against Discrimination; Labor Advancement Association; National Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners; Nature Friends; Philippine Anti-Imperialist League; Porto Rican Anti-Imperialist League; Polish Chamber of Commerce; The Press League; Red Builders; Tom Mooney Defense Committee; United Front Supporters; Workers Defense Committee; Workers International Relief.



Estimates of funds available for unemployment and social insurance

[All figures in thousands]

	1933	1932	1928
<b>I. Source:</b>			
Individual income <sup>1</sup> .....	\$1, 129, 277	\$1, 127, 773	\$5, 787, 068
Estate tax, 50 percent of gross.....	1, 030, 478	1, 415, 194	1, 777, 135
Corporate tax, net income 25 percent <sup>2</sup> .....	626, 520	533, 278	2, 615, 273
Corporate tax, net surplus, 25 percent <sup>3</sup> .....	-----	9, 019, 881	11, 789, 046
Expenditures on war preparations <sup>4</sup> .....	4 750, 000	-----	-----
Total.....	-----	12, 101, 126	21, 968, 522
<b>II. Individual income <sup>1</sup>.....</b>	1, 129, 277	1, 127, 773	5, 787, 068
Estate tax, 75 percent of gross.....	1, 545, 717	2, 122, 791	2, 665, 701
Corporate tax, net income, 25 percent <sup>2</sup> .....	626, 520	538, 278	2, 615, 273
Corporate tax, net surplus, 30 percent <sup>3</sup> .....	-----	10, 823, 858	14, 146, 855
Expenditures on war preparations.....	2, 000, 000	-----	-----
Total.....	-----	14, 612, 700	25, 214, 897

<sup>1</sup> Estimated on graduated scale approximating British tax rate but higher than the British rate for incomes from \$500,000 to \$5,000,000.

<sup>2</sup> This should be a graduated tax averaging 25 percent.

<sup>3</sup> Surplus and undivided profits less deficit: 1932, 36,079 millions; 1928, 47,156 millions.

<sup>4</sup> As of Aug. 1, 1934.

TAX INCOME, 1928

	Total net income reported	Tax rate	Revenue available
<b>I. INDIVIDUAL RETURNS</b>			
Income classes:		Percent	
\$5,000-\$10,000.....	\$4, 282, 520, 000	16	\$685, 203, 000
\$10,000-\$15,000.....	1, 953, 395, 000	22	429, 747, 000
\$15,000-\$20,000.....	1, 218, 787, 000	24	292, 509, 000
\$20,000-\$25,000.....	865, 670, 000	30	259, 701, 000
\$25,000-\$50,000.....	2, 326, 503, 000	35	814, 276, 000
\$50,000-\$100,000.....	1, 857, 878, 000	40	743, 151, 000
\$100,000-\$250,000.....	1, 745, 403, 000	45	785, 431, 000
\$250,000-\$500,000.....	926, 079, 000	55	509, 343, 000
\$500,000-\$1,000,000.....	670, 861, 000	65	436, 060, 000
\$1,000,000-\$5,000,000 and over.....	1, 108, 863, 000	75	831, 647, 000
Total available.....	-----	-----	5, 787, 068, 000
Tax collected.....	-----	-----	1, 164, 254, 000
Additional revenue.....	-----	-----	4, 622, 814, 000
<b>II. CORPORATION RETURNS</b>			
Income classes:			
Under \$1,000-\$2,999.....	181, 420, 000	10	18, 142, 000
\$3,000-\$4,999.....	119, 482, 000	15	17, 922, 000
\$5,000-\$9,999.....	211, 525, 000	25	52, 881, 000
\$10,000-\$24,999.....	467, 605, 000	25	116, 901, 000
\$25,000-\$99,999.....	1, 055, 074, 000	25	263, 768, 000
\$100,000-\$499,999.....	1, 753, 943, 000	25	438, 485, 000
\$500,000 under \$1,000,000.....	898, 405, 000	25	224, 601, 000
\$1,000,000 under \$5,000,000.....	2, 119, 926, 000	25	529, 981, 000
\$5,000,000 and over.....	3, 810, 359, 000	25	952, 589, 000
Total.....	-----	-----	2, 615, 273, 000
Tax collected.....	-----	-----	1, 184, 000, 000
Additional returns.....	-----	-----	1, 431, 273, 000

Returns of corporations submitting balance sheets, 1928 (all returns): <sup>1</sup>

Tax-exempt securities.....	\$10, 116, 160, 404
Surplus.....	52, 069, 292, 140
Net surplus (after deduction of deficit).....	47, 156, 183, 422

<sup>1</sup> Statistics of Income, 1928p. 32.

## Estimates of funds available for unemployment and social insurance-Continued

## TAX INCOME, 1932

	Total net income reported	Tax rate	Revenue available
<b>I. INDIVIDUAL RETURNS</b>			
Income classes:		<i>Percent</i>	
\$5,000-\$10,000.....	\$1,677,039,000	16	\$268,326,000
\$10,000-\$15,000.....	595,573,000	22	131,026,000
\$15,000-\$20,000.....	329,512,000	24	79,083,000
\$20,000-\$25,000.....	235,312,000	30	70,594,000
\$25,000-\$50,000.....	629,638,000	35	220,373,000
\$50,000-\$100,000.....	393,296,000	40	157,282,000
\$100,000-\$250,000.....	216,625,000	45	97,481,000
\$250,000-\$500,000.....	73,747,000	55	39,561,000
\$500,000-\$1,000,000.....	57,874,000	65	37,613,000
\$1,000,000-\$5,000,000 and over.....	35,239,000	75	26,429,000
Total available.....			1,127,773,000
Income tax collected.....			324,745,000
Additional revenue.....			803,028,000

**II. CORPORATE RETURNS**

1. Returns of corporations submitting balance sheets for 1932 (all returns): <sup>2</sup>			
Cash (in till or deposits in bank).....			\$15,917,202,000
Investments, tax-exempt.....			11,916,864,000
Investments other than tax exempt.....			75,630,257,000
Surplus and undivided profits.....			45,663,746,000
Net surplus (less deficit of \$9,584,221,000).....			36,079,525,000
2. Returns of corporations showing net income (1932):			
Total gross income.....			3 31,707,963,000
Total net income.....			3 2,153,113,000
Income tax.....			4 245,689,000

## TAX INCOME, 1933

	Total net income reported	Tax rate	Revenue available
<b>I. INDIVIDUAL RETURNS</b>			
Income classes:		<i>Percent</i>	
\$5,000-\$10,000.....	\$1,477,827,000	16	\$236,452,000
\$10,000-\$15,000.....	559,850,000	22	123,167,000
\$15,000-\$20,000.....	310,246,000	24	74,459,000
\$20,000-\$25,000.....	226,778,000	30	68,033,000
\$25,000-\$50,000.....	621,182,000	35	217,414,000
\$50,000-\$100,000.....	394,766,000	40	157,906,000
\$100,000-\$250,000.....	240,681,000	45	108,306,000
\$250,000-\$500,000.....	81,253,000	55	44,689,000
\$500,000-\$1,000,000.....	59,511,000	65	37,682,000
\$1,000,000-\$5,000,000 and over.....	81,559,000	75	61,169,000
Total.....			1,129,277,000
Tax collected.....			372,968,000
Additional revenue.....			756,309,000

**II. CORPORATION RETURNS**

Total net income reported.....	\$2,506,078,279
Income tax.....	347,649,990
Excess-profits tax.....	6,265,721
Total.....	5 353,916,261

<sup>2</sup> Statistics of Income, 1932, p. 160.<sup>3</sup> Statistics of Income, 1932.<sup>4</sup> Revised figure as given in Statistics of Income, 1933, preliminary report.<sup>5</sup> 14.1 percent.

