

# MAKE <sup>THE</sup> DEMOCRATS KEEP <sup>THEIR</sup> PROMISES



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## PREFACE

On March 6, the letter printed in this pamphlet was presented to President Roosevelt, through his secretary, Mr. Howe, by a delegation of the National Conference of the Unemployed Councils. Since that time, the attacks against the workers and toiling farmers by the United States government, based upon legislation *introduced directly* by Roosevelt, have clearly shown the meaning of the "new deal."

The closing of the banks, the economy bills at the expense of the government employes and veterans, the so-called farm relief bill, the inflation measures, the military forced labor camps for the young workers, the wage cuts, the industrial recovery bill which will establish conditions, hours and wages in the shops against which the workers will have no appeal, the coming sales taxes, show the real position of Roosevelt.

The United States Congress passed the \$500,000,000 relief bill, which proves that the government does not intend to provide for the unemployed. The \$3,300,000,000 public works program has as its first provision the building of *war vessels*, while the government talks "peace" and disarmament.

On the other hand, the government continues to give subsidies to the banks and corporation. It has allowed Morgan and other billionaires to escape paying taxes.

The situation of the workers has become worse since the inauguration of Roosevelt. Having given him a "chance," we find, in spite of the ballyhoo, that few workers have returned to work. The number of unemployed has increased and their situation has become more desperate. The cities refuse to grant sufficient relief. Millions of workers have to go without. The attacks on the workers multiply. What is our answer? We must *struggle*—or we will be crushed.

Unemployment insurance at the expense of the employers and the government is the *immediate need* of the working class. The Unemployed Council, building up the *united front of all workers*, is inaugurating a campaign to *win social and unemployment insurance*—through mass pressure to force the enactment of the *Workers Social and Unemployment Insurance Bill*.

# MAKE THE DEMOCRATS KEEP THEIR PROMISES

*(Statement Presented to President Franklin D. Roosevelt,  
March 6, 1933)*

Franklin D. Roosevelt,  
President of the United States,  
White House,  
Washington, D. C.

We herewith submit:

*The demands of the unemployed of the United States, as adopted in Conference on the Washington-Baltimore highway on December 5, 1932, by the three thousand delegates to the National Hunger March, elected by unemployed councils, trade unions of the American Federation of Labor, Railroad Brotherhoods, Trade Union Unity League and Independent Unions, and other workers' organizations, representing the needs and interests of the masses of this country.*

The demands of the unemployed were placed before the government of the United States in December, 1931 and again on December 6, 1932. The answer of the government in both cases was *police terror*.

## WHO IS THE "FORGOTTEN MAN"

Mr. Roosevelt, as candidate of the Democratic Party, during the election campaign you made liberal pledges to the "forgotten man." Who is the "forgotten man?" He is among:

The 17,000,000 unemployed suffering misery and starvation in a land of plenty;

The millions of part-time workers, whose situation, according to the Illinois Department of Labor "constitutes a problem quite as serious as complete unemployment," because of the small number of hours that these workers are allowed to work and their miserable wages;

The more than 3,000,000 working women, who are unable to find work;

The millions of Negroes, Jim-Crowed and discriminated against whose lot is the most miserable at all times, and now has become desperate;

The nearly 2,000,000 unemployed exservicemen, who have been denied the adjusted compensation and whose disability allowances are being cut;

The nearly 2,000,000 homeless men, women, and youth, who are abandoned by society, driven out of their homes by hunger, and whom the government now intends to impress into the army to prepare them for use against the unemployed and employed workers who struggle against hunger, and for use in war;

The 14,000,000 children of the unemployed in the United States;

The millions of impoverished Negro and white farmers who are losing their last belongings.

The hundreds of thousands of "white collar" workers, office workers, engineers, technicians, teachers, professors, artists, musicians, who are penniless and starving—

These are the "forgotten man," who was told during the election campaign that "no one shall suffer from hunger or cold," and who was promised "unemployment insurance." On the basis of these rosy promises, the masses of workers and farmers of the United States voted for the Democratic Party, in the hope that the Democratic Party would give them a "new deal."

Since November, the Democratic Party has been in control of the country. Not only did it control the United States Congress, but also at least 38 States. Although the situation has become progressively worse, the Democratic Party has done *virtually nothing* to alter it and to help the millions of unemployed. This is a clear indication of what the election promises meant—a *bait for votes*, but nothing more.

Since the elections, one more million have been added to the army of unemployed.

