representatives of certain trade union centers, particularly those of the American C.I.O. and the British T.U.C., tried to attack the activities of the general secretary of the W.F.T.U., Louis Saillant, without valid reason. The other members of the executive bureau repelled this attack in a determined manner. Saillant was attacked by the right-wing Socialist press and by American papers. As these attacks show, it was demanded from him that he come out in support of the 'Marshall Plan' and against the Soviet trade unions.

"The attempts to create an unhealthy atmosphere around the W.F.T.U.'s activities were thoroughly defeated. It is perfectly obvious that criticism of the work of the general secretary as well as of the entire administration and policies of the W.F.T.U. can, under no conditions, warrant the conclusion that the W.F.T.U. is being torn asunder by any irreconcilable antagonisms."

The *Pravda* article shows how satisfied the Russians are that there was **no** discussion of the Marshall Plan in Rome—just as they wanted from the very beginning. The article is also emphatic in pointing out that the criticism levelled against the leading Communist stooge in the W.F.T.U., Louis Saillant, has been "repelled" in that Saillant and the entire machinery of the W.F.T.U. will continue to serve the objectives of the Cominform.

many. *Pravda* certainly has plenty of reason for rejoicing as far as this particular problem is concerned. Under the pretext of seeking unity, the representatives of the American C.I.O. and of the British T.U.C. acquiesced in Moscow's plan to place the democratic trade unions of Western Germany under the control of the Communist-dominated pseudo-unions of the Eastern Zone. The C.I.O. and T.U.C. delegates voted this way in spite of the fact that the representatives of the unions of the Western Zones refused to attend the Rome meeting and that only some German Communists from the Soviet zone were present. Furthermore, the C.I.O. and T.U.C. representatives must have known that at the very moment they were engaged in Rome in friendly discussions with the German Communists, these German stooges of Moscow were preparing to split the Berlin trade unions in order to suppress the will of the democratic majority of the organized workers of that city.

The practical effect of the Rome meeting is that it opens to the Russians new possibilities for spreading confusion in the labor movement of Western Europe after they and their Communist stooges had suffered serious setbacks there during the past months.

Fraudulent Maneuvers in Berlin Trade Unions

As a result of the victory of the U.G.O. (Independent Trade Union Opposition) in the Berlin trade union elections, the Communists are set to split the Berlin trade unions rather than to submit to the will of the majority of the organized workers of Germany's largest city. Despite all kinds of fraudulent maneuvers by the Communist leadership of the F.D.G.B. (the Berlin Trade Union Federation) and despite interference by the Soviet military authorities, the U.G.O. succeeded in obtaining a clear majority in ten of the 20 boroughs of Berlin and in a number of the most important industrial unions. However, the incumbent Communist officialdom of the F.D.G.B. invalidated about 100 mandates of the U.G.O. to the city-wide trade union conference at which the new executive of the Federation was to be elected.

How this was done is shown by the following instance. In Schoeneberg, in the Western sector of Berlin, the U.G.O. had a definite majority at the borough conference of the public service employees unions. Thereupon, the Communist minority left the conference. The majority of the delegates remained and elected a slate of U.G.O. representatives. However, the incumbent F.D.G.B. leadership decided not to recognize these delegates on the ground that they were elected by a "rump conference." As a result, the Communist F.D.G.B. officials invalidated the legally elected Schoeneberg delegates to the city-wide conference of the Federation.

As a result of these blatantly fraudulent methods, the Communists were able to "elect" at the city-wide conference, which they had "purged" to suit their purposes, a new executive in which they maintain their comfortable majority.

The U.G.O. is organizing to defend the will of the majority of the Berlin workers. They realize that the Communists are determined to split the Berlin Trade Union Federation in order to maintain their dominant position. This attitude unmasks the hypocrisy of their pose as defenders of trade union unity.

existence and application of a general plan of production and distribution.

"This plan must, in its turn, be based upon an equitable distribution of the national income between consumption and investment for the purpose of developing production.

"The decisive branches of industry and of the credit system must be managed on the basis of nationalization but under exclusion of 'statism' and of 'corporativism.'

"Trade unions must participate in the responsibilities of management on the plant level (Works Councils), on the occupational level and on the national level (Economic Council). . . . "

The resolution further states that only a reduction of the cost of living can bring about economic stability and, as a result, an improvement of living conditions. Towards this end, the C.G.T.-F.O. congress proposed a number of practical measures, including a return to free collective bargaining. Finally, the resolution emphasized that the Marshall Plan "cannot be considered an alienation of the independence of France" and declared the readiness of the C.G.T.-F.O. "to cooperate wholeheartedly in the economic reorganization of Europe in conjunction with the trade union organizations of other countries and with the understanding that no democratic country be excluded . . . ."

The C.G.T.-F.O. congress decided to apply for affiliation with the W.F.T.U. However, a minority opposed this move. Lafond, a member of the C.G.T.-F.O. executive, criticized the proposal, declaring:

"To my friends it seems difficult to demand affiliation with a trade union international which has not been able to react against the strangling of trade union liberty in certain countries. As long as Russian imperialism will have the possibility to make use of the international trade union movement, it will exploit this possibility."

On behalf of the Union of Supervisory Personnel of the Metal Industry, Bernard pointed out that Yugoslav anti-Nazis with whom he had been interned in the Dachau concentration camp were recently arrested in Yugoslavia. He declared: "In view of this fact, I refuse to be seated in the W.F.T.U.—even through intermediaries—on the side of the hangmen of my comrades."

A resolution condemning the W.F.T.U. and rejecting affiliation with it was adopted by the union of French Postal and Communications Employees at its convention on April 10-11 at Suresnes. This union is affiliated with the C.G.T.-F.O.

Schoolboy I

The W.F.

IN the cleansed and invigorating atmosphere of post-election Italy, the Executive Bureau and Council of the World Federation of Trade Unions held their long-awaited sessions. The meetings were held in Rome at the close of April and early May.

For months, the British Trades Union Congress and the American C.I.O. had been chafing and protesting against the refusal of the Moscow-dominated W.F.T.U. to have any discussion of—let alone any favorable action on—the Marshall Plan. For months, James Carey of the C.I.O. was calling press conferences in the capitals of Europe at which he boasted that he would put the Russians in their place and would teach the pro-Communist general secretary of the W.F.T.U., Louis Saillant, a lesson for his reckless campaign of slander and sabotage against the European Recovery Program. So loud was this self-acclaimed St. George of the W.F.T.U. in his bragging and threats that some people really thought the Communist dragon in the W.F.T.U. was at last to be slain.

The threats were meaningless. The results were nil. With the support of the British T.U.C. delegation, James Carey caved in shamefully along the whole front at Rome. On every issue, the surrender was complete and ignominious. Commissar Kuznetsov, the Soviet government-appointed head of the Russian "unions" and his satellites, the French Saillant and Italian Di Vittorio, literally broke through an open door.

Backdown on the Marshall Plan

DURING his conference at London on March 12, 1948, with Giuseppe Di Vittorio and Fernando Santi of the Italian General Confederation of Labor (C.G.I.L.), Carey thundered: "The Marshall Plan is already late. But the W.F.T.U. delays all the time. It is not ready to concern itself with the welfare of the workers . . . There is danger in that, if the W.F.T.U. is not interested in reconstruction, organizations of the trade unions will see no reason for its existence." In his reply, Di Vittorio insisted that every "national organization should be free to take up its own position" and that "the way to fight division is for each organization to be free to discuss and oppose as it sees right. The Marshall Plan is only a part of the reconstruction program."

To this Carey pointedly answered: "If the national centers are each to arrive at their own opinion individually, could they not do without the W.F.T.U.? . . . The only collaboration we can have with other national centers is joint collaboration . . . The C.G.I.L., like the W.F.T.U., is sitting on the sidelines. We cannot play games with the welfare of the workers."

On March 25, 1948, in Moscow, Carey continued in the same vein and told Kuznetsov that "the original common ground that brought the W.F.T.U. affiliates together had been dissipated," because of "the critical position that had arisen in the W.F.T.U. about the question of European recovery." On this occasion, Carey stressed to his Soviet host that "unless we can reestablish our original understanding of the all-inclusive nature of the W.F.T.U. and that views of all national centers be considered by the W.F.T.U., there would be no further purpose in the C.I.O. continuing to attend the W.F.T.U. meetings." The C.I.O. spokesman then went so far as to tell Kuznetsov that "the W.F.T.U. had no reason to exist if it has no plans to implement its declarations for the post-war relief and rehabilitation . . . We are compelled to carry out our commitments to our members—workers who work for a living. Is the W.F.T.U. going to fail to translate its declarations on post-war relief and rehabilitation into deeds?"