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Estimates of funds available for unemployment and social insurance-continued

ESTATE TAX

	Jan. 1-Dec. 31, 1928	Jan. 1-Dec. 31, 1932	Jan. 1-Dec. 31, 1933
Gross estate.....	\$3, 554, 270, 000	\$2, 830, 388, 060	\$2, 060, 956, 000
Tax paid.....	\$41, 959, 000	\$23, 674, 000	\$61, 415, 000
Percent to gross.....	1. 1	0. 8	2. 9
Net estate.....	\$1, 992, 503, 000	\$1, 423, 437, 000	\$828, 302, 000
Tax paid.....	\$41, 959, 000	\$23, 674, 000	\$61, 415, 000
Percent to net.....	2. 1	1. 7	7. 4

REVENUE AVAILABLE

	Average 25 percent	Average 50 percent	Average 75 percent
Gross estate:			
1928.....	\$888, 567, 000	\$1, 777, 135, 000	\$2, 665, 701, 000
1932.....	707, 597, 000	1, 415, 194, 000	2, 122, 791, 000
1933.....	515, 239, 000	1, 030, 478, 000	1, 545, 717, 000
Net estate:			
1928.....	498, 126, 000	996, 252, 000	1, 494, 378, 000
1932.....	355, 859, 000	711, 718, 000	1, 067, 577, 000
1933.....	207, 075, 000	407, 100, 000	621, 225, 000

Comparison of income tax (married person, no dependents, all income from salary)

[Conversion units: 1 pound = \$4.86; France, 1 franc = \$0.0392; Germany, 1 mark = \$0.23821

	Percent of tax to net income			
	United States	Britain	France	Germany
\$1,000.....	0	0.88	3.38	7.90
\$2,000.....	0	5.57	8.51	15.84
\$3,000.....	0.07	10.38	12.20	18.11
\$5,000.....	2.0	14.22	17.15	21.59
\$7,500.....	3.4	16.29	22.02	26.02
\$10,000.....	4.8	18.62	25.25	29.89
\$15,000.....	6.8	22.95	31.26	34.46
\$25,000.....	10.08	29.47	38.04	39.78
\$50,000.....	17.20	39.30	47.43	45.13
\$100,000.....	30.10	48.10	53.65	47.44
\$500,000.....	52.72	61.58	53.93	49.49
\$1,000,000.....	57.11	63.91	53.97	49.74

Source: New Republic, Jan. 24, 1934.

Comparison of death taxes in the United States and Great Britain (entire estate to widow)

[Source: Preliminary report of Subcommittee of the Committee on Ways and Means, relative to Federal and State taxation and duplication therein (1933), p. 237]

	United States	Great Britain
\$1,000.....	.0	1
\$5,000.....	0	3
\$10,000.....	0	3
\$15,000.....	0	3
\$25,000.....	0	4
\$50,000.....	0	5
\$100,000.....	1.5	9
\$150,000.....	3.33	12
\$200,000.....	4.75	14
\$300,000.....	6.50	17
\$400,000.....	7	6 2 19
\$500,000.....	8.50	21
\$600,000.....	9.25	23
\$800,000.....	10.66	25
\$1,000,000.....	11.75	27
\$2,000,000.....	15.77	33
\$3,000,000.....	18.45	37
\$5,000,000.....	22.99	41
\$10,000,000.....	30.94	51

Conversion: £1=\$4.86.

## ESTIMATES OF COST OF WORKERS' UNEMPLOYMENT, OLD AGE, AND SOCIAL INSURANCE BILL

The following estimates have been prepared by the research section of the Interprofessional Association for Social Insurance, Dr. Joseph M. Gillman, chairman (economist and lecturer, New York). They should be read in connection with the statistical material presented by Dr. Gillman in his testimony on H. R. 2827 before the House Committee on Labor on February 4, 1935.

To determine the cost of the social insurance which would be provided in H. R. 2827 requires several estimates, which should be used with caution. In the first place, the United States has no current basis for ascertaining accurately the number of the unemployed. This point is discussed and amplified both in Dr. Gillman's testimony just cited and in the testimony filed by the national chairman of the Interprofessional Association for Social Insurance (Mary Van Kleeck) with the House Committee on Labor on February 5, 1935. In lieu of exact data, the best possible estimate has been made, but it should be pointed out that it is the procedure of making the estimate which should be studied, rather than the exact figures. The extent of unemployment changes from time to time, and therefore the figure used today might not be true a month later.

The second and more important point requiring caution relates to the estimate of the effect of social insurance upon purchasing power, and its consequent results in decreasing the amount of unemployment. This point will be discussed more fully later in this foreword, but it should be clear at once that no experience in this country is available to indicate the extent to which an increase in consumers' purchasing power for those in the lower income groups would stimulate production and increase employment.

Having in mind these cautions, it may be said at once that if there be 10,000,000 unemployed, the annual gross cost, after taking care otherwise of those who should receive old-age pensions and those who are unemployed because of sickness or disability, and eliminating those under 18 years of age, to whom the workers' bill does not apply, would be \$6,986,000,000. Deducting from this the estimated decrease in the cost of unemployment insurance on account of the reemployment of workers following the establishment of a social-insurance program—\$5,340,000,000—and adding to it the cost of old-age pensions, sickness, disability, and accident insurance and maternity insurance, and deducting present annual expenditures for relief amounting to \$3,875,000,000, we would have a net annual increase for the Federal Government imposed by the provisions of the workers' bill amounting to \$3,561,000,000.

If the number of unemployed be equal to the average number estimated by us as unemployed in 1934, as 14,021,000, then the annual net increase in cost, after deducting present expenditures for relief and estimating the reemployment which would follow adequate social insurance, would be \$5,036,000,000.

If for safety's sake no estimate be made of decrease of cost through reemployment, there would have to be added to this net cost the sum of \$7,554,000,000 if there be 14,000,000 unemployed, or \$5,340,000,000 if there be 10,000,000 unemployed.

In all these figures it is necessary to point out that the estimates of cost are merely an indication of the present annual loss suffered by the workers of America through unemployment for the various hazards covered by the workers' bill.

It should be pointed out that for any given number of unemployed it is necessary to go through the process of calculation followed in these two estimates. It is not possible merely to divide costs per million, since, for example, the cost of old-age pensions would not be proportionate to the total number of the unemployed. What has been done in these estimates is to attempt to show what factors enter in, always with the understanding that much of the data must represent a guess, without adequate statistical basis. There is urgent need for the taking of a current census of the unemployed.