#### NO END OF CRISIS IN SIGHT

The decline in employment has gone forward at breakneck speed. Although "optimistic" predictions were made by those

whose business it is to spread "optimism," employment declined 3.9 per cent in January, while wages dropped 5 per cent, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics. The steel industry, the basic industry of the country, is working at only 17 per cent of capacity; the building construction industry is almost at a standstill. The auto industry is operating at about 15 per cent of capacity, while there is practically no railroad and shipbuilding construction. Mining is continually on the decline. The best index of the situation is the power industry, which today is at almost the lowest level since the beginning of the crisis, the end of which on one—not even the astute "optimists" or their agents—dare predict. The crisis is *not* at an end; there is no upward turn. Capitalism is in the midst of its *basic crisis*, and the capitalists are seeking methods to escape the burdens by thrusting them onto the shoulders of the laboring masses.

In the period since the elections, the situation of the unemployed and part-time workers has been seriously aggravated. Having no reserves to fall back upon, with their last savings swallowed up in the bank failures throughout the country—from 1929 to 1932, 5738 banks with deposits of over  $3\frac{1}{2}$  billion dollars closed their doors—these workers are in a desperate plight. According to testimony before the U. S. Senate Committee on Manufacturers, many of these men and women have been out of work for one year or more. Their physical condition has broken down. These are the large body of "forgotten man," who are demanding a "new deal"—not a promise but *deeds*.

The situation of the part-time workers in many cases is no better. Some big corporations, as, for instance, the United States Steel Corporation, grant a worker one day's work in two weeks, from which he must feed his family, pay rent, etc. This is shameless and means starvation for these workers, for they obtain no relief whatever from the local or State relief organizations.

The mass unemployment has also reacted with disastrous results upon the conditions, wages and hours of the employed workers. Mr. Tone, Industrial Commissioner of Connecticut,

reports that in New Haven, women are forced to work in the dress factories *80 hours a week for 65 cents*. In Pennsylvania women and girls labor for *two weeks for \$1.65*. Wages of *8 and 10 cents an hour* are common at the present time, as for instance, at the Briggs Manufacturing Co. plants in Detroit. The situation among the miners is such that men toil *8 to 10 hours for \$1.25*.

Deaths from *starvation, insanity, disease from malnutrition* (a polite term for hunger), *crime and prostitution* are seriously on the increase. In city after city, despite instructions that such "pessimistic" matters should not be reported (American Advertising Association Convention), workers are dropping from hunger. In New York, Chicago, Cleveland, San Francisco—in every city the workers are starving. In New Jersey, not alone the children but the school teachers are fainting in the schools. (*New York Evening Post*, Feb. 16, 1933.)

The lodging and flophouses cannot house the homeless, large numbers of whom sleep in doorways, lobbies, subways—yes, even submit to being locked up in jail to keep from freezing.

The homeless youth, men, and women whose number is living in flophouses, jungles, Hoovervilles, Rooseveltburgs, etc., outcasts from society, persecuted, threatened with jail and chain gang. The number of boys and girls denied the right to work, increases from year to year by graduation from schools and colleges. The city, State, and United States governments refuse to provide for the single men and women. The only use to which the United States government turn them is to make soldiers of the boys. While the past practice of the employers was to fire the older workers and hire younger workers, they have reversed their position and now employ the older men—but *at wages of boys and girls*.

As a result of the appalling conditions in the country more than 3,000,000 women and girls are out of work. Many of the women were the family breadwinners. Today the homes are foodless and the whole family suffers. The girls are

forced to leave home and find shelter wherever they can. Many of them are forced into prostitution.

Among the most despicable conditions forced on the workers is the compelling of whole families to live in the Rooseveltburgs and jungles, driven back into primitive methods of existence, as a result of the crisis and the refusal of the employers and the government to provide adequate relief and insurance. Hundreds of thousands of families have been evicted from their homes. In New York City alone, during the year 1932, 312,000 *dispossess notices* were served. Many families throughout the country have been evicted *three, four and even six times a year.* (Report of Committee on Manufacturers.)

During the election campaign, Mr. Roosevelt was quoted as stating that "six to ten million children are suffering from undernourishment and are fainting at their desks." Since that time, government agencies show that the number has increased. Dr. Appel, State Secretary of Health of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, states, "there is *one undernourished child for every unemployed worker in Pennsylvania.*" According to Governor Pinchot, there are 2,000,000 unemployed in that State. (*New York Times*—Feb. 15, 1933). These children are suffering from pellagra and flux, and are now the victims of rickets and tuberculosis. This means condemnation of the rising generation of the working class to anæmia and physical debility. According to Health Commissioner Wynne of New York, *one-fourth of all the children* in New York today are undernourished. In West Virginia and Kentucky, according to the *New York Times*, Jan. 8, 1933, "91 percent of the children in the most destitute areas were seriously undernourished." At the same time, driven by poverty, 3,000,000 children toil in factories, mines fields, etc.