On March 26, according to the official C.I.O. report of the sessions, Kuznetsov replied that his organization, "the A.U.C.C.T.U., is and always has been of the opinion that every national trade union organization should have full right and opportunity freely to discuss any political issue it deems necessary, including the Marshall Plan. Every trade union organization is free to express its opinion for or against this plan and take its decision accordingly."

Commissars Given Green Light

IN the light of this conflict between Carey on one side and Kuznetsov and Di Vittorio on the other, let us see what happened at the Rome sessions in regard to the Marshall Plan. Did Carey succeed in getting the W.F.T.U. to discuss and act on the Marshall Plan? Or did the Kuznetsov-Saillant-Di Vittorio Axis position win? **Unanimously** —including the votes of Carey, Deakin and Tewson—**the W.F.T.U. voted at Rome NOT to discuss the Marshall Plan and to allow each national affiliate to take its own position for or against the Marshall Plan. This is precisely the position that Kuznetsov had fought for in Moscow and Di Vittorio argued for in London. The decision voted for by Carey at Rome is just the opposite of what he stood for at Moscow and London.** Thus, the Russian commissars will be able to continue their campaign of sabotage in countries like Italy and France. Furthermore, after this Rome meeting, Carey, Deakin and other representatives of their organizations in the democratic countries will not even be permitted to criticize the Frachons, Di Vittorios and their ilk in the columns of the W.F.T.U. press for their undermining of the E.R.P. What a triumph for schoolboy diplomacy!

Oh yes! After the Rome sessions Carey was questioned by the press about the wisdom of keeping alive an organization, the majority of which is Communist-controlled and has affiliates like the C.G.T. and the C.G.I.L. determined to wreck the Marshall Plan in France and Italy. The C.I.O.'s secretary-treasurer sought to gloss over the basic cleavage by saying that there are "99 other matters vital to the W.F.T.U.'s basic purpose on which bona fide agreement can be reached among the Federation's Communist and non-Communist constituents." What tommy rot! What can there be **as vital** to the welfare of labor as life and work and freedom attained and assured through a sound democratic reconstruction program like the Marshall Plan? We challenge Carey to name a single one of these 99 equally vital matters. Why all the blustering behavior **before** Rome and then the cringing submission on his part at Rome? Why did Carey yield to the controlling Com clique and vote for the line of Kuz which he had characterized a few we fore in Moscow as one which aims t games with the welfare of the wor Is that the way, again to quote Ca carry out "your commitments to your bers—workers who work for a livin

Saillant Not Removed but Rew

PRIOR to the Rome meeting, while was still crusading as an innocent for the Marshall Plan, he repeatedly sulphur and brimstone on the littl of Tovarisch Saillant, the secretary- of the W.F.T.U. At London, Carey out of his way to impress upon Di that "the C.I.O. has no confidence in Saillant's ability to serve as secreta the W.F.T.U. Two weeks later at M Carey curtsied before "Comrade" Kuz and cried that "the C.I.O. was high cerned over the manipulations of th eral secretary of the W.F.T.U. wh pressed the views of the C.I.O." An Carey even went so far as to say no very useful purpose will be served forthcoming W.F.T.U. meetings in v the general secretary's activities." T ficial C.I.O. record of the Moscow —prepared by Carey himself—sums indictment by underscoring the foll "In view of past experiences, Carey that if he sat down and signed an agr with Louis Saillant, he would have n in it."

What did Carey do at Rome to le to his strong convictions about Sa intense hostility to the C.I.O. and h fitness and untrustworthiness for of the W.F.T.U.? Together with Kuz and Di Vittorio, Carey and Deakin v Rome to have Saillant give up his sec ship in the C.G.T. of France so that he "devote all his time henceforth t W.F.T.U." Surely, Carey and Deakin that in his attacks against the M Plan, in his slander campaign again democracies and in his tireless servic the Kremlin, Saillant invoked his aut as secretary general of the W.F.T.U not as secretary of the C.G.T. of Fra

Why then did these labor statesme increased confidence and greater reco for this fanatical propagandist and saboteur of the Marshall Plan in W Europe? Why these greater opport for Saillant to conduct his attacks a the C.I.O. and the Marshall Plan? I lant was not good enough on March earn Carey's confidence even as a pa secretary, why did Carey vote him h confidence on May 9 and thereby him to become full-time secretary g of the W.F.T.U.? Carey will require than one press conference in Washing explain away to the Textile Workers' and other non-Communist C.I.O. af his flip-flop and the storing of his tions in moth balls.

Schoolboy Diplomacy at Rome

The W.F.T.U. Remains "United"

Carey yield to the controlling Communist clique and vote for the line of Kuznetsov which he had characterized a few weeks before in Moscow as one which aims to "play games with the welfare of the workers?" Is that the way, again to quote Carey, to carry out "your commitments to your members—workers who work for a living?"

Saillant Not Removed but Rewarded

PRIOR to the Rome meeting, while Carey was still crusading as an innocent abroad for the Marshall Plan, he repeatedly poured sulphur and brimstone on the little head of Tovarisch Saillant, the secretary-general of the W.F.T.U. At London, Carey went out of his way to impress upon Di Vittorio that "the C.I.O. has no confidence in Louis Saillant's ability to serve as secretary" of the W.F.T.U. Two weeks later at Moscow, Carey curtsied before "Comrade" Kuznetsov and cried that "the C.I.O. was highly concerned over the manipulations of the general secretary of the W.F.T.U. who suppressed the views of the C.I.O." And then Carey even went so far as to say "that no very useful purpose will be served in the forthcoming W.F.T.U. meetings in view of the general secretary's activities." The official C.I.O. record of the Moscow confa —prepared by Carey himself—sums up the indictment by underscoring the following: "In view of past experiences, Carey stated that if he sat down and signed an agreement with Louis Saillant, he would have no faith in it."

What did Carey do at Rome to lend life to his strong convictions about Saillant's intense hostility to the C.I.O. and his unfitness and untrustworthiness for office in the W.F.T.U.? Together with Kuznetsov and Di Vittorio, Carey and Deakin voted at Rome to have Saillant give up his secretaryship in the C.G.T. of France so that he could "devote all his time henceforth to the W.F.T.U." Surely, Carey and Deakin know that in his attacks against the Marshall Plan, in his slander campaign against the democracies and in his tireless services for the Kremlin, Saillant invoked his authority as secretary general of the W.F.T.U. and not as secretary of the C.G.T. of France.

Why then did these labor statesmen vote increased confidence and greater recognition for this fanatical propagandist and vilest saboteur of the Marshall Plan in Western Europe? Why these greater opportunities for Saillant to conduct his attacks against the C.I.O. and the Marshall Plan? If Saillant was not good enough on March 26 to earn Carey's confidence even as a part-time secretary, why did Carey vote him his full confidence on May 9 and thereby enable him to become full-time secretary general of the W.F.T.U.? Carey will require more than one press conference in Washington to explain away to the Textile Workers' Union and other non-Communist C.I.O. affiliates his flip-flop and the storing of his convictions in moth balls.

ONLY top artists of the flying trapeze could vote for the humiliating decision made by the W.F.T.U. against the C.G.T.-Force Ouvrière. These bona fide and democratic trade unionists of France had been solemnly promised by Jouhaux that, with the "powerful" support of the British T.U.C. and the C.I.O., they would be given a place of honor in the W.F.T.U. Consideration of the application of the Force Ouvrière for affiliation has been postponed until a later meeting of the Bureau. Carey let Frachon and his Russian masters have their way. Carey did not stick to his promise or position. Once again, Carey did not deliver the goods. He again failed those who trusted him. This postponement is a slap in the face of the Force Ouvrière. It is much more than an approving pat by the W.F.T.U. on the back of the Communist-controlled C.G.T. which continues its furious opposition to the Marshall Plan. Thus Tovarisch Benoit Frachon, boss of the C.G.T., continues—with the aid of the anti-Communists Carey and Deakin—to enjoy the undivided authority of the W.F.T.U. in his drive to block the execution of the Marshall Plan.

Party Line Prevails in W.F.T.U.

UNDER these circumstances, it is no surprise that the W.F.T.U. adopted—unanimously, of course, and in line with its uniformly pro-Kremlin policies and practices—a resolution condemning government interference with trade unions in Spain, Greece, Iran, Brazil, Chile, India, Egypt, Argentina, China, Malaya, Burma and Ceylon. The whole world knows that the A.F. of L. is unswerving in its opposition to goverment interference in the affairs of trade unionism **anywhere at any time.** But why was not a word of protest uttered by the W.F.T.U.—with Carey actively participating in its sessions—against the criminal perversion of the trade unions in Czechoslovakia into mere departments of the Communist Party and into strong-arm agencies terrorizing the working people during the putsch for the complete destruction of Czechoslovakian democracy? Why the unbroken silence of the W.F.T.U.—with Carey and Deakin present and active—about the arrests and tortures of thousands of trade unionists and the total absorption of the trade unions by the Communist Parties in the satellite countries?