It has already been pointed out that the great unknown is the effect which a social-insurance program would have upon reemployment. In making the estimates which follow, it is assumed that the entire amount of benefits paid under the workers' bill would appear in the market as new purchasing power. Of this total, 60 percent, according to the calculation shown, would become available as wages and salaries. On the basis of given average wages and salaries, it can be estimated how many persons could be reemployed, and this would result in a corresponding decrease in the number of unemployed eligible for benefits and, therefore, in a reduction of costs.

Thus we arrive at the following figures:

On the basis of 14,000,000 as the number of unemployed, the annual gross cost of the workers' bill would amount to \$16,465,000,000. From this sum should be deducted the \$3,875,000,000 currently, in 1934, spent by various governmental agencies to relieve unemployment and in payment of old-age and other benefits to the dependent classes. That leaves a total of \$12,590,000,000 as the net benefits under the workers' bill. This sum, as new purchasing power, would provide \$7,554,000,000 as new pay rolls and reemployment-60 percent of \$12,590,000,000. This leaves a balance of \$5,036,000,000 as the sum that would have to be provided, in addition to current expenditures for relief to meet the cost of unemployment insurance, old-age pensions, etc., counting 14,000,000 as the number of unemployed today.

On a basis of 10,000,000 unemployed, that sum would be \$3,561,000,000, which, together with present expenditures for relief, would add up to \$7,436,000,000 as the total cost of the program called for under H. R. 2527.

Once more, however, note should be taken of the uncertainty in the allowance made for the amount of reemployment that might follow the adoption of the workers' bill. The allowance made assumes an amount of reemployment in proportion to the amount of new purchasing power thus made available. Thus it is assumed that every dollar paid as benefits under the workers' bill would go wholly to the market as new purchasing power for consumers' goods. But it is conceivable that a goodly portion of these sums might go to pay debts, and some smaller fractions might go into hiding for a "rainy day." Again, it is calculated that for every dollar paid out in benefits 60 cents would turn up in the form of new wages and salaries. Only to the extent that this may be true may we expect the return to work of a proportionate number of the unemployed.

But there is no way of telling whether reemployment to this extent may be expected under present-day circumstances. In the first place, we have not taken into account the amount of commodity stocks on hand and how rapidly they would be used up and how soon workers would have to be put back to work to increase and replenish them.

In the second place, there is no way of estimating with any degree of accuracy the extent of industrial rationalization and technological advance that have taken place in this country in the course of the past 6 years of depression. According to recent findings of the National Industrial Conference Board (bulletin of Dec. 10, 1934), compared to the 1923-25 average, current pay rolls stood, in October last, at 60 percent, employment at 78.6 percent, and output per man-hour at 129.5 percent. This means that for the sampling industries covered in the National Industrial Conference Board survey, 61 workers can now produce as much as 100 did 10 years ago. Thirty-nine percent of the workers must now remain unemployed or find employment in new occupations. A similarly distressing situation was recently reported by the division of research and planning of the National Recovery Administration as existing in the automobile industry.

Our estimates of the amount of reemployment, therefore, must be taken as purely mathematical and should be considered mainly as illustrations of possibilities rather than as probabilities.

Finally, our estimate of total costs of the program for social insurance under the workers' bill should be compared with the amount the workers have lost in wages and salaries since the beginning of the depression. According to estimates published in the Survey of Current Business for January 1935, page 17, total income paid out to labor since 1929 was as follows (in millions):

	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933
Total income .....	\$52,700	\$48,400	\$40,700	\$31,500	\$29,300
Loss from 1929 .....		4,300	12,000	21,200	23,400

And the total loss in the first 4 years of the depression has amounted to \$60,900,000,000. It is with these huge losses sustained by American workers during these 4 years that the costs of security provided by the workers' bill, H. R. 2827, should be compared.

## ESTIMATES OF COST OF WORKERS' UNEMPLOYMENT, OLD AGE, AND SOCIAL INSURANCE BILL

(Prepared by Research Section of Interprofessional Association for Social Insurance for hearings before House Committee on Labor with reference to Workers' Unemployment, Old Age, and Social Insurance bill, H. R. 2827, February 1935)

NOTE.—Two estimates have been prepared: A relates to a hypothetical unit of 10,000,000 unemployed; B is calculated for the current estimate of average unemployment in 1934, namely, 14,021,000, the details of which were entered into the record of proceedings before the House Committee on Labor, February 4, 1935, by Joseph M. Gillman, economist, on behalf of the Interprofessional Association for Social Insurance.

*Estimate A*

Number of persons unemployed (hypothetical) _____	10,000,000
Deductions:	
1. Estimated number of unemployed under 18 years of age (basis 1930 census) -- _____	320,000
2. Estimated number of unemployed who will replace workers 65 years of age and over retiring on old-age pensions- _____	2,250,000
3. Estimated number unemployed because of -sickness or disability- _____	250,000
	2,820,000
Balance of unemployed- _____	7,180,000
I. Annual cost of unemployment insurance (7,180,000 by \$973) _____	\$6,986,000,000
II. Estimated decrease on account of reemployment of workers, following establishment of social-insurance program _____	5,340,000,000
III. Annual net cost of unemployment insurance- _____	1,646,000,000
IV. Annual cost of old-age pensions- _____	4,535,000,000
V. Annual cost of sickness, disability, and accident insurance _____	1,200,000,000
VI. Annual cost of maternity insurance _____	55,000,000
VII. Total annual cost- _____	7,436,000,000
VIII. Present annual expenditures- _____	3,875,000,000
IX. Annual net increase in cost, - _____	3,561,000,000

*Estimate B*

Average number of persons unemployed in 1934, all ages -----	14,021,000
Deductions:	
1. Estimated number of unemployed, under 18 years of age (basis, 1930 census) -----	550,600
2. Estimated number of unemployed who will replace workers 65 years of age and over retiring on old-age pensions (see p. 4) . . .	2,250,000
3. Estimated number of unemployed because of sickness or disability (see p. 6) - _____	250,000
	3,050,000
Balance of unemployed- _____	10,971,000
I. Annual cost of unemployment insurance (10,971,000 by \$973) _____	\$10,675,000,000
II. Estimated decrease on account of reemployment of workers, following establishment of social-insurance program _____	7,554,000,000

Estimate B-Continued

III.	Annual net cost of unemployment insurance---	\$3, 121, 000,000
IV.	Annual cost of old-age pensions _____	4, 535, 000, 000
V.	Annual cost of sickness, disability, and accident insurance (seep. 7)-----	1, 200, 000, 000
VI.	Annual cost of maternity insurance _____	55, 000, 000
VII.	Total annual cost- - - - -	8, 911, 000, 000
VIII.	Present annual expenditures -----	3, 875, 000,000
IX.	Annual net increase in cost- - _____	5, 036, 000, 000

Estimated annual wage loss of unemployed

[Based on average annual wage and salary rates for 1932 in National Income Report <sup>1</sup>]