#### NEGROES MOST EXPLOITED

The worst sufferers from the crisis are the *Negroes* in the North and particularly in the South. Seventy-two percent of all wage-earning Negroes in Harlem, New York, are unemployed. Although the Negroes of Baltimore represent only

17 per cent of the population, they are 41 percent of the unemployed. Of the 45,000 unemployed in Washington, D. C., 30,000 are Negroes. The Negroes in almost all cities and towns are denied work; they receive little relief, and where it is granted, (together with the Latin-American and Italian workers) they receive far less than the other sections of the working class, on the grounds that "they are used to a lower standard of living." (New York Home Relief Bureau).

In the South, the Negroes are allowed to die of starvation, being considered of lower value than chattels. The Negro women are losing their jobs, being replaced by white girls. Pellagra and flux, prevalent throughout the South, and rickets, especially attack the Negro children. There is such abject poverty that the children of the working class go *without shoes and in rags*. If the Negroes put up a fight against these conditions, they are jailed and sent to the *chain gang*, if they are not brutally *shot down* by the authorities and the Ku Klux gangs.

*Today fully 42 per cent of the working population is totally unemployed, millions more are working only part time. The payrolls of the country are down to 37.7 per cent of 1927. According to the Cleveland Trust Company, the industrial production index has fallen to about 40 points below the 1929 level.*

In Chicago, the situation is even more alarming. In December 1932, the employment index for manufacturing industries declined 45.5 points from December, 1927, and payrolls declined 63.8 points for the same period, according to the Illinois Department of Labor. The statement further reports that "*the figures for the last months of 1932 furnish no indication that the bottom has yet been reached.*" No serious economist dares predict that the bottom has been reached, despite the "*optimistic*" predictions of Ford, Rockefeller and Schwab.

Living costs have not declined in measure equal to the lowered income of those still working or receiving relief. According to Mary Anderson of the Women's Bureau of the United States Department of Labor, in the last two years, wages dropped 54 per cent, while the cost of living declined

only 18 per cent. Rents for the working class have hardly decreased, except in those cases where the workers organized and carried out rent strikes.

*The ex-soldiers*, for whom the government professed warm admiration in 1917, are "forgotten." These heroes of yesterday, who during days of prosperity were held up before the youth as examples, are now spurned and denied even the back wages which are due them. They demand, and correctly, the immediate payment of these back wages. They demand that there be no cuts in disability allowances. As the years pass by, more and more of them feel the effects of warfare—gassing, shell shock, etc. The red tape connected with efforts to obtain medical treatment and proper relief is so fearful that many of them give up in despair. The discrimination against the *Negro* veterans is outrageous.

#### FARMERS ARE DESPERATE

The situation of the *toiling farmers* is similar to that of the workers. In three years the gross farm income has fallen more than 55 per cent. The result is that the farmers cannot meet their debts and mortgages, pay their interest and taxes. By the hundreds of thousands they have been forced off the farms through *actual hunger*. They cannot send their children to school for lack of clothes and shoes. The *Negro* and white sharecroppers of the South are practically *serfs* on the land, subject to the whim and will of the landlord and merchant who hold the threat of jail, prison camp, chain gang and lynching as a whip over their heads. The Democratic proposal of the allotment plan would not aid the toiling farmers, but would be a direct attack on the cost of living of the workers in the city.

One of the most shameless forms of exploitation of the hunger and misery of the unemployed is *forced labor*. While pretending to afford the unemployed a means of work, the state and city are forcing the unemployed to do work at miserably low wages. They even compel union men, who are entitled to union wages, to accept a much reduced scale, and then, as in Atlantic City, with the approval of the union bureaucrats, pay them in food baskets. This

slashes the standard of living that the workers of this country have fought for through generations of struggle.

The employers, the government, and their apologists tell us that the crisis has "hit all classes alike." This is *untrue*. While the workers' wages are down to 37.7 per cent of 1927, the dividends and interest payments to the capitalist class in 1932 were *60 per cent above* those of 1926. In 1932, the banks and corporations pocketed \$7,000,000,000 in dividends and interest payments. That hundreds of millions more are "earned" by capitalists and not reported, is shown in the unreported taxable income of Charles Mitchell, of the National City Bank of New York, which is only one example of the fraudulent manner in which the big capitalists conceal their swollen profits.