Why do Carey and his associates continue to allow the W.F.T.U. to direct its fire always and only against sinners outside the "iron curtain?" How does Carey square his condemnation of the trade union situation in Greece with his deadly silence about the smashing of the bona fide trade unions in Yugoslavia? And with the cable sent by C.I.O. President Philip Murray on March 26, 1948, to the Ninth Congress of the Greek Confederation of Labor in which he said: "Greece is the last country in the Balkans where free trade unions can exist." Well!

And by the way, it is to be noted that on May 9, 1948 Carey, a tative at Rome, voted gentine government an But, at the convention ican Confederation of affiliate of the W.F. City during the week the C.I.O.'s fraternal Knight, and the W.F.T sentative, Louis Saillan tion about the same P its "Argentine Feder which it is emphasized offered for past critic What unprincipledness anery à la Russe!

"New Look" fo

MUCH noise has bee ogists and tools o the "reorganization" of its administrative now to be an Ameri the W.F.T.U. under-se as to the policy conte This is one gift horse must look. What actu **initiated** this "improv have an American W.F.T.U. center? Wh to whom in this case sion with Carey on according to the offi "complained about th in sending anyone to ters of the W.F.T.U. fending Saillant, Kuz ther in his readiness **in order to preserv W.F.T.U.,** for Kuznets wanted to replace him one else."

The "reorganization" Rome was entirely in laid down to Carey cow. The "concession sians, whereby the to criticize the policy of any national affil dangerous weapon in munist clique ruling their satellite "union fractions in the trade countries, the Russia continue their savag democratic countries. the W.F.T.U. organ, no criticism whatsoev its puppet unions in lands will henceforth very small part of th at Paris is today in Moreover, the Execu firmly in Communist Italy and China) as from the United Sta

ONE wonders why tives consider so with the so-called "unions." Certainly, that this unprincipled the cause of world There is an enormou at hand to prove tha happened. Yet, in charge that the Mar "to be used as an in

acy at Rome

ins "United"

NLY top artists of the flying trapeze could vote for the humiliating decision ade by the W.F.T.U. against the C.G.T.-rce Ouvrière. These bona fide and demo-tic trade unionists of France had been emnly promised by Jouhaux that, with "powerful" support of the British T.U.C. d the C.I.O., they would be given a place honor in the W.F.T.U. Consideration of application of the Force Ouvrière for filiation has been postponed until a later eeting of the Bureau. Carey let Frachon d his Russian masters have their way. rey did not stick to his promise or posi-n. Once again, Carey did not deliver the ods. He again failed those who trusted n. This postponement is a slap in the face the Force Ouvrière. It is much more than approving pat by the W.F.T.U. on the ck of the Communist-controlled C.G.T. hich continues its furious opposition to the arshall Plan. Thus Tovarisch Benoit Fra-on, boss of the C.G.T., continues—with e aid of the anti-Communists Carey and eakin—to enjoy the undivided authority of e W.F.T.U. in his drive to block the execu-n of the Marshall Plan.

Party Line Prevails in W.F.T.U.

NDER these circumstances, it is no sur-prise that the W.F.T.U. adopted—una-mously, of course, and in line with its iformly pro-Kremlin policies and prac-ces—a resolution condemning government terference with trade unions in Spain, reece, Iran, Brazil, Chile, India, Egypt, gentina, China, Malaya, Burma and Cey-n. The whole world knows that the A.F. L. is unswerving in its opposition to gov-ment interference in the affairs of trade ionism **anywhere at any time.** But why as not a word of protest uttered by the .F.T.U.—with Carey actively participat-g in its sessions—against the criminal rversion of the trade unions in Czecho-ovakia into mere departments of the Com-unist Party and into strong-arm agencies rrorizing the working people during the tsch for the complete destruction of Cze-oslovakian democracy? Why the unbroken lence of the W.F.T.U.—with Carey and eakin present and active—about the ar-sts and tortures of thousands of trade ionists and the total absorption of the ade unions by the Communist Parties in e satellite countries?

Why do Carey and his associates con-nue to allow the W.F.T.U. to direct its fire lways and only against sinners outside the iron curtain?" How does Carey square is condemnation of the trade union situa-on in Greece with his deadly silence about e smashing of the bona fide trade unions Yugoslavia? And with the cable sent by .I.O. President Philip Murray on March 26, 948, to the Ninth Congress of the Greek onfederation of Labor in which he said: Greece is the last country in the Balkans here free trade unions can exist." Well!

And by the way, it is to be noted that on May 9, 1948 Carey, as the C.I.O. representative at Rome, voted to condemn the Argentine government and its "trade unions." But, at the convention of the Latin-American Confederation of Labor (C.T.A.L.), an affiliate of the W.F.T.U., held in Mexico City during the week of March 22-29, 1948, the C.I.O.'s fraternal representative, O. A. Knight, and the W.F.T.U.'s fraternal representative, Louis Saillant, approved a resolution about the same Peron dictatorship and its "Argentine Federation of Labor" in which it is emphasized that "apologies are offered for past criticism" of the C.T.A.L. What unprincipledness! What political chicanery à la Russe!

"New Look" for the W.F.T.U.

MUCH noise has been made by the apologists and tools of the W.F.T.U. about the "reorganization" and "improvement" of its administrative apparatus. There is now to be an American representative in the W.F.T.U. under-secretariat with a voice as to the policy contents of its publication. This is one gift horse into whose mouth we must look. What actually happened? Who **initiated** this "improvement," this move to have an American representative at the W.F.T.U. center? Who made a "concession" to whom in this case? At his Moscow session with Carey on March 26, Kuznetsov, according to the official C.I.O. transcript, "complained about the delay of the C.I.O. in sending anyone to work in the headquarters of the W.F.T.U. in Paris." Though defending Saillant, Kuznetsov went even further in his readiness to make "concessions" **in order to preserve the unity of the W.F.T.U.,** for Kuznetsov asked Carey "if he wanted to replace him (Saillant) with someone else."

The "reorganization" which took place at Rome was entirely in accord with the line laid down to Carey by Kuznetsov in Moscow. The "concession" given by the Russians, whereby the W.F.T.U. organ is not to criticize the policy or the administration of any national affiliates, is an extremely dangerous weapon in the hands of the Communist clique ruling the W.F.T.U. Through their satellite "unions" and through their fractions in the trade unions of the Western countries, the Russian rulers can and will continue their savage denunciation of the democratic countries. But in the columns of the W.F.T.U. organ, only glorification and no criticism whatsoever of the Kremlin and its puppet unions in Communist-dominated lands will henceforth be permitted. Only a very small part of the W.F.T.U. apparatus at Paris is today in non-Communist hands. Moreover, the Executive Bureau continues firmly in Communist hands (Russia, France, Italy and China) as against the waverers from the United States and Britain.

ONE wonders why the C.I.O. representatives consider so sacred their marriage with the so-called Russian and satellite "unions." Certainly, it cannot be proven that this unprincipled partnership has served the cause of world democracy or peace. There is an enormous amount of evidence at hand to prove that the very opposite has happened. Yet, in reply to Di Vittorio's charge that the Marshall Plan was going "to be used as an instrument for reinforcing a Rightist government in Italy against the Italian workers," Carey pleaded that **"the participation of the W.F.T.U. would have been a safeguard against manipulation by forces in Italy and the United States. Our safeguard is to join all the countries together to insure that no American views be imposed on the people of these countries."**

We are sure that the membership of the C.I.O. would appreciate learning from Carey which American views the Marshall Plan seeks to impose on other peoples. Furthermore, **what has the W.F.T.U. done to earn the right of censorship and veto over any American views in regard to the E.R.P.?** We are equally sure that the membership of the C.I.O. has only condemnation for Carey's unlimited faith in the W.F.T.U. as revealed above and in his statement of March 25 to Kuznetsov in Moscow where he confessed: "Unfortunately, no discussion was had in the Bureau on this point and no guidance was given. Some members of the Executive Bureau seemed to take the position that there was no possibility of reaching any understanding on E.R.P. within the W.F.T.U. However, the C.I.O. resisted any suggestions that we go outside of the W.F.T.U. and **we delayed until February 3 before appearing before the Senate Committee."** The poor American proletariat! It was denied the benefit of the W.F.T.U. instructions! And the unfortunate James Carey had to testify before the United States Senate Committee without guidance from the W.F.T.U.