Industry	1934 unemployment table								
	Unemployed (in thousands)			Annual wage or salary			Loss of earnings (in millions)		
	Wage earners	Salary earners	Not classified	Wage earners	Salary earners	Not classified	Wage earners	Salary earners	Not classified
Agriculture	1,847			<sup>2</sup> \$645			\$1, 196. 9		
Mines and quarries-----	231	18		909	\$2, 210		210. 0	\$39. 8	
Electric light and power and manufactured gas			73			\$1, 339			
Manufacturing-----	2, 345	643		876	2, 241		2, 054. 2	1, 441. 0	
Construction-----	959	108		1,151	2, 297		1, 103. s	248. 1	
Transportation-----			1, 409			1, 409			
Communication-----			253			1, 320			
Wholesale and retail--		2, 200			1, 245			2, 739. 0	
Finance-----		427			1, 958			836. 1	
Government:									
(a) Exclusive of public education...		99			1, 477			146. 2	
(b) Public education.		185			1, 400			259. 0	
Service:									
(a) Recreation			208			1, 382			\$287. 5
(b) Personal			460			1, 045			480. 7
(c) Domestic			1, 123			670			752. 4
(d) Professional			373			1, 416			528. 2
(e) Miscellaneous			79			1, 105			187. 3
Miscellaneous industries-----			871			1, 285			1, 119. 2
Total	5,382	3, 680	4, 849				4, 564. 9	5, 709. 2	3, 255. 3
Total wage and salary loss-----									\$13, 529, 400, 000
Unemployed entrepreneurs-----			3 110						107, 000, 000
Total									13, 633, 400, 000
Average loss-----									973

<sup>1</sup> 73d Cong., 2d sess., S. Doc. 124, National Income, 1929-32.  
<sup>2</sup> 1929 rate; 1932 rate only \$352.  
<sup>3</sup> At annual average loss \$973.

- I. (a) Number of persons aged 65 and over (1930 Census) - - - - - 6, 634, 000
  - (b) Estimated number of persons aged 65 and over in 1934 (Report of President's Committee on Economic Security, p. 24)----- 7, 500, 000
  - II. (a) Number of persons aged 65 and over, gainfully occupied (1930)----- 2, 205, 000
  - (b) Estimated number of persons aged 65 and over who were gainfully occupied in 1934 (average)- - - - - 2, 500,000
- NOTE.—II (b) to II (a) in same ratio as I (b) to I (a).
- III. (a) Estimated number of gainfully occupied persons who would be eligible to retire upon enactment of the Workers' Bill- 2, 250, 000
- NOTE.—10-percent allowance for entrepreneurs of substantial means (U. S. Census estimate, letter to committee, I. P. A. 12/3/34).

IV. (a) Nongainfully occupied persons aged 65 and over (I (b)-II (b))	5,000,000
(b) Estimated number eligible for old-age pensions (males, 1,422,000; females, 3,078,000) Note: 10-percent allowance for those of substantial means.	4,500,000
V. <sup>1</sup> (a) Number of gainfully occupied persons in III (a) (2,250,000) plus husbands or wives aged 65 and over (777,000, V (e) ÷ V (g)) (V (b) ÷ V (c) ÷ V (e) ÷ V (g))	3,027,000
(b) Gainfully occupied males (less entrepreneurs)	1,950,000
(c) Gainfully occupied females	300,000
(d) Gainfully occupied males, married	1,242,000
(e) Gainfully occupied males, married, whose wives are 65 and over (assumed not gainfully occupied)	673,000
(f) Gainfully occupied females, married	104,000
(g) Gainfully occupied females, married, whose husbands are 65 and over (assumed not gainfully occupied)	104,000
VI. (a) Balance of married persons among nongainfully occupied (d)+(e)	1,237,000
(b) Balance of males, 1,422,000 - 104,000 (IV (b) - V (g))	1,318,000
(c) Balance of females, 3,078,000 - 673,000 (IV (b) - V (a))	2,405,000
(d) Married males in VI (b)	802,000
(e) Married males in VI (b) whose wives are 65 and over	435,000
	<u>1,237,000</u>

Of the 4,500,000 in IV (b) these have been accounted for:

(1) Wives, 65 and over, of gainfully occupied males (assumed not gainfully occupied) (V (e))	673,000
(2) Husbands, 65 and over, of gainfully occupied females (assumed not gainfully occupied) (V (g))	104,000
(3) Balance nongainfully occupied males 65 and over, married (VI (d))	802,000
(4) Balance nongainfully occupied females 65 and over, married (VI (e))	435,000

Not yet accounted for:

(5) Nongainfully occupied widows, widowers, divorced, single persons, aged 65 and over	2,486,000
--	-----------

#### Annual cost of old-age pensions

A. Number of gainfully occupied workers aged 65 and over, eligible for old-age pensions at annual average rate of \$1,200 per annum (\$1,199 average annual rate, 1932, 1929-32 national income)	2,250,000
B. Number of married couples nongainfully occupied, husband or both 65 or over annual pension, \$676 (\$10 plus \$3 per week)	802,000
C. Number of unmarried persons 65 or over (annual pensions, \$520 (\$10 per week))	2,486,000
Cost of A	\$2,700,000,000
Cost of B	542,000,000
Cost of C	1,293,000,000
Total	<u>4,535,000,000</u>

<sup>1</sup> All figures in V and VI are estimated from ratios derived from 1930 Census.



*Cost of sickness, accident, disability insurance*

Class C, 1930 Unemployment Census (persons out of a job and unable to work on account of sickness or disability) -----	172,661
Would assume 250,000, since census figures are out of line with other experience.	
Class D, 1930 Unemployment Census (persons having jobs, but idle on account of sickness or disability) -----	273, 588
<b>Total</b> -----	446, 249

According to Report of President's Committee on Economic Security, which states that 2.25 percent of all industrial workers are at all times incapacitated, it would seem that the total of 446,249 badly underestimates the amount of sickness and disability.

Would assume—	
Class C type-----	250,000
Class D type-----	750,000
<b>Total</b> -----	1, 000, 000

Cost of sickness, accident, and disability insurance (1,000,000 by \$1, 200) ----- \$1, 200, 000,000

NOTE.—\$1,199 average annual wage or salary in 1932 (N. I. Report, 1929-32).

*Cost of maternity insurance*

Number of gainfully occupied married women between ages 15 and 44 (1930 Census) -----	2, 425, 000
Number of married women between ages 15 and 44 (1930 Census) -----	17, 836, 000
Birth rate per 1,000 population (1930)-----	18.9
Birth rate per 1,000 married women (above) -----	137.0
Number of births per annum to gainfully occupied married women (on above basis)-----	332,000
Probable number of births-----	150,000
Annual cost for 16-week benefit (150,000 by \$369) -----	\$55, 000, 000

$$\$369 = \frac{16}{52} \times \$1,200.$$

(\$1,199 average)

*Present Annual Expenditures for  
and Private*

A. UNEMPLOYMENT

I. Federal Government (source of statistics: General Budget Summary, Treasury Department, estimated expenditures for year ending June 30, 1935, schedule 3):	
(1) F. E. R. A -----	\$1,733, 208,700
(2) C. W. A -----	13, 842, 100
(3) Emergency conservation- - - -----	402, 363, 000
(4) Relief of unemployment-----	100, 000, 000
Public Works:	
(3) Loans and grants to municipalities- - - -----	1 166, 300, 000
(5) Public highways-- - -----	* 428, 600, 000
Total expenditures of a relief character -----	2, 844, 313, 800
II. State and city (basis: F. E. R. A. reports) -----	400, 000, 000
Total unemployment relief -----	3, 250, 000, 000

<sup>1</sup> Eliminated from employed, hence deduct as funds to provide employment.