*The system is shaking.* The capitalists are determined to get out of the crisis at the expense of the workers. While pleading the need of economy, they do not hesitate to spend hundreds of millions of dollars for *war* purposes. At the same time that they deny relief to the millions of unemployed, they have appropriated \$800,000,000 for *direct war purposes* (last session of Congress). War is the final hoped-for method of escape for the capitalists—but it is no escape for the workers. *The workers want no bosses' war.* Capitalist war does not benefit the working class, but only increases its *misery and burdens*.

Four months have passed since the elections. Mr. Roosevelt and the Democratic Party carried on the election campaign exposing the bankruptcy of the Republican Party. Since November, the Democratic Party has been in control of the United States Congress and the States. Where have they changed the situation? Has the condition of the workers and toiling farmers of this country improved? Our answer is a categorical *No*—and the Democratic Party is responsible. It cannot talk about lack of authority. It cannot speak about interference. The Democratic Party bears the *full responsibility* for the present situation, which will be changed only through the pressure of the working masses.

*What has the government done in this situation, which has brought more suffering to the workers than ever before in the history of this country?*

The employers and the government continue to resist and oppose every measure for relieving the suffering of the masses. Instead of relief for the masses, more than \$1,700,000,000 has been loaned to the banks and corporations through the Reconstruction Finance Corporation. These gifts to the rich were to serve as a means of "restoring confidence and prosperity." Actually these funds were used to meet the corporations' obligations to the banks, which thus *reimbursed themselves at the expense of the government*. More than \$337,000,000 has been loaned by the Reconstruction Finance Corporation to the railroads, on the pretext that these loans would provide a means of putting more men to work. Similarly, the railroad magnates, with the aid of the chiefs of the Railroad Brotherhoods put through a wage cut of 10 per cent, in February, 1932, on the promise that this would enable them to hire more men. Instead *they fired more than 120,000 workers*.

At the beginning of the crisis, the federal government proposed a vast building construction program as a means of solving unemployment. But construction and all kinds of public improvements have declined year by year. Whereas \$9,344,000,000 was spent for public works in 1930, the expenditure was only \$3,247,000,000 in 1932. (Testimony before the Committee on Manufactures.) It is clear that there is no serious intention of carrying out this program, nor would this program provide jobs for the 17 million unemployed.

#### FAKE RELIEF PLANS

Up to October 15, 1932, the Reconstruction Finance Corporation authorized loans totaling \$124,500,000 for work relief. This would give work to at most 54,333 persons for one year according to the Reconstruction Finance Corporation. Actually only 25c out of every \$1000 appropriated by the Reconstruction Finance Corporation has thus far been used by the States.

Making a gesture in keeping with the shameless demagogic used by the Democratic Party during the election campaign, the Democrats introduced the Wagner bill in the recent session of Congress. This bill which would have provided the barest pittance for the unemployed, has been thrown into the wastebasket on the grounds that "it would cause a drain on federal finances." (Statement of Mr. Rainey, Democratic leader—*New York Evening Telegram*, March 1, 1933.)

This again reveals the kind of "new deal" that the "forgotten man" may expect from the Democratic Congress.

The farm loan banks, which are supposed to assist the farmers, make loans not to the *impoverished farmer*, who is mortgaged to the limit and cannot therefore provide the security demanded, but to the *wealthy farmer*. The Red Cross, which distributes government owned supplies of cotton and flour, refuses to use these as relief to the unemployed, but instead pays out these supplies as part of the wages to the workers employed in private enterprises in the South (Arkansas, Tennessee, Kentucky miners).

The billion dollar subsidies to the bankers and corporations and the millions returned as tax refunds to the rich are convincing proof that the government of the United States is not acting in the interests of the working class, but in the interests of the capitalists.

This is not all. On the specious argument of economy, the federal, state and municipal governments are *discharging hundreds of thousands of workers, cancelling practically all building projects, and cutting wages. Thousands of schools have closed up*; the school rooms are crowded; the attendance is declining; the health of the children, as a result of the conditions in the homes and schools, is seriously affected; lunches are not being provided for them in adequate measure; the teachers are overworked; their salaries have been cut. *The whole educational system of the country is in danger.*

The appropriations of the States and municipalities have dropped on the score that there were no funds. Under the

threat of the bankers, a program of economy was and is being put through. These bankers, particularly in New York, threatened to make no further loans unless there were wage slashes, etc., which would enable the city to cut the tax rates. Under the leadership of the same Charles Mitchell who has filched tens of thousands of dollars in income taxes from the government, the Wall Street bankers dictated to the Tammany government of New York (which accepted their "recommendations") *to cut wages, fire thousands of workers and reduce relief.*