German Free Unionists Refuse

ONE positive feature of the Rome W.F.T.U. sessions must be recorded. The C.I.O. had made herculean efforts to drag the trade unions of the Western Zones of Germany into the W.F.T.U. This scheme was endorsed and pushed by the Russian military command as part of its strategy to "unify" and control German labor, and thereby to dominate Germany. Despite this unholy combination, the scheme failed. The trade unionists of the Western Zones of Germany courageously turned down Saillant's "cordial" invitation to come to Rome and refused to attend the W.F.T.U. sessions.

The German workers simply cannot forget that, to date, the W.F.T.U. has not concerned itself with the dismantling of their factories and loss of jobs. To date, the W.F.T.U. has not dared—because of Kremlin control—to ask for the release of the German prisoners of war and their return to their homeland. Nor can free labor in Germany ever forget or forgive the W.F.T.U. for urging the Military Governments two years ago to proceed cautiously and slowly in establishing trade unions in Germany. The eternal damnation by German labor will rest on the heads of the W.F.T.U. for the proposal it offered 18 months ago that forced labor be introduced in the Ruhr mines and for its approval of the reintroduction of concentration camps in the Russian zone.

According to the London *Economist* of May 15, 1948, W.F.T.U. President Arthur Deakin remarked after the conclusion of the sessions "that there would need to be a great deal of good will all around if the Federation is to continue." And Carey told the

(*Continued on last page*)

T.V.A. and Organized Labor

By W. A. SHAFER

The author of this series of two articles, especially prepared for the "International Free Trade Union News," is a member of the T.V.A. staff.

ALMOST 1,000 technicians, government officials, students, and business and professional people from more than 50 nations last year came for serious study of the methods being utilized by the T.V.A. in the unified development of all the resources of the 41,000-square-mile watershed of the Tennessee River and its tributaries.

Almost without exception, they are intrigued by one particular feature—the spectacle of a new type of government organization attacking the multiple ploblems of a whole region as a single task. Often confronted at home by complex economic and social problems, they indicate that they are interested in T.V.A. methods because they appear to combine efficient planning with techniques of operation which enlarge rather than restrict the areas of freedom for the individual.

Independent U.S. Agency

THE T.V.A. organization is an independent corporate agency of the United States government. Created by the U.S. Congress in 1933, it is designed to provide for the unified development of all the resources of the Tennessee River Valley, an area including a population of approximately 4,000,000 persons and parts of seven Southern states.

Today, the physical backbone of T.V.A.'s work to control the valley's 52-inch average annual rainfall—almost 6,000 tons of water to the acre—is the unified system of 26 dams in the Tennessee River and its tributaries. Sixteen of the dams were built by T.V.A., five were acquired by transfer and purchase and five are privately owned but are operated as a part of the T.V.A. system under contractual agreement. Control and use of water on the land before it reaches the major streams is fostered by close cooperation in improved agricultural and forestry practices between T.V.A., state, federal and local agencies, and tens of thousands of practical farmers.

individually and as groups. This cooperation was no accident. It is a tribute to the sense of responsibility and consideration of the public interest of both the men who worked and the administrators who established the basic policies.

Congress set up the T.V.A. as a government corporation, endowed with the flexibility and initiative of a private enterprise. It was not placed under the federal civil service laws but was safeguarded by its statute from political patronage or influence in the appointment and promotion of its employees. It was instructed to establish its own merit system suited to the rigorous requirements of its unusual responsibilities as a regional agency. It was also instructed to pay its employees in the trades and labor classifications the rates of pay prevailing in the vicinity for similar work, with due regard for those rates established through collective bargaining. Under its statutory charter, the T.V.A. was able to face its managerial problems with a reasonable choice of alternatives on questions of labor policy.

The T.V.A. could have evaded the collective bargaining issue by electing to build dams by contract instead of by force account —with its own employees. The T.V.A. board of directors, however, decided for construction by force account, a decision which has prevailed on all of the T.V.A.'s major construction projects. In reaching this decision, the T.V.A. made it clear that it was prepared to assume full and direct responsibilities as a government employer.

Workers' Stake Recognized

MANAGEMENT was immediately faced with a fundamental question—would it job to be done in half-hearted fashion, with low morale and mediocre efficiency. On the other hand, positive acceptance of this assumption and provision for adequate machinery through which the contribution of employees can be encouraged are at once evidence of good faith on the part of management. This, it was believed,was the keynote to creative morale.

A second assumption pertains to the distinction between government and private employment. For example, in recognizing the right to organize, would the public employer exact any conditions as to the methods and objectives of the organizations that employees may join? Here again the conclusion was reached that government employees can be counted upon as responsible, law-abiding citizens, who are as much interested in preserving the integrity of their government as the average citizen of our democracy. The discretion and good judgment of employees was to be assumed. Exceptions could be dealt with if they arose.

A third assumption concerns the right of employees to affiliate as they choose and to designate representatives who are not employees of the T.V.A. The T.V.A. decided that there should be no reservation; if employees chose to be represented by non-employees, that was to be their business; the T.V.A. would deal with them in good faith. Underlying this decision was the assumption that good working relationships between the unions and management would depend upon mutual confidence and good faith.

Employee Relationship Policy

AFTER these tentative conclusions had been reached, they were embodied in a tentative statement of labor policy. This statement was submitted to employees and their representatives for study and discussion. Several drafts of a proposed policy were written and submitted to exhaustive study and criticism. From this process a jointly formulated

appear to combine efficient planning with techniques of operation which enlarge rather than restrict the areas of freedom for the individual.

Independent U.S. Agency

THE T.V.A. organization is an independent corporate agency of the United States government. Created by the U.S. Congress in 1933, it is designed to provide for the unified development of all the resources of the Tennessee River Valley, an area including a population of approximately 4,000,000 persons and parts of seven Southern states.

Today, the physical backbone of T.V.A.'s work to control the valley's 52-inch average annual rainfall—almost 6,000 tons of water to the acre—is the unified system of 26 dams in the Tennessee River and its tributaries. Sixteen of the dams were built by T.V.A., five were acquired by transfer and purchase and five are privately owned but are operated as a part of the T.V.A. system under contractual agreement. Control and use of water on the land before it reaches the major streams is fostered by close cooperation in improved agricultural and forestry practices between T.V.A., state, federal and local agencies, and tens of thousands of practical farmers.

CONGRESS, in creating T.V.A., instructed it to develop the entire Tennessee River system to control floods, to generate electricity and to create a year-round nine-foot channel for navigation. Today, this channel, 630 miles in length, extends from the headwaters of the river to a junction where it becomes a part of a 6,000-mile inland waterway system.

The tremendous amount of electric power generated by T.V.A.—its present 15,000,000,000 kilowatt-hours annually make it the largest single integrated system in the country—is distributed to almost 800,000 consumers in cities and farms of the region through 140 municipal systems and rural cooperatives The high-analysis fertilizers which have been produced by T.V.A. and used on 38,000 test-demonstration farms work as an educational device for improving the economy of the region.

ANY measure of success that the T.V.A. has achieved is due in large part to the support, cooperation and efficiency of the thousands of employees who have contributed

laws but was safeguarded by its statute from political patronage or influence in the appointment and promotion of its employees. It was instructed to establish its own merit system suited to the rigorous requirements of its unusual responsibilities as a regional agency. It was also instructed to pay its employees in the trades and labor classifications the rates of pay prevailing in the vicinity for similar work, with due regard for those rates established through collective bargaining. Under its statutory charter, the T.V.A. was able to face its managerial problems with a reasonable choice of alternatives on questions of labor policy.

The T.V.A. could have evaded the collective bargaining issue by electing to build dams by contract instead of by force account —with its own employees. The T.V.A. board of directors, however, decided for construction by force account, a decision which has prevailed on all of the T.V.A.'s major construction projects. In reaching this decision, the T.V.A. made it clear that it was prepared to assume full and direct responsibilities as a government employer.

Workers' Stake Recognized

MANAGEMENT was immediately faced with a fundamental question—would it be in the public interest for T.V.A. employees to have the right to organize for collective bargaining purposes, to affiliate with organizations of their own choosing, to seek the assistance of outside representatives and to determine the form and objectives of their organizations? There was nothing in the T.V.A. Act which was of help in answering this question, since the Act only provided that laborers and mechanics be paid rates of wages prevailing in the vicinity for similar work, and that all appointments and promotions be given and made on the basis of merit and efficiency. As a result of deliberations on this question, the conviction emerged that any worthwhile approach to the problem of labor relations must be based on certain assumptions.