*Present Annual Expenditures for Unemployment, Old Age, Sickness Relief, Public and Private-Continued*

**B. OLD AGE**

1. Federal Government to veterans and widows (Report of Administrator of Veterans' Affairs, 1933) -----	\$235, 000, 000
2. State old-age assistance (President's Committee on Economic Security) -----	43, 000, 000
3. Industrial and trade union pensions (President's Committee on Economic Security) -----	100, 000, 000
4. All other (rough estimate) -----	50, 000, 000
<b>Total</b> -----	<b>428, 000, 000</b>

**C. SICKNESS, DISABILITY, ACCIDENT (TO GAINFULLY OCCUPIED PERSONS)**

National Safety Council estimates for 1932 that wage loss from occupational disabilities was \$370,000,000. Compensation, probably did not exceed \$200,000,000.

Practically no other sickness or weekly accident benefits were paid in the United States by governmental agencies.

Total annual expenditures for relief of old age, unemployment, and sickness at present time ----- \$3, 875, 000, 000

*Estimate of diminution in cost of unemployment insurance on account of reemployment following passage of workers' bill*

Year	National income (exclusive of Government) <sup>1</sup>	Salaries and wages (exclusive of Government) <sup>1</sup>
1929 -----	\$76, 500, 000, 000	\$45, 300, 000, 000
1930 -----	63, 500, 000, 000	40, 600, 000, 000
1931 -----	47, 800, 000, 000	32, 900, 000, 000
1932 -----	34, 000, 000, 000	23, 700, 000, 000
1933 -----	36, 300, 000, 000	21, 900, 000, 000

<sup>1</sup> National income, 1929-32; national income, 1933; Survey Current Business, January 1935.

*Ratio of salaries and wages to income produced*

1929 -----	0.592
1930 -----	.639
1931 -----	.688
1932 -----	.697
1933 -----	.603
1934 (estimate) -----	.60
Total insurance benefits payable (annually) under workers' bill (p. 2, I ÷ IV ÷ V ÷ VI) -----	\$16, 465, 000, 000
Present expenditures for relief, old age, etc. -----	3, 875, 000, 000
Increase in purchasing power of lower income classes upon passage of workers' bill -----	12, 590, 000, 000
Increase in annual demand for consumers' goods (100 percent assumed) (see Brookings Institute, "America's Capacity to Consume", p. S4) -----	12, 590, 000, 000
Increase in annual wages and salaries to meet increased demand for goods (decrease in cost of unemployment insurance) (60 percent of \$12,590,000,000) (ratio of salaries and wages to income produced, 1934, above) -----	7, 554, 000, 000

**BRIEF ON THE CONSTITUTIONALITY OF "THE WORKERS' UNEMPLOYMENT AND SOCIAL INSURANCE ACT",** BY LEO J. LINDER, ATTORNEY, NEW YORK CITY

H. R. 2827 is unquestionably constitutional.

**1. THE BILL IS A PROPER EXERCISE OF THE APPROPRIATING POWER OF CONGRESS**

This bill provides for the appropriation of Federal moneys out of the Treasury of the United States for the payment of compensation to the unemployed, the sick, the disabled, and the aged. It is thus simply an exercise of the appropriating power, the power of Congress to spend money. The bill does, indeed, do more than provide for appropriations; it provides for the setting up of administrative machinery. But the appropriating power of Congress necessarily carries with it the incidental power to provide administrative machinery for disbursing the moneys appropriated and for insuring their proper application to the purposes sought to be achieved by Congress.<sup>1</sup>

What limitations are there on the power of Congress to appropriate Federal moneys? The Federal Government is a government of "enumerated" powers; that is, powers enumerated by the Constitution. Some constitutional lawyers have, therefore, argued, when it has suited their client's purpose, that Congress may only expend moneys for the execution of the enumerated powers. Upon some such argument, an appropriation for social insurance would be unconstitutional, since the Constitution does not enumerate any power to provide social insurance for the people of the United States.

The argument is, however, wholly unsound, for it ignores the fact that one of the enumerated powers set forth in the Constitution is the power to "lay and collect taxes, pay debts, and provide for the common defense and the general welfare of the United States".<sup>2</sup> To limit this power to spend moneys for the "general welfare", to the power to spend moneys for the execution of the other enumerated powers, is to rob the "general welfare" clause of its meaning and thus to violate an elementary principle of constitutional construction.<sup>3</sup> Such distinguished constitutional authorities as Washington,<sup>4</sup> Madison,<sup>5</sup> Monroe,<sup>6</sup> Hamilton,<sup>7</sup> Calhoun,<sup>8</sup> and Justice Storey,<sup>9</sup> have repudiated the conception of an appropriating power limited by the other powers. Our highest authority, the United States Supreme Court, has in the famous Sugar Bounty case,<sup>10</sup> definitely upheld appropriations by the Government in payment of purely moral obligations, entirely beyond the scope of the other specifically enumerated powers and has, indeed, held that an appropriation out of "considerations of pure charity"<sup>11</sup> cannot be reviewed by the judicial branch of the Government. Congress itself has uniformly and consistently exercised its appropriating power for any purpose which it deems for the general welfare and irrespective of whether the purpose came within the specifically enumerated powers or not.

Consider the appropriations which Congress has made. Congress has spent money for the purchase of Louisiana from France, of Alaska from Russia, of Florida from Spain; Congress has made outright gifts of millions of dollars to the individual States;<sup>12</sup> it has appropriated billions of dollars for agriculture,<sup>13</sup> and for internal improvements;<sup>14</sup> it has appropriated the moneys of the Nation to aid destitute foreigners in severe calamities, as in the case of the Santa Domingo in 1794,<sup>15</sup> and the citizens of Venezuela, who suffered an earthquake in 1812;<sup>16</sup> it has in the last 2 years, appropriated billions of dollars for emergency relief to

<sup>1</sup> The Constitution of the United States, art. I, sec. 8, cl. 1 and cl. 18; Willoughby on the Constitution of the United States, ch. 3, sec. 62, p. 105.

<sup>2</sup> Constitution, art. I, sec. 8, cl. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Chief Justice Taney in *Holmes v. Jennison*, 14 Pet. 538, 570, 571; Story Commentaries on the Constitution, 5th ed., sec. 812, 913.

<sup>4</sup> Story on the Constitution, 5th ed.; note to sec. 978.

<sup>5</sup> The Federalist, p. 41; Richardson, Messages and Papers of the President, vol. 2, 485, 368.

<sup>6</sup> Annals of Congress, 17th Cong., 1st sess., vol. 2, p. 1839; Richardson op. cit., vol. 2, p. 165.

<sup>7</sup> Hamilton's Works, Lodge's edition, vol. 3, 294, 371, 372.

<sup>8</sup> Eliot's Debates, 2d ed., vol. 2, 431, note.

<sup>9</sup> Story on the Constitution, vol. 1, secs. 922 to 924; see also Pomeroy Introduction to Constitutional Law, secs. 274, 275; Hare, American Constitutional Law, p. 155; Willoughby on the Constitution of the United States, sec. 269; Burdick on the American Constitution, sec. 77.