#### FAKE CONTRIBUTIONS TO CHARITY RACKETS

Drives for emergency relief, community chest, and block aid campaigns, the latter supported by J. P. Morgan and Norman Thomas alike, have been conducted in the shops, factories, offices and stores, the workers being compelled to contribute on pain of *losing their jobs*. In many instances the "contributions" have simply been *extracted from the pay envelopes*. City employes were *intimidated* into making donations. This was the process of having the "poor take care of the poor," of "sharing the suffering with the jobless," and of helping to maintain the income of the rich intact. Relief agencies admit that increasing unemployment and the lowered living standards of the workers are reducing the revenues from such campaigns and that they are powerless to meet the relief demands made upon them.

*The hundreds of millions of relief that have been raised have not reached the unemployed.* Not only are there millions of unemployed throughout the country who are receiving no relief—according to Senator Wagner "4,750,000 families are living in destitution"—but those receiving relief do not obtain sufficient to maintain themselves and their families. In most places single men get *no relief* whatever. Negro and foreign-born workers are discriminated against. The amount of relief is totally insufficient. According to Grace Abbott of the United States Childrens Bureau, from \$7.50 to \$10 is required per week for a family of five for food alone. Nowhere in the country is there such a relief budget.

On the contrary, not only is there no place in the country where even this bare subsistence level is granted, but *only a fraction* of the unemployed are receiving any relief. Thus, according to report of Relief Director Ballinger of Detroit, only 10 per cent of the 350,000 unemployed there are receiving relief. (*Detroit News*, February, 1933).

It is well known that in the large cities, New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, St. Louis, etc. politicians put their *relatives* and *political friends* on the relief list, just as they put them into *relief jobs*. Employed office holders have been found on the relief lists. Relief funds were used for election purposes in New York City in the last presidential elections.

In connection with the Community chests, Mr. Hurlin of the Russell Sage Foundation states: "I estimate that *about 25 per cent of the total budgets of these chests would represent actual relief disbursements*." We ask: where does the rest of the money go? Does graft account for the balance?

Refusing to meet the needs of the situation, the employers and the government have recognized no limits in their ruthless treatment of the unemployed. In an effort to avoid even the hungry doles, they have deliberately broken up homes. They take children from their parents and put them into institutions. They refuse relief to the small homeowner who cannot meet his taxes, on the ground that he is an "owner." They deny relief to a family that owns a piece of furniture, demanding that the family be first reduced to pauperism. "*Good Christian gentlemen, who rail at the radicals, are demolishing the American home.*

The share-the-work plan approved by the government, the leaders of the American Federation of Labor and of the Socialist Party, was inaugurated under the leadership of Walter Teagle, President of the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey. He claims he has "put 5,000,000 men back to work." This recalls the drive of the American Federation of Labor and American Legion to secure 1,000,000 jobs, *yet the number of unemployed has increased steadily.*

While 5,000,000 have "gone back to work" on the share-the-work plan, the *number of unemployed has grown*. This

shows either the falsity of the claims of Teagle, or that the number of those fired at the same time *has outstripped the 5,000,000*. At the same time, the share-the-work plan means the sharing of the wages of those still working. The bill of Mr. Black, Democratic Senator of Alabama, for a 30-hour week, has the approval of the leaders of the American Federation of Labor, the so-called "progressives" in the A. F. of L., the Musteites, and the Socialist Party. This bill and the share-the-work plan are rightfully called "share-the-hunger" plans, the system otherwise known as Hoover's stagger plan.

The State and municipal governments and the employers have also promoted the "back to the land" movement, in the hope of thus ridding themselves of the problem of caring for the unemployed in the cities. While still Governor of New York, Mr. Roosevelt fostered a plan of this kind in the neighborhood of Albany. This movement is being supported throughout the United States at a time when the toiling farmers are bankrupt, and their markets declining because of the poverty of the workers in the city. At the same time barter is taking the place of the ordinary methods of exchange; the scrip system is being introduced because of the bankruptcy of municipal and State governments. These are all conceived of as shrewd methods of the capitalists for evading their obligations and the demands of the toiling masses for—*work or relief*. The workers are learning that these systems have only one effect; *to lower the standard of relief to the barest animal existence — to cut the standard of wages of those still at work*.