The first of these assumptions holds that employees not only have a stake in the enterprise in which they work, but that they also have a contribution to make. If this assumption cannot be accepted, employees, singly or in organizations, either will not make a contribution or, lacking the machinery through which to make it, will tackle the

clusion was reached that government employees can be counted upon as responsible, law-abiding citizens, who are as much interested in preserving the integrity of their government as the average citizen of our democracy. The discretion and good judgment of employees was to be assumed. Exceptions could be dealt with if they arose.

A third assumption concerns the right of employees to affiliate as they choose and to designate representatives who are not employees of the T.V.A. The T.V.A. decided that there should be no reservation; if employees chose to be represented by non-employees, that was to be their business; the T.V.A. would deal with them in good faith. Underlying this decision was the assumption that good working relationships between the unions and management would depend upon mutual confidence and good faith.

Employee Relationship Policy

AFTER these tentative conclusions had been reached, they were embodied in a tentative statement of labor policy. This statement was submitted to employees and their representatives for study and discussion. Several drafts of a proposed policy were written and submitted to exhaustive study and criticism. From this process a jointly formulated statement of policy emerged, which was approved by the T.V.A. board of directors in August, 1935, and which laid the basis for collective bargaining and union-management cooperation in the T.V.A.

Briefly, the Employee Relationship Policy recognizes the right of employees to organize, affiliate as they choose, designate representatives and bargain collectively with the management of the T.V.A. It establishes machinery for disposition of grievances and for development of cooperative relationships with labor and employee organizations; sets up principles relating to employment standards, hours of work, compensation, training and placement; sets the minimum age for employment; rules out nepotism; makes provision for the safety and health of employees; and gives a voice to bona fide organizations of employees in the formulation or modification of policies, rules and regulations governing the conditions of employment and work. Largely because employees and their representatives helped to formulate the statement of policy, they cooperated in applying it effectively on the job.

Disintegration of the C.T.A.L.

By SERAFINO ROMUALDI

IF further proof is needed that the Latin-American Confederation of Workers (C.T.A.L.) has ceased to be the representative body of organized labor in that part of the world, sufficient evidence is to be found in the proceedings of the C.T.A.L.'s third convention which took place last March in Mexico City. This convention demonstrates conclusively that the C.T.A.L. has been reduced to a minority organization consisting of groups dominated by the Communist Party or closely adhering to its line.

Serafino Romualdi is Secretary of International Relations for the Inter-American Confederation of Workers (C.I.A.T.).

A "Paper" Convention

To begin with, it was clearly a "paper" convention. Only six of the 12 members of the outgoing C.T.A.L. Central Committee were present, and all six are prominent members or consistent fellow-travellers of the Communist Party—Lombardo Toledano of Mexico, Iscaro of Argentina, Pena of Cuba, Saad of Ecuador, Rodriguez of Uruguay and Molina of Argentina. Of those absent, Leiros of Argentina, Briones of Chile, Luna of Peru and Velasquez of Mexico belong to labor groups that have disaffiliated from the C.T.A.L.

Of the 14 countries represented by accredited delegates, only those attending from Colombia, Chile, Cuba, Ecuador, Puerto Rico, Uruguay and Mexico spoke for organizations in actual existence; these groups, however, represent only a minority of the organized workers of their countries. Thus, only in four countries—Colombia, Ecuador, Costa Rica and Panama—could the C.T.A.L. claim the affiliation of what was, at the time of the convention, the majority labor body. Since March, however, there have been substantial changes in the labor situation in Colombia, while in Costa Rica many of the unions that were controlled by Communists have gone over to the "Rerum Novarum." Accordingly, only the delegates of Ecuador and Panama could be regarded as representatives of majority labor groups.

Not represented at all at the C.T.A.L. convention were labor groups of Bolivia, Paraguay, Honduras, Nicaragua, Haiti, Argentina and the Dominican Republic.

The severe losses suffered by the C.T.A.L. since 1944—and its present state of disin-

directly urging the present reactionary Peruvian government to help the dissidents (Communists) form another national labor organization. Thus, Lombardo Toledano has reverted to his position prior to 1945 when he was a firm ally of Dictator Prado with whom he shared a profound hatred of the democratic Aprista movement. A similar resolution greeted the Communist-controlled Brazilian Confederation of Labor which came into being when Dictator Vargas made a pact with the Communists and which went out of existence when the newly elected Brazilian parliament outlawed them. It may be recalled that when Vargas was in power, Lombardo Toledano pledged him the C.T.A.L.'s full support. Evidently, the deal between them is still on.

Overtures to Dictator Peron

In sharp contrast with these attacks on the non-Communist labor movements of Latin America was the resolution relating to the Peron government and Argentine Confederation of Labor. In this resolution "apologies are offered for past criticism," together with a proposal that a C.T.A.L. delegation be sent to Argentina "with the view of establishing fraternal relations in order to advance labor unity, the struggle against imperialism and social justice for all workers."

One of the highlights of the C.T.A.L. convention was the special report dealing with the chaotic trade union situation in Mexico where, as a result of the "great success" of Lombardo Toledano's policy of labor unity, **there are today at least a dozen different national labor groups.** Although president of the C.T.A.L., Lombardo Toledano himself was not at the convention as an elected dele-

A considerable number of resolutions clearly reflected the current Communist Party line. These included a resolution urging rejection of the Havana Charter of the International Trade Organization, and one warning "the people of Latin America against the pro-war and imperialistic character of such programs as the so-called Truman Doctrine and Marshall Plan."

Several resolutions were particularly vicious in their anti-United States spirit. One depicted American military occupation of bases in the Galapagos Islands as an act of military aggression, omitting the fact that on July 1, 1946, the bases were returned to the command of the Ecuadorian army as well as the fact that the American occupation had been maintained with the approval and consent of the Ecuadorian government as a wartime measure—and had therefore been applauded by the Soviet Union and its Communist stooges everywhere.

A resolution in similar vein, concerning the former American bases in Panama, accused the United States of "harboring the intention, as soon as the current elections in Panama are over, to re-occupy the bases against the will of the Panamanian people."

Perhaps the most flagrantly ridiculous of these resolutions was one relating to Puerto Rico. Completely ignoring the concrete steps taken by the United States to improve the working and living standards of the Puerto Rican people and to foster their full self-government, the C.T.A.L. resolution described American rule as a "half-century of Yanqui colonial oppression" and urged all Latin-American workers to stage mass demonstrations to demand immediate American withdrawal and "payment to the people of Puerto Rico of an indemnity for economic damages caused by 50 years of colonial occupation to which they had been subjected."

Another resolution endorsed the Communist side in the Costa Rican civil war which was raging at the time of the convention.

All-Communist Leadership

Of the 15 members of the new C.T.A.L. Central Committee ten are prominent Com-

the Communist Party—Lombardo Toledano of Mexico, Iscaro of Argentina, Pena of Cuba, Saad of Ecuador, Rodriguez of Uruguay and Molina of Argentina. Of those absent, Leiros of Argentina, Briones of Chile, Luna of Peru and Velasquez of Mexico belong to labor groups that have disaffiliated from the C.T.A.L.

Of the 14 countries represented by accredited delegates, only those attending from Colombia, Chile, Cuba, Ecuador, Puerto Rico, Uruguay and Mexico spoke for organizations in actual existence; these groups, however, represent only a minority of the organized workers of their countries. Thus, only in four countries—Colombia, Ecuador, Costa Rica and Panama—could the C.T.A.L. claim the affiliation of what was, at the time of the convention, the majority labor body. Since March, however, there have been substantial changes in the labor situation in Colombia, while in Costa Rica many of the unions that were controlled by Communists have gone over to the "Rerum Novarum." Accordingly, only the delegates of Ecuador and Panama could be regarded as representatives of majority labor groups.

Not represented at all at the C.T.A.L. convention were labor groups of Bolivia, Paraguay, Honduras, Nicaragua, Haiti, Argentina and the Dominican Republic.

The severe losses suffered by the C.T.A.L. since 1944—and its present state of disintegration—are revealed by the numerous "purge" resolutions adopted at the convention against those national labor centers that either took part in the Lima Conference at which the Inter-American Confederation of Workers (C.I.A.T.) was formed, or have otherwise broken with the C.T.A.L.

Typical is the resolution directed at the Dominican labor movement, in which the Trujillo government was denounced as a dictatorship. This is to be compared with the C.T.A.L. action taken only 16 months ago when, the Dominican government being exactly the same as it is today, Lombardo Toledano enthusiastically greeted the representatives of the Dominican Confederation of Labor attending a C.T.A.L. Central Committee meeting. The difference, of course, is that the Dominicans then were friendly to the C.T.A.L. while now they have abandoned it.