<sup>10</sup> *U. S. v. Realty Co.*, 164 U. S. 427.

<sup>11</sup> *U. S. v. Realty Co.*, supra, p. 441, 4.

<sup>12</sup> In 1837 Congress, finding that there was a surplus, appropriated \$20,000,000 to be paid to the individual States in proportion to their population; Congress made a second appropriation of this nature in 1841.

<sup>13</sup> Orfield Federal Land Grants to the States, pp. 37, 41, 48, and 67, the acts establishing the Bureau of Animal Husbandry, Weather Bureau, Bureau of Plant and Industry, Forest Service, Bureau of Soils, Bureau of Biological Survey, Bureau of Crop Estimates, etc.

<sup>14</sup> The Geological Survey, Bureau of Mines, Department of Education, Road Building.

<sup>15</sup> Act of Feb. 12, 1794, ch. 2.

<sup>16</sup> The act of May 8, 1812, ch. 79; 4 Eliot's Debates, 240

"needy and distressed people";<sup>17</sup> it has appropriated billions for the setting up of a Reconstruction Finance Corporation,<sup>18</sup> Home Owners' Loan Corporation,<sup>19</sup> and the Federal Housing Corporation.<sup>20</sup>

None of the enumerated powers would justify these (purchase of Florida from Spain, Alaska from Russia) expenditures. Yet surely no one would presume to say that Congress exceeded its power in making the Louisiana purchase, or in setting up the Geological Survey, which has increased the natural resources, or that Congress should never have contributed to the country's educational needs.

It is thus entirely clear that wholly without regard to the enumerated powers, Congress may use Federal moneys for any purpose which it deems will accomplish the "general welfare". Surely it could not be said that a bill which will provide a system of unemployment and social insurance for millions of unemployed, sick, disabled, and aged, is less for the "general welfare" than any of the bills which have just been mentioned. If Congress passes the bill, it will thereby declare that, in its judgment, the bill is for the "general welfare" and no court has the power to substitute its judgment on this question for that of Congress.

The fact is that the Supreme Court has itself stated that it has never in its entire existence, attempted to set limitations to the power of Congress to appropriate moneys.<sup>21</sup> On the contrary, the Supreme Court has explicitly declared that the exercise of the appropriating power is not a subject for judicial consideration.<sup>22</sup> The Supreme Court has appreciated that if individual taxpayers were permitted to harass and obstruct the Federal Government with questions as to the propriety of national expenditures, that this would render unworkable the whole machinery of the Federal Government. There is a case in which a taxpayer tried to stop the Secretary of the Treasury from paying out moneys for the construction of the Panama Canal.<sup>23</sup> The United States Supreme Court declared that the taxpayer could not interfere. The Court pointed out that the taxpayer could not show any "direct injury", since he could not point to any property belonging to him which was directly affected by the way the Federal Government spent its money. After all, the money in the United States Treasury appropriated, might very well be interest on the foreign debts or the proceeds of the sale of Government property and no taxpayer could point to any specific tax or any specific moneys paid by him which was used for the appropriation in question. The United States Supreme Court, however, went much further than this technical argument with respect to the matter of "direct injury." The Court declared explicitly that the question of the purpose for which Congress may use moneys, is a legislative question, not a judicial one. Thus, the United States Supreme Court has deemed itself to be without power to pass upon the propriety of the exercise by Congress of its appropriating power.<sup>24</sup>

Clearly, the bill is not merely a wholly constitutional exercise of the appropriating power, but there is no way by which the propriety of the exercise of the appropriating power can be questioned.

## II. THE BILL DOES NOT INVOLVE ANY UNCONSTITUTIONAL DELEGATION OF LEGISLATIVE POWER

While the bill does indeed invest the Secretary of Labor with large discretion, this does not render the bill unconstitutional. The United States Supreme Court has, again and again, sustained delegations of power to the President, Cabinet officers, and commissions. The Court has recognized that Congress might very well find it impossible to do more than to "lay down an intelligible principle to which the person or body administering the bill is directed to conform."<sup>25</sup> The Court has appreciated the practical difficulty of fixing precise and definite standards in advance of the complex contingencies certain to arise and has recognized that Congress might "form the necessities of the case, be compelled to leave to the executive officers, the duty of bringing about the result pointed out by the statute."<sup>26</sup> Thus, the Tariff Act of 1922 was held constitutional,

<sup>17</sup> Emergency Relief and Construction Act, 1932, 47 Stat. 709, July 21, 1932, c. 520.

<sup>18</sup> Jan. 22, 1932, c. 8, 47 Stat. 5.

<sup>19</sup> June 13, 1933, c. 64, 48 Stat. 128.

<sup>20</sup> National Housing Act, No. 479, 73d Congress, approved by President, June 27, 1934.

<sup>21</sup> *Mass. v. Mellon*, 262 U. S. 447, 487-88; in *Field v. Clark*, 143 U. S. 649, U. S. v. *Realty Co.*, supra, and *Mass. v. Mellon*, supra, the Supreme Court refused to pass on the question of the propriety of the exercise of the appropriating powers.

<sup>22</sup> *Mass. v. Mellon*, supra.

<sup>23</sup> *Wilson v. Shaw*, 204 U. S. 24.

<sup>24</sup> *Mass. v. Mellon*, *Wilson v. Shaw*, U. S. v. *Realty Co.*, supra.

<sup>25</sup> *Hampden v. U. S.*, 276 U. S. 394.

<sup>26</sup> *Buttfield v. Stranahan*, 192 U. S. 470, 496.

although it vested the President with the power to raise or lower the tariff upon any imported article whenever it found that the American products were at a competitive disadvantage with those imported from abroad.<sup>27</sup> A much broader power was held to have been constitutionally delegated to the Commissioner of Internal Revenue by the Revenue Acts of 1918 and 1921, which authorized the Commissioner to adjust the rate of excess-profits tax.<sup>28</sup> Again an act of Congress, which gave the Secretary of the Treasury, on the recommendation of experts, the power to fix and establish standards of purity, quality, and fitness for consumption of certain commodities imported into the United States, was held constitutional.<sup>29</sup>

In the recent "hot oil" case the United States Supreme Court has, it is true, declared that the "hot oil" control clause of the N. R. A. was invalid as an unconstitutional delegation of legislative power. But, in that case, no "primary purpose" or "primary standard" was clearly stated. The legislation there considered is wholly distinguishable from this bill for here a primary purpose is stated, and it is clear that the Secretary of Labor is not invested by this bill with anything more than a properly constitutional "administrative discretion". Indeed, the discretion invested in the Secretary of Labor is narrow, for the beneficiaries who are to receive the compensation are named, the minimum compensation is prescribed, the maximum compensation is ascertainable, and the nature of the compensation is fixed. Certainly the discretion here vested in the Secretary of Labor is far less wide than that vested in the Secretary of Agriculture by the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1933.<sup>31</sup> In the latter bill, the Secretary of Agriculture was granted the power "to provide for rental or benefit payments in connection with crop-reduction in such amounts as the Secretary deems fair and reasonable." The Congress which found no difficulty in regarding the Agricultural Adjustment Act as a constitutionally proper delegation of power, can certainly find no constitutional difficulty on this score with this bill.