*The whole relief system is breaking down.* In New York, the workers on work relief have been notified that it will be discontinued on April 1. The real estate owners who are demanding a lower tax rate, insist upon reduced expenditures. The first attack is on the wages of the workers and on relief. In Pennsylvania, Governor Pinchot, who is regarded as a progressive, is now introducing the so-called "commissary" plan, as is Governor McNutt of Indiana. This means reduction of the hunger standard of the unemployed, and a slashing of conditions of the entire working class.

Since March 6, 1930, the workers have conducted a fight

against the crisis and its destructive effects and against the system of which the crisis is a part. On that day, under the leadership of the Communist Party, more than one million workers demonstrated against the growing pauperization of the masses. The workers have built up the *Unemployed Councils*, as their fighting organs. In all parts of the country the struggle has gone on for relief, against discrimination, against evictions, for relief of the single men, against high rents, against forced labor, against foreclosures; for food, clothing and lunches for the children, through local, State and national hunger marches, through struggles and demonstrations at the local relief bureaus. Uniting with the farmers, they have prevented the seizure of farmers' property. The growing resentment of the workers throughout the country, who forgot their *political differences*, whether they follow the Democratic, Republican, Communist or Socialist Parties, regardless of their *religious affiliation*, irrespective of *nationality, age or sex*; the growing *unity of the white and Negro workers*; the developing *solidarity between the workers and toiling farmers*; the rapidly increasing unity within the toiling masses against their common foe—hunger—and against those who force the hunger regime upon them—this has been achieved by the *Unemployed Councils*.

Every concession won from the ruling class and the government is the result of struggle led by the *Unemployed Councils*—in Chicago, St. Louis, Richmond, Cleveland, Birmingham, New York, Baltimore, Philadelphia, Indianapolis, Detroit—throughout the country.

Can the working class remain indifferent—

When in Lackawanna, N. Y. "the jobless were found living on less than \$2 a week in dark cellars under stores, their beds beside piles of coal." Officials said they found that often the needy went hungry for several days at a time. One group, a young mother, her eight months old son, her mother and two boarders were trying to live on one man's \$2-a-week grocery order. Frequent appeals for aid had been denied. (New York Evening Post.)

When the young son of a war veteran drops dead from hunger in an Albany school?

When a father is shot dead by a policeman in Philadelphia for stealing a bottle of milk for his child?

When in Birmingham two Negro workers are shot down for demanding food, and the babies of two white working women die for lack of food and attention to the mothers?

Can the working class remain silent in face of these facts?

Can the working class remain indifferent and expectant of a "new deal," when Negro share croppers who organize in Alabama are shot down by the representatives of the government of the South, which is regarded as the staunchest supporters of the Democratic Party and of President Roosevelt, while wages are the lowest and starvation more widespread than in any other part of the country?

Can the workers of Massachusetts remain indifferent when the "progressive" Democratic Governor Ely attempts to wipe out all protective legislation fought for by the workers, and puts Massachusetts on a plane with the backward South?

It is not natural that white sharecroppers in Alabama line up with and protect their Negro fellow workers, since they are driven by the same chain gang prison conditions, and white deputy sheriffs and Ku Klux thugs hunt them down with bloodhounds?

Can one wonder that the whole country is aroused by the vicious sentence imposed on the young Negro Communist Angelo Herndon, by a white capitalist court for the "crime" of organizing the starving Negro and white workers of Atlanta, Ga.?

Can we remain mute and indifferent when workers are abused, maltreated, jailed and shot down, while men who mercilessly rob the workers, exploit the farmers, and defraud the government are honored citizens of the country?

One cannot wonder that the workers are fighting and that Negroes are in the forefront. The *Unemployed Councils* declare that the struggle must go on more intensively

than ever to force the Democratic government of the United States to keep its pledges. The workers refuse to starve. The toiling farmers refuse to accept hunger. The crisis is driving the workers and farmers to fight. Factories are closed down—while workers clamor for work. Food is in plenty—while workers and their families starve. Buildings remain empty—while millions of workers and their families are shelterless. Clothing abounds—while workers and farmers go in tatters. The workers categorically demand adequate relief and unemployment insurance at the expense of the bosses and the government.

There is no reason for this situation except that the capitalists demand profit from every minute of work. They have no markets for the tremendous output of industry that the workers produce. The factories shut down; the workers are thrown into the streets to starve. The farmers produce food, but supplies are so extensive and their consumption so low, because of the mass unemployment and starvation, that the stocks of raw materials diminished in one year only 6.7 per cent. (Associated Press.)