Another resolution declared war on the Peruvian Confederation of Labor and the dominant Popular (Aprista) Party by in-

resolution greeted the Communist-controlled Brazilian Confederation of Labor which came into being when Dictator Vargas made a pact with the Communists and which went out of existence when the newly elected Brazilian parliament outlawed them. It may be recalled that when Vargas was in power, Lombardo Toledano pledged him the C.T.A.L.'s full support. Evidently, the deal between them is still on.

Overtures to Dictator Peron

In sharp contrast with these attacks on the non-Communist labor movements of Latin America was the resolution relating to the Peron government and Argentine Confederation of Labor. In this resolution "apologies are offered for past criticism," together with a proposal that a C.T.A.L. delegation be sent to Argentina "with the view of establishing fraternal relations in order to advance labor unity, the struggle against imperialism and social justice for all workers."

One of the highlights of the C.T.A.L. convention was the special report dealing with the chaotic trade union situation in Mexico where, as a result of the "great success" of Lombardo Toledano's policy of labor unity, **there are today at least a dozen different national labor groups.** Although president of the C.T.A.L., Lombardo Toledano himself was not at the convention as an elected delegate, while the Mexican Confederation of Labor (C.T.M.), which aided in founding the C.T.A.L. and was its only Mexican affiliate, was conspicuously absent. Despite the strenuous efforts of a special C.T.A.L. committee and the personal intervention of Louis Saillant, general secretary of the World Federation of Trade Unions, who was a convention guest, the C.T.M. leaders adamantly refused to attend, declaring their belief that "the C.T.A.L. is dead."

At this convention, the C.T.A.L. for the first time established a schedule of per capita dues payments, and also called upon all its affiliates to pay their per capita to the W.F.T.U. under threat of losing the right to vote at the next W.F.T.U. convention. It is a matter of record that **throughout its ten-year existence, the C.T.A.L. has never collected a cent in per capita dues from any of its affiliates—nor ever published a financial statement.** Neither has the W.F.T.U. ever been able to collect a cent in per capita dues from C.T.A.L. groups.

proval and consent of the [illegible] government as a wartime measure—and had therefore been applauded by the Soviet Union and its Communist stooges everywhere.

A resolution in similar vein, concerning the former American bases in Panama, accused the United States of "harboring the intention, as soon as the current elections in Panama are over, to re-occupy the bases against the will of the Panamanian people."

Perhaps the most flagrantly ridiculous of these resolutions was one relating to Puerto Rico. Completely ignoring the concrete steps taken by the United States to improve the working and living standards of the Puerto Rican people and to foster their full self-government, the C.T.A.L. resolution described American rule as a "half-century of Yanqui colonial oppression" and urged all Latin-American workers to stage mass demonstrations to demand immediate American withdrawal and "payment to the people of Puerto Rico of an indemnity for economic damages caused by 50 years of colonial occupation to which they had been subjected."

Another resolution endorsed the Communist side in the Costa Rican civil war which was raging at the time of the convention.

All-Communist Leadership

Of the 15 members of the new C.T.A.L. Central Committee ten are prominent Communist Party members—Morena of Brazil, Abella of Colombia, Pena and Calcines of Cuba, Guzman of Costa Rica, Ocampo and Alarcon of Chile, Saad of Ecuador, Rodriguez of Uruguay and Gutierrez of Guatemala; while four are inveterate fellow-travellers—Molina of Colombia, Lombardo Toledano, Velasco and Duran of Mexico. Only one member, Miguel Guzman of Ecuador, is known as an anti-Communist, but he was not present at the C.T.A.L. convention and it is not certain whether he has accepted.

A strange aspect of this C.T.A.L. convention was furnished by the presence of O.A. Knight as official representative of the C.I.O. He declared:

". . . The fraternal relationship between the C.I.O. and the C.T.A.L. has contributed to the strengthening of the bonds between the people of the United States and Latin America. It has been a great pleasure for me to be able to work in the past with Vicente Lombardo Toledano. The same pleasure exists today."

For Freedom, Work and Peace

(*Continued from front page*)

be abolished so as to permit the growth of untrammelled collective bargaining as the basic procedure in industrial relations.

B. Currency reform should be instituted. But in the revaluation of the mark, due regard must be given to the interests of the mass organizations of the working people—particularly the trade unions—so that they can continue to develop as ever-more effective buttresses of democracy.

C. A just and adequate tax system should be established.

8. IN THE BUILDING OF A HEALTHY democracy in Germany the free democratic labor movement plays a pivotal part. Here the trade union movement is not just one of the many forces vital to the growth of democracy in Germany but **a paramount bulwark of democracy.** This is particularly true because of the overriding importance of economic reconstruction in war-devastated Germany. Therefore, in preparation for the establishment of a democratic German government, it is imperative that the Military Governments of the three Western zones should restore to the genuine free trade unions all the buildings, office equipment and assets stolen from them by the Nazi Labor Front (D.A.F.).

Elementary justice demands such restitution to the organizations of labor, which were the first victims of the Hitler dictatorship. Besides, sound policy requires that everything should be done to foster the free trade unions as strong centers of democracy. If the Communists should ever succeed in grabbing control of the German trade unions, then Germany will fall an easy prey to them. Such a calamity would mean the end of the European Recovery Program, the overrunning of all Europe by Stalin's hordes and the collapse of every hope and chance for world peace.

9. WE MUST CONVINCE THE GERMAN people that they have a possibility of free choice between **integration** with the Western democracies or **disintegration** in the Eastern totalitarian tyrannies. In this spirit, the newly established elected democratic government should be placed where it rightfully belongs—on the expansionist, imperialist regime in the Kremlin. America and the other democratic nations should, therefore, call upon the Russian government to end its attempt to tear apart from the rest of Germany any particular portion of the country by instituting there totalitarian rule or to destroy the independence of the German people by taking over all Germany, under the guise of a quisling Communist regime, as a satellite in the Soviets' totalitarian orbit.

11. IN ORDER TO END THE PRESENT deplorable situation in Germany as a threat to world peace, the democracies should take the initiative and have the United Nations call upon Russia to withdraw all its armed forces and agents from German soil, to return all kidnapped German workers, technicians and industrialists to their homeland and to release all prisoners of war as well as the anti-Nazi political opponents whom they have placed in concentration camps. Once all Russian troops have gone and full freedom of association and political and trade union organization have been re-established, the American, British and French troops should likewise be withdrawn. Only then will the people of Eastern Germany be really free to unite with the Western sectors and take their rightful place as an organic part of a truly independent German nation and sovereign people.

Until these conditions are fully complied with, the troops of the Western Powers should remain in adequate strength for the sole purpose of protecting the German people and Western Europe as a whole against any attempt by Russia to extend its occupation and domination. Upon the establishment of the German government, the status of the foreign troops remaining in Germany shall be regulated by a treaty between all the sovereign parties—i.e., Germany and the Western governments.

12. OUR COUNTRY SHOULD LOSE NO time in proclaiming the full support of the idea of a joint defense pact of the free nations of Europe. Nothing more effective can will supplement and support them in their collective efforts to marshal and utilize their joint strength in case any one of them should be menaced by aggression. America should declare its categoric opposition to any further extension of the so-called Soviet sphere of influence, regardless of how limited its initial objective may be. The fruits and benefits of even the most successful European Recovery Program will be gravely jeopardized unless the endeavors and achievements of the cooperating nations are assured of proper American political safeguards and adequate military protection against attack by imperialistic forces hostile to European reconstruction. In the present acute crisis, there can be no firm democracy or lasting prosperity without military security. We warn especially against those who pose as fighters against Communist totalitarianism at home but advocate isolationism and, in effect, appeasement of Russian imperialism —thereby only serving the world-wide Communist propaganda machine.

THIS is no time for over-confidence or complacency. This is no time to hesitate or waver. This is no time to cling to the Teheran and Yalta arrangements which have been violated systematically and persistently by the Russian government. New times demand new policies. To cling to the outworn old policies is to live in the past, to have a miserable present and to assure defeat and destruction in the future. The democratic and peace-loving nations have no more time to delay or lose. The time has come to stop trying to re-fight the wars won yesterday. America must give the world vigorous leadership in preventing war tomorrow.

It is not our aim to establish or impose world hegemony by the United States. It is not our aim to force upon other nations specific American institutions, economic principles and ways of life. Our aim is to rally and unite the democratic forces of the entire world for the protection and promotion of the basic ideals of human freedom and social progress common to all liberty-loving mankind. In this spirit and towards this goal, the Free Trade Union Committee of the Amer-

the many forces vital to the growth of democracy in Germany but **a paramount bulwark of democracy.** This is particularly true because of the overriding importance of economic reconstruction in war-devastated Germany. Therefore, in preparation for the establishment of a democratic German government, it is imperative that the Military Governments of the three Western zones should restore to the genuine free trade unions all the buildings, office equipment and assets stolen from them by the Nazi Labor Front (D.A.F.).