### III. THE ABSENCE OF AN APPROPRIATION OF A SPECIFIC AMOUNT, DOES NOT RENDER THE BILL UNCONSTITUTIONAL

No specific amount is appropriated by this bill. But this does not render the bill unconstitutional. For general indefinite appropriations are common. The first of such general indefinite appropriations was passed when Congress directed that all expenses accruing and necessary for the maintenance of lighthouses should be paid out of the Treasury of the United States. Since then hundreds of statutes containing similar indefinite appropriations, have been passed. From the moment the bill is enacted, this general appropriation becomes a charge upon the Treasury of the United States.

When it is determined that any individual is entitled to a certain amount of compensation, his claim is a claim on the United States, to be honored by the Treasury just as any matured bond or other obligation of the United States must be honored. Like all other matured claims on the United States, these claims for compensation when fixed, must be provided for as a part of the Budget of the Federal Government.

### IV. THE BILL DEPRIVES NO ONE OF HIS PROPERTY WITHOUT THE "DUE PROCESS OF LAW" GUARANTEED BY THE CONSTITUTION

Unlike all other unemployment and social insurance plans, this bill does not involve the setting up of "reserves" created by enforced contributions by employers or employees. The only way that any person could regard himself as in anywise deprived of property for the purpose of financing this bill, would be by regarding this bill as a taxing measure.

The bill provides that "it is the sense of Congress that if any further taxation is necessary to provide funds for the purposes of this act, it shall be levied on inheritances, gifts, and individual and corporation incomes of \$5,000 a year or over."

Even if it can be argued that this is a taxing measure, the bill is a proper exercise of the taxing power of Congress. Congress has the power under the Constitution, to lay taxes for the "general welfare", subject only to two limita-

<sup>27</sup> *Hampden v. U. S.*, supra.

<sup>28</sup> *Heiner v. Diamond Alkali Co.*, 288 U. S. 502.

<sup>29</sup> *Buttfield v. Stranahan*, supra.

<sup>30</sup> The "hot oil" decision, Sup. Ct. Rept. but see Carpenter on the "Constitutionality of the N. R. A.," Southern California Law Review, Jan. 1934, p. 125; Cheadle on the "Delegation of Legislative Function", 27 Yale Law Journal, 892.

<sup>31</sup> May 12, 1933, c. 25, 48 Stat. 31.

<sup>32</sup> Act of Aug. 7, 1789, c. 9, 1 Stat. 53.

<sup>33</sup> Introduction to hearings before the Subcommittee of the House Committee on Appropriations on H. R. 9410, 73d Congress, 2d session.

tions.<sup>34</sup> In the case of duties, imports and excises, "this must be uniform." In the case of direct taxes, they must be apportioned according to the census. Neither limitation, however, applies to incomes, gifts, or inheritances since the sixteenth amendment.<sup>35</sup> Thus, a tax levied by Congress on incomes, inheritances and gifts, is wholly proper, so long as Congress deems it to be for the "general welfare." Once Congress has levied such a tax, the tax cannot be assailed by any tax payer, since the courts will not review the exercise of the Congressional discretion involved. The decision of Congress is thus final.<sup>36</sup>

The limitation on the taxing power of the States, "that the taxation must be for a public purpose", is not a limitation applicable to the Federal Government.<sup>37</sup> But even if it were, clearly the purposes for which funds are to be raised by taxation, and to be spent under this bill, is a "public purpose." The fact that private individuals benefit, does not alter the fact that it is to the public interest that these private individuals receive such public benefit.<sup>38</sup> Finally, what is or is not a "public use" or purpose, has been held by the United States Supreme Court to be a question concerning which the legislative authority is best able to judge.<sup>39</sup> Just as in the case of the exercise of the appropriating power, so in the case of the exercise of the taxing power, where the tax is levied on incomes, inheritances and gifts, the tax payer is wholly without remedy. When Congress determines that such a tax is for the "general welfare", its decision is final and cannot be constitutionally assailed.

#### V. THIS BILL DOES NOT VIOLATE THE STATES' RIGHTS

It has been argued that this bill is unconstitutional on the ground that it involves a usurpation of the rights of the States. This argument is based upon the proposition that the power of Congress to regulate commerce and industry is limited to the "interstate commerce power" and that any regulation by the Federal Government of intrastate business and of matters "not commerce", is unconstitutional.

This argument is wholly inapplicable to the present bill. For this bill is not an exercise of the interstate commerce power; it is an exercise of the appropriating power.

This bill does not involve any regulation of intrastate commerce or of matters "not commerce.". It does not involve the setting up of "reserves"; it does not set up such business relationships as might possibly be involved in the creation of special accounts with employers or employees, based on their contributions to a reserve fund.

The bill in no wise interferes with the conduct of any intrastate business. It does not prohibit the transportation of any product by intrastate business such as was held invalid in the child labor case. The bill does not affect the liability of employers to employees in intrastate business such as was held invalid in the employers' liability case.<sup>40</sup>

The bill simply sets up an obligation of the United States Government to pay out of the United States Treasury compensation to all who are unemployed, sick, disabled, or aged, and it provides for the governmental machinery for the proper disbursement of the compensation. The Supreme Court has explicitly declared that no State will be heard to complain that the Federal Government is invading State rights when it simply exercises its appropriating power.<sup>41 42</sup>

Even if, however, this exercise of the appropriating power, should, by any stretch of the imagination, be regarded as a regulation of matters "not commerce" and of intrastate commerce, it does not follow that the plan is beyond the powers of Congress. For it is the present doctrine of the United States Supreme Court that Congress has the power to regulate intrastate commerce and matters that are "not commerce" at all, provided that the burdensome character of these activities on interstate commerce is clear and direct.\*" Thus the United States

<sup>34</sup> *Hilton v. U. S.*, 3 Dall. 171; *Pollack v. Farm Land & Trust Co.*, 158 U. S. 601.

<sup>35</sup> The 16th amendment reads as follows: "The Congress shall have power to lay end collect taxes on incomes, from whatever source derived, without apportionment among the several States, and without regard to any census or enumeration."

<sup>36</sup> *Pacific Insurance Co. v. Soule*, 7 Wall. 433.

<sup>37</sup> *Billings v. U. S.*, 23½ U. S. 261.

<sup>38</sup> *Noble Bank v. Haskell*, 219 U. S. 104; *Fallbrook Irrigation District v. Bradley*, 164 U. S. 112; *O'Neill v. earner*, 239 U. S. 244.

<sup>39</sup> *Greene v. Frazier*, 253 U. S. 232.

<sup>40</sup> *Child Labor case*, 247 U. S. 251.

<sup>41</sup> *First Employers Liability case*, 207 U. S. 462.

<sup>42</sup> *Mass v. Mellon*, supra.

\* *Safety Appliance Act*, case 222 U. S. 20; *Wisconsin R. R. Corn. v. C. B. & Q. R. R. Co.*, 257 U. S. 553; *Stafford v. Wallace*, 258 U. S. 485; *Board of Trade v. Olson*, 262 U. S. 1; *Colorado v. U. S.*, 271 U. S. 153.