Only a few weeks ago, Mr. Roosevelt was quoted as stating that if the country would return to the peak of production of 1929, "five to ten million workers will not return to work." With this army of unemployed ever eager to find work, the conditions of the employed workers will be reduced to a hunger level. The introduction of more highly efficient machinery, higher speed, new methods, will throw more millions of men out of work. *The army of unemployed is permanent. Stagnation and decay are written on the wall of capitalism, which is trying to save itself through increasing terror and war.* The workers demand relief today. They demand protection today when out of work no matter for what cause.

The *Unemployed Councils* have received tremendous support from the workers throughout the country and have conducted gigantic struggles for relief and unemployment insurance. The Democratic Party, to offset this fighting spirit, put into its election platform a clause for "unemployment and old age insurance under State laws." Mr. Roosevelt

during the election campaign brought this forward as a need and right of the working class. This swung millions of workers in favor of the Democratic Party—though it did not frighten the capitalist masters behind the scenes.

While still Governor of New York, Mr. Roosevelt convened a conference of Governors of six States to discuss the question of unemployment insurance. Mr. Roosevelt then appointed a commission to "study" the question. This commission had the assistance of "experts." After two years of study, in January 1933, the commission reported its findings in the form of legislative proposals. These proposals, formulated in the Byrne bill for "Unemployment Reserves," are outrageous in character. This bill affords no insurance to the 108,000 farm workers in New York. It excludes all city and State employees. It denies protection to the nearly 2,000,000 non-manual (white collar) workers in New York. As the most vicious aspect of the bill it, grants no insurance whatever to the 2,300,000 at present unemployed in the State of New York. If adopted, in this shameful form, it would not go into operation so far as the workers are concerned, until October, 1935!

Even this mockery of unemployment insurance did not please the capitalists. Through their representatives in the State legislature and on the commission, including the representative of the American Federation of Labor, the bill has been shelved. Governor Lehman, who is also considered a "progressive" Democrat, declares that he is inclined to "demand contributions by the employers until conditions improve." In the meantime the workers shall starve. The bill is off the order of business!

Similar bills are before other State legislatures—New Jersey, Connecticut, Massachusetts, Ohio, Wisconsin. These bills have the support of the leaders of the American Federation of Labor and the Socialist Party.

The rank and file of the American Federation of Labor, the Railroad Brotherhoods and the Socialist Party, are in rebellion against the position of their leaders. More than 1,000 locals of the A. F. of L. are on record for the only genuine Unemployment Insurance Bill—the Workers' Bill

for Unemployment and Social Insurance at the expense of the employers and the government. The rank and file of the A. F. of L. are suffering from unemployment as are the other workers. They are unable to pay their dues and assessments and are being expelled from their unions. The leaders, on the other hand, continue to take high salaries, at the same time cooperating with the employers in reducing the wages and conditions of the workers in the shops and mines.

To this situation facing the toiling masses of this country, capitalist terror is no answer. The contemptible, infamous attack of the Hoover administration on the veterans in Washington on July 28, 1932, which evoked no criticism from the then Democratic presidential candidate, Mr. Roosevelt, did not settle the question of the bonus. The police attacks on the workers in the cities, fighting for relief and against evictions do not settle the question of hunger. The police terror against the National Hunger March in Washington on December 4, 5, 6, did not stop the struggle for relief and insurance. The terror against the farmers fighting against foreclosures and for relief, and the Ku Klux Klan and government terror against the Negro masses do not settle the farming and Negro questions. Terror is a weapon in the hands of the ruling class, but *it will not keep the workers from struggle.*

#### WORKERS MAKE IMMEDIATE DEMANDS

We reiterate, therefore, the demands of the workers of this country placed before the Democratic Congress on December 6, 1932. These demands are so much more imperative in view of the *rapidly worsening situation; the breakdown of the local and State relief agencies, as admitted by the Mayors and Governors; and the fact that the federal government is the only body able to provide relief and insurance for all workers throughout the country.* In the name of the American working class we, the "forgotten man," demand the "new deal."

Empowered as we were on December 6, 1932, we are empowered again today to place before you, as Chief Executive of the United States government, the demand then presented,

as the necessary immediate steps to preserve the lives of tens of millions of men, women, and children:

1. Immediate direct federal emergency cash relief appropriation of \$50 for each unemployed and part time worker, man or woman, without discrimination, plus \$10 for each dependent, in addition to local relief.