Elementary justice demands such restitution to the organizations of labor, which were the first victims of the Hitler dictatorship. Besides, sound policy requires that everything should be done to foster the free trade unions as strong centers of democracy. If the Communists should ever succeed in grabbing control of the German trade unions, then Germany will fall an easy prey to them. Such a calamity would mean the end of the European Recovery Program, the overrunning of all Europe by Stalin's hordes and the collapse of every hope and chance for world peace.

9. WE MUST CONVINCE THE GERMAN people that they have a possibility of free choice between **integration** with the Western democracies or **disintegration** in the Eastern totalitarian tyrannies. In this spirit, the newly established elected democratic government of Germany should be invited to membership in the Western Union.

10. THE ONUS FOR EVEN A TEMPO- forces and agents from German soil, to return all kidnapped German workers, technicians and industrialists to their homeland and to release all prisoners of war as well as the anti-Nazi political opponents whom they have placed in concentration camps. Once all Russian troops have gone and full freedom of association and political and trade union organization have been re-established, the American, British and French troops should likewise be withdrawn. Only then will the people of Eastern Germany be really free to unite with the Western sectors and take their rightful place as an organic part of a truly independent German nation and sovereign people.

Until these conditions are fully complied with, the troops of the Western Powers should remain in adequate strength for the sole purpose of protecting the German people and Western Europe as a whole against any attempt by Russia to extend its occupation and domination. Upon the establishment of the German government, the status of the foreign troops remaining in Germany shall be regulated by a treaty between all the sovereign parties—i.e., Germany and the Western governments.

12. OUR COUNTRY SHOULD LOSE NO time in proclaiming the full support of the idea of a joint defense pact of the free nations of Europe. Nothing more effective can be done to cool the Kremlin's ardor for aggrandizement than America's assurance to the democratic peoples that the United States warn especially against those who pose as fighters against Communist totalitarianism at home but advocate isolationism and, in effect, appeasement of Russian imperialism —thereby only serving the world-wide Communist propaganda machine.

THIS is no time for over-confidence or complacency. This is no time to hesitate or waver. This is no time to cling to the Teheran and Yalta arrangements which have been violated systematically and persistently by the Russian government. New times demand new policies. To cling to the outworn old policies is to live in the past, to have a miserable present and to assure defeat and destruction in the future. The democratic and peace-loving nations have no more time to delay or lose. The time has come to stop trying to re-fight the wars won yesterday. America must give the world vigorous leadership in preventing war tomorrow.

It is not our aim to establish or impose world hegemony by the United States. It is not our aim to force upon other nations specific American institutions, economic principles and ways of life. Our aim is to rally and unite the democratic forces of the entire world for the protection and promotion of the basic ideals of human freedom and social progress common to all liberty-loving mankind. In this spirit and towards this goal, the Free Trade Union Committee of the American Federation of Labor proposes the above measures as guiding lines for building a democratic, prosperous and peaceful world.

Schoolboy Diplomacy at Rome

(*Continued from page* 5)

New York Herald Tribune Rome correspondent, Barrett McGurn, on May 10, 1948, that the Russians just could not afford to have the C.I.O. quit the W.F.T.U. because the **"Communists commit all their crimes in the name of the working class."** Is that why Carey helped the Russians maintain this fiction of "unity" as a cover for "all their crimes"? Thus has the formal "unity" of the W.F.T.U. corpse been maintained—solely with the aid of the C.I.O. representative and those who floundered with him.

For the Kremlin and its Cominform, however, the preservation of this hollow "unity" for even a short time is a great gain. This momentary continuation of the W.F.T.U. "unity" has been of decisive service to Tovarisch Di Vittorio in slowing down the trend towards a mass revolt against the Communist Party's domination of the Italian Confederation of Labor. The label of W.F.T.U. is of the greatest help to the Cominform intriguers in the Social and Economic Council of the U.N. and in the Russian maneuvers against the I.L.O. Under the cover of the W.F.T.U. label, concealed Cominform agents can get visas to visit parts of the world which are ordinarily closed to them as open representatives of world Communism. We need but cite the role of the Russian-manipulated W.F.T.U. delegation to Korea last year and the unceasing slander campaign against the democracies by the W.F.T.U. in Africa, the Middle and Far East.

EVERYTHING that has happened at Rome will only steel the determination of the A.F. of L. to continue with unrelenting vigor its struggle against the intrigue, encroachments and destructive activities of the Communists and all other brands of totalitarian despotism. These enemies of human freedom have always made the free trade unions their first target. The A.F. of L. will spare no effort to crush these assaults and safeguard the free trade unions as the first rampart of genuine democracy.

INTERNATIONAL

FREE TRADE UNION NEWS

Vol. 2, No. 12 | Published by the Free Trade Union Committee of the American Federation of Labor, Box 65, Station G, New York 19, New York, U. S. A. | DECEMBER, 1947

Cominform and W.F.T.U.

PRIOR to the Marshall Plan the tactics of Soviet totalitarian Communism and its stooges throughout the world were based upon the expectation of an economic depression in the United States. They assumed that such a depression would affect economic activities everywhere outside the Soviet sphere and they expected that this would result in what they call "a sharpening of the antagonisms among the imperialist powers," —i.e., the incapacity of the democratic world to undertake any kind of concerted action. In the domestic and international political and economic crises which would ensue they hoped to find an opportunity for engineering the seizure of power by the Communist parties in a number of countries outside the Soviet sphere. They hoped thereby to bring about a new westward leap of Sovietism.

In accordance with these expectations, the policies of the Communist parties in the Western countries aimed at a systematic increase of their strength and influence in order to seize power when the expected economic depression in the United States and the international turmoil resulting from it would give them the green light. It was this objective, rather than an immediate offensive to take over the government in one or the other of the Western countries, which characterized their strategy.

The instruments of these policies for in-

Plan, as they well understood, presupposes close collaboration of all participating nations and requires concerted action by the democratic world. The practical application of the Marshall Plan would, therefore, have completely upset the entire Communist strategy and, to a large extent, rendered futile their systematic mobilization of forces.

This explains why the Soviet leaders reacted to the Marshall Plan in such an aggressive manner and with a campaign of abuse bordering on hysteria. They immediately proceeded to regroup their political forces and to change their strategy. The policy of gradually gathering the strength of the Communist parties in the Western countries—in expectation of a depression in the United States—was abandoned in favor of a policy of direct offensive to prevent, at all costs, the realization of the Marshall Plan.

Accordingly, the W.F.T.U.—in which democratic trade unionists are used for the purposes of Communist infiltration—was supplemented by the Cominform which proclaims the necessity of annihilating all democratic elements in the labor movement of the Western countries—on the pattern followed in the Soviet satellite states. By adding representatives of the Communist parties of France and Italy to those of the Soviet satellites, the Cominform made it clear that the seizure of power in France and Italy is an immediate objective of international Commu-

nothing else but that democratic trade unionists are to whitewash and to approve Communist policies in the W.F.T.U. At the same time, the Cominform is to exploit the facilities afforded by such collaboration within the W.F.T.U. in order to disrupt and destroy these same democratic elements in the labor movement. The democratic affiliates of the W.F.T.U. will not be able to get the Russian and satellite members (who constitute its overwhelming majority) to give any support to the Marshall Plan—except the kind of support that a rope gives to a hanging man.

For Real Labor Cooperation

UNDER these circumstances, the decision of the A.F. of L. convention at San Francisco to prepare an international conference of the trade unions in those countries which are to participate in and contribute to the Marshall Plan is of extreme importance. It shows the way to international cooperation of the free labor movements on a genuinely democratic basis. Such cooperation is essential to the success of the Marshall Plan because the democratic application of that plan presupposes an active and authoritative role by free labor. Nothing would help the Soviet campaign to discredit and sabotage the Marshall Plan more than attempts to replace the democratic cooperation and democratic defense against Soviet totalitarianism with reactionary policies or with totalitarian con-

stooges throughout the world were based upon the expectation of an economic depression in the United States. They assumed that such a depression would affect economic activities everywhere outside the Soviet sphere and they expected that this would result in what they call "a sharpening of the antagonisms among the imperialist powers," —i.e., the incapacity of the democratic world to undertake any kind of concerted action. In the domestic and international political and economic crises which would ensue they hoped to find an opportunity for engineering the seizure of power by the Communist parties in a number of countries outside the Soviet sphere. They hoped thereby to bring about a new westward leap of Sovietism.

In accordance with these expectations, the policies of the Communist parties in the Western countries aimed at a systematic increase of their strength and influence in order to seize power when the expected economic depression in the United States and the international turmoil resulting from it would give them the green light. It was this objective, rather than an immediate offensive to take over the government in one or the other of the Western countries, which characterized their strategy.

The instruments of these policies for increasing the strength of the Communist parties in the West and firmly entrenching them in strategic positions were various forms of "united fronts," with the W.F.T.U. as the most important and far-flung "united front" organization. The W.F.T.U. has been, for the Soviet totalitarians, an extremely convenient means not only to foster Communist infiltration and domination of the labor movement in a number of countries, but also for manipulating the democratic trade unions of many countries for purposes which are contrary to their best interests.

Communists Near Hysteria

THE announcement of the Marshall Plan was immediately recognized by the Soviet leaders of world Communism as a threat to their strategic plan which we characterized above. They felt that the execution of the Marshall Plan would bring about the economic recovery of Western Europe and thus contribute to the consolidation of world economy as a whole. Moreover, the Marshall Plan would, therefore, have completely upset the entire Communist strategy and, to a large extent, rendered futile their systematic mobilization of forces.

This explains why the Soviet leaders reacted to the Marshall Plan in such an aggressive manner and with a campaign of abuse bordering on hysteria. They immediately proceeded to regroup their political forces and to change their strategy. The policy of gradually gathering the strength of the Communist parties in the Western countries—in expectation of a depression in the United States—was abandoned in favor of a policy of direct offensive to prevent, at all costs, the realization of the Marshall Plan.

Accordingly, the W.F.T.U.—in which democratic trade unionists are used for the purposes of Communist infiltration—was supplemented by the Cominform which proclaims the necessity of annihilating all democratic elements in the labor movement of the Western countries—on the pattern followed in the Soviet satellite states. By adding representatives of the Communist parties of France and Italy to those of the Soviet satellites, the Cominform made it clear that the seizure of power in France and Italy is an immediate objective of international Communist strategy. Such a seizure would be a decisive blow against the very idea of the Marshall Plan.

Marshall Plan: Dividing Line

THUS, the Marshall Plan has become the crucial point for the international orientation of the labor movement throughout the world. Any wavering will play into the hands of those who seek, through undermining and sabotaging the Marshall Plan, to pave the way for the establishment of the totalitarian "new democracy" of the Rumanian and Polish kind in Western Europe.

This new situation marks the complete bankruptcy of the illusions of those democratic trade unionists who thought that they could "domesticate" the Soviet totalitarians, or at least protect themselves against their attacks, by cooperating with them within the framework of the W.F.T.U. In view of the establishment of the Cominform, continuation of this cooperation would mean munist policies in the W.F.T.U. At the same time, the Cominform is to exploit the facilities afforded by such collaboration within the W.F.T.U. in order to disrupt and destroy these same democratic elements in the labor movement. The democratic affiliates of the W.F.T.U. will not be able to get the Russian and satellite members (who constitute its overwhelming majority) to give any support to the Marshall Plan—except the kind of support that a rope gives to a hanging man.

For Real Labor Cooperation

UNDER these circumstances, the decision of the A.F. of L. convention at San Francisco to prepare an international conference of the trade unions in those countries which are to participate in and contribute to the Marshall Plan is of extreme importance. It shows the way to international cooperation of the free labor movements on a genuinely democratic basis. Such cooperation is essential to the success of the Marshall Plan because the democratic application of that plan presupposes an active and authoritative role by free labor. Nothing would help the Soviet campaign to discredit and sabotage the Marshall Plan more than attempts to replace the democratic cooperation and democratic defense against Soviet totalitarianism with reactionary policies or with totalitarian concepts of the fascist kind, as, for example, those definitely perceptible in the De Gaulle movement in France.

The days of isolationism are over. Not only is American isolation out of the question in the present circumstances; any English or French policy aiming to remain aloof from the present world-wide antagonism between democracy and totalitarianism is equally suicidal. The concerted action of the world's democratic forces certainly cannot be governed by the specific concepts of the United States, England, France or any other single country—no matter how important it is. **The common principles and common interests of democracy throughout the world are the only basis of sound concerted action.** These common principles and interests can be asserted only through such cooperation. **No individual national maneuvering but only jointly planned and collectively executed policies will lead to world reconstruction, the triumph of democracy and lasting peace.**

INTERNATIONAL LABOR HIGHLIGHTS

"Free Trade Union News" and Its Finances

The circulation of the "International Free Trade Union News" among Austrian workers seems to be a source of considerable disturbance to the Soviet authorities and their stooges in Austria. The organ of the Russian police in Austria, called the "Oesterreichische Zeitung," with a subtitle proclaiming it as the "paper of the Soviet Army for the Austrian population," made the following complaint in a recent issue:

"It is strange that in the ranks of the Austrian Federation of Trade Unions, which is affiliated with the W.F.T.U., certain officers can be found who consider it their task to support the campaign against the W.F.T.U. by distribution of the American publication."

Needless to say, the Austrian Communists followed suit—and promptly. The very next day their paper, the "Oesterreichische Volksstimme," referred to the "International Free Trade Union News" as follows:

"It is a publication of the A.F. of L., which is the only important trade union body that has refused to affiliate with the W.F.T.U. and fights the latter by using all methods and large financial means. . . . The Executive Board of the Austrian Federation of Trade Unions will have to explain how it is possible that a gutter sheet which is directed against the unity of the W.F.T.U. can be distributed by utilizing official address files. . . . Does the Socialist Party of Austria now intend to transplant its reactionary American course into the Austrian Federation?"

The editors of the "International Free Trade Union News" cannot disguise their satisfaction over the fact that this publication has encountered the displeasure of the Russian police and their satellites in Austria and elsewhere. The abusive language quoted is clear proof that our criticism of Communist policies, and of the W.F.T.U. as an instrument of these policies, has hit the mark.

In view of the Communist assertions concerning the A.F. of L.'s "large financial means," let us take advantage of the opportunity to point out that the A.F. of L. has no income other than the voluntary contributions of its members. The A.F. of L. receives no government funds, and has no "Dongo treasures" nor "German assets" at its disposal.

Apparently, the Russians and their stooges are seeking to create the impression that their world-wide propaganda is financed by collecting pennies on the streets.

It is also of interest to note that trade unionism, as conceived by the Russian masters of the W.F.T.U., means that the army—or, more exactly, the police—has the right to tell union members what they are to do and, in particular, what to read.

Ruhr Works Council Elections Heavy Defeat for Communists

(Special despatch from Germany to the "International Free Trade Union News")

The Social Democratic candidates last month obtained an absolute majority in the election of Works Councils in 1,800 Ruhr mines. Ballots were cast by 200,000.

These results are of special significance in view of the intense propaganda efforts the Communists have pursued since 1946 to win over the Ruhr miners. It was the hope of the Communists to gain a majority of the miners, which would enable them to obtain control of the Ruhr, and this, in turn, would enable them to carry out their plans in connection with the labor movement of Western Germany.

Early results covering about 60 to 70 per cent of the Works Councils elections gave 666 seats to Social Democrats, 328 to Communists, 407 to Christian Democrats and 114 to candidates with no party.

Labor Political League Set Up by A. F. of L.

The 66th annual A.F. of L. convention at San Francisco took a notable step in the formulation of a political action program when it authorized the establishment of "Labor's Educational and Political League." Recommended by the A. F. of L. Executive Council, the formation of the League was unanimously approved by the delegates after hearing a report from the Committee on Resolutions. The pertinent portions of the report are as follows:

"The tragic failure of the Eightieth Congress to serve the people, its abject servility in advancing the interests of the most reactionary anti-labor lobbies and combinations, and the wave of legislation against labor in the various state legislatures make imperative the need for sound political education and political action by organized labor.

"In order to serve most effectively the interests of the workers of the nation and to meet adequately the challenge presented by predatory and vested interests, we recommend that the 66th annual convention of the American Federation of Labor authorize and direct the Executive Council to arrange for the immediate establishment of 'Labor's Educational and Political League' to function in the political field in the interests of the workers of the nation, and to employ staff members necessary to conduct its business and to fix their compensation and expenses.

"In order to carry out these proposals it is further recommended that the officers and Executive Council shall call a conference of the presidents of all the affiliated national and international unions at the earliest possible opportunity for the purpose of completing the structure outlining methods of procedure, and in giving early and effective realization to the political activities indicated."

Because of these recommendations on the part of the Executive Council and particu-

publication."

Needless to say, the Austrian