Supreme Court has held the Packers and Stock Yard Act of 1921 constitutional, although that act gave the Secretary of Agriculture supervision over the commissionmen and livestock dealers in the stockyards of the Nation and thus enabled the Secretary of Agriculture to regulate prices and practices in matters wholly intrastate.<sup>44</sup> The Court appreciated that the object of the act was to "free and unburden" the flow of interstate commerce. Again, in another case, the passenger rates of a branch line of a railroad, wholly within the boundaries of a single State and physically detached from the interstate lines of the same railroad, were held constitutionally subject to the control of the Interstate Commerce Commission, by reason of the effect of the intrastate rates on interstate rates and interstate business.<sup>45</sup> The Court has again and again regarded similar acts as a proper exercise of the "interstate commerce power."<sup>46</sup>

Certainly, it must be clear, that Congress in 1933 and 1934 has proceeded upon the constitutional theory that it lies within the province of the Federal Government to prevent practices which deter the free flow of interstate commerce and to promote practices which stimulate interstate commerce.<sup>47</sup> The Congress which passed the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1933, declared that the loss of the purchasing power of the farmers endangered the entire economic structure of the Nation.<sup>48</sup> The mechanism set up by that act was conceived as a device to restore purchasing power. Certainly the workers' bill is similarly an effort to remove obstacles to the free flow of interstate commerce. Clearly it provides for the "general welfare" much more directly than the N. R. A., the A. A. A., the P. W. A., and the other emergency acts which Congress has enacted during the Roosevelt administration.

This bill is an effort to deal with the same problem, the crisis in the purchasing power of the people of the United States. The basic conception of this bill is that the millions of workers and farmers throughout the United States who are unemployed, sick, disabled, and aged, lack purchasing power and that the soundest way to restore that purchasing power is to give them money, but not to give them money by way of charity or relief, but to give them money as of right, as a compensation for a disability which they suffer, due to no fault of their own and due to the operation of social forces. The basic idea of this bill thus is that funds should be given to create purchasing power for the masses who must spend the money for the necessities of life and who, in spending the money for these necessities, will thereby remove obstructions to the free flow of interstate commerce.

Furthermore, a consideration of the advantages of the Federal as against State or Federal-State social-insurance systems, will show the "administrative necessity" of a Federal system. The vast growth of American industry spanning the entire continent and the development of a national economy that is interconnected and interdependent, has completely transformed the Nation which was the subject of the Constitution. For most purposes of business and commerce, State boundaries have ceased to exist. The existence of 48 governmental systems endeavoring to solve problems essentially national in scope in 48 different ways, has created stupendous contradictions and difficulties. The lack of purchasing power of the unemployed, sick, disabled, and aged is a national phenomenon, national in scope; its causes are bound up with the causes of the national economic crisis.

Finally, the Federal system is the only feasible one, because it is only the Nation which can deal with the problem as it must be dealt with. The problem of unemployment is a problem of mass unemployment, with millions out of work. The loss in purchasing power of the unemployed, the sick, the disabled, and the aged, runs into billions of dollars. Only the Federal Government, with its vast resources and imponderable taxing power, can provide the means to meet a problem of such magnitude. Many of the States simply do not have adequate financial resources or adequate taxing power, but their unemployed need compensation no less than the unemployed of the wealthier States. And it is equitable that the wealthier States should contribute to the support and maintenance of the human beings in the poorer States, from which the income may very well have been withdrawn. The incomes and inheritances earned or created by Nation-wide industry are, as a practical matter, largely beyond the taxing power of any but the one State where the income is received, or in the case of inheritances,

<sup>44</sup> *Stafford v. Wallace*, supra.

<sup>45</sup> *Colorado v. U. S.*, supra.

<sup>46</sup> Cases cited under note 43.

<sup>47</sup> See Declaration of Policy, National Industrial Recovery Act, June 16, 1933, c. 90, 48 Stat. 195.

<sup>48</sup> See Declaration of Policy, National Industrial Recovery Act, June 16, 1933, c. 90, 48 Stat. 195.

where the deceased had his home at the time of his death. Only the Federal Government can effectively distribute the burden, because only it can effectively reach incomes and inheritances and make them available for the people of all States.

We must remember that the bill here considered does not depend for its constitutionality on any consideration of the "interstate commerce power", upon the argument that the regulation of intrastate business is necessary because of its effect on interstate business. In this respect, this bill rests on a far sounder constitutional basis than do the N. R. A. and the A. A. A. Those acts stand or fall, depending upon the extent to which the interstate commerce power can be properly exercised. But this bill is merely an exercise of the appropriating power. It rests upon the same constitutional basis as do the Reconstruction Finance Corporation Act and Home Owners' Loan Corporation Act, which involve merely an exercise of the power of Congress to spend Federal moneys.

The Reconstruction Finance Corporation Act, the Home Owners' Loan Corporation Act, and, indeed, the bulk of the national emergency legislation which has been enacted during the Hoover and Roosevelt administrations, involve an understanding of the national character of our problems: Furthermore, they indicate an appreciation of the inadequacy and the cumbersomeness of the Federal subsidy system. These acts all provide for direct aid to persons, firms, and corporations in the States. The Reconstruction Finance Corporation supplies Federal moneys direct to bankers throughout the country.

The Home Owners' Loan Corporation supplies Federal moneys direct to mortgagees throughout the country. There is no sensible reason why the congressional understanding of the national character of our economic problems, equal to the task of applying this understanding to bankers and mortgagees throughout the country, should fail to apply it to these who are neither bankers nor mortgagees.

Bankers' relief and mortgagees' relief have all been envisaged as Federal problems, requiring Federal solution. The unemployment and social insurance problems are even more clearly Federal problems. They require a similar national solution.

The Congress which passed the Reconstruction Finance Corporation Act, apparently, was convinced that it was for the "general welfare", that the banks in this country should be given money out of the Treasury of the United States, so that the banks could stay in business. The Congress which passed the Home Owners' Loan Corporation Act, apparently, was convinced that it was for the "general welfare", that individuals and corporations owning mortgages affecting real estate, who were totally unable to liquidate them, should be given bonds of the United States in payment for their mortgages. When Congress passes this bill, it will at last have realized that it is for the "general welfare" that all human beings in the United States who, through no fault of their own, are unable to earn the necessities of life, should receive money so that they may purchase the necessities of life and, in so doing, maintain not only their very lives, but the economical life of this country.

The bill, in view of the foregoing considerations is clearly constitutional.

The **CHAIRMAN**. The next witness is Mr. Weinstock.

Mr. **DAVID GORDON**. I am appearing in behalf of Mr. Weinstock.

STATEMENT OF DAVID GORDON, NEW YORK CITY, REPRESENTING  
THE COMMITTEE FOR UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE

Mr. **GORDON**. I am representing the organization of Mr. Weinstock. I represent the American Federation of Labor trade-union committee. I am the secretary of the New York Federation of Labor trade-union committee. I represent the wish for unemployment insurance of my own local union, Local 107, of the A. F. of L.

To those who question our authority, we need say but one word. The movement of the A. F. of L. trade-union committee of the United States is the one which has focused the attention of the membership towards genuine unemployment insurance against such quack remedies as the Wagner-Lewis bill, one sponsored by the A. F. of L. chiefs. The support that our resolutions and motions received in