2. Immediate enactment of a system of federal Unemployment and Social Insurance by the government through taxes upon wealth and income and the diversion of all present appropriations for war purposes to relief and insurance. The Unemployment and Social Insurance Bill shall embody the following provisions:

a) Unemployment and social insurance for each worker, irrespective of nationality, color, age, sex or political opinion, when incapacitated for work for reasons beyond his or her control, whether for unemployment, part time work, sickness, accident, maternity, or old age.

b) The insurance shall be equal to the average full wage of the worker in the particular industry and territory, but in no case shall be less than \$10 per week and \$3 for each dependent.

c) The insurance shall require no waiting period and shall continue for the full period of unemployment.

d) No worker shall be disqualified for refusal to work below the prevailing trade union rates in the vicinity, or because of strike or unsafe or unhealthful conditions.

e) The workers shall make no contributions to the insurance fund, nor shall the government collect such funds through taxes on articles of mass consumption, through sales, manufacturers' taxes, or "economy" measures involving dismissals or cuts in wages, etc.

f) The relief and the Unemployment and Social Insurance fund shall be administered and controlled by the workers, through commissions composed of rank and file members elected by the workers' organizations.

3. Full and immediate payment of the war veterans' adjusted compensation certificates; no cut in the disability allowances; no discrimination in hospitalization.

4. Immediate cash relief to the impoverished farmers in the sum of \$500,000,000 and legislation prohibiting the seizure of farms or other property for the collection of debts, rents, interest or taxes. Administration of the relief fund through the farmers' own organizations.

5. Federal legislation prohibiting seizure of homes of unemployed or part-time employed workers and small home-owners for non-payment of taxes and mortgages, and the eviction of unemployed workers from their homes. Provision of adequate housing for the homeless.

6. Federal legislation guaranteeing the workers the right of free speech, press and assemblage; the right to organize and strike; abolishing completely the use of the injunction.

7. Federal legislation insuring the Negroes their rights; abolishing discrimination, segregation and Jim-Crowism; penalizing lynching, and granting the Negroes the right, together with whites, to form self-defense corps against attacks.

These are the demands that the working masses place before the United States government. In order that these proposals may be put through without delay, we demand the *calling of Congress into session within ten days of this presentation with the first order of business: Immediate, Direct Federal Emergency Cash Relief and Unemployment and Social Insurance at the expense of the employers and the government.*

The workers, toiling farmers and Negro masses will watch most closely every step of the Democratic government. *Pledges have been made. The situation demands action. The "forgotten man" demands that the pledges be redeemed in deeds without delay.*

NATIONAL COMMITTEE, UNEMPLOYED COUNCILS,  
I. AMTER, *National Secretary*

*Adopted at the Conference Called by the A. F. of L. Committee for Unemployment Insurance, at Cincinnati in November, 1932*

### WORKERS' UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE BILL

That a system of federal government unemployment insurance be immediately established by an act of Congress and made immediately effective, guaranteeing the average wages in the respective industries and territories in the United States. The unemployment insurance shall not be less than \$10.00 weekly for adult workers, \$3.00 for each dependent, to all workers wholly unemployed through no fault of their own, for the entire period of unemployment.

For all workers, no discrimination—That unemployment insurance be paid to every unemployed worker, adult, and youth, whether industrial or agricultural, office employees, and all other categories of wage labor, native or foreign-born, citizen or non-citizen, white and Negro, men and women, and without discrimination against race, color, age or political opinion. No worker shall be deprived of unemployment insurance because of refusal to take the place of strikers or to work for less than union rates of pay.

Insurance at the expense of the employers and the government—That the full funds for unemployment insurance shall be raised by the government from funds now set aside for war preparations and by taxation upon incomes over \$5,000 a year. In no instance shall there be any contributions levied upon the workers in any form whatsoever for this insurance.

Administration by the workers—That the unemployment insurance fund shall be administered and controlled by the workers through unemployment insurance commissions composed of rank and file members of workers' organizations. That unemployment insurance commissions be empowered to establish free employment exchanges for the registration of the workers, the payment of unemployment insurance, the hearing of contested claims for unemployment insurance and appeals from awards made.

For other forms of social insurance—That social insurance be paid to workers to the amount not less than \$10.00 weekly for adult workers, \$3.00 for each dependent to compensate for loss of wages through sickness, accident, old age, maternity, etc.

Part time workers shall receive the difference between their wages and the unemployment insurance benefit. No worker shall be disqualified from receiving unemployment insurance because he refuses to work at wages below what he was formerly receiving or below the prevailing trade union rates in that vicinity, nor shall he or she be disqualified for refusing to work because of strike or unsafe or unhealthful conditions, nor where hours are longer than the usual trade union standards in the particular trade or locality.

An employee shall not be required to accept employment if the establishment where employment is offered is at an unreasonable distance from his or her home.

## UNEMPLOYED COUNCILS IN PRINCIPAL STATE CENTERS

*Communicate with the nearest city or directly with*

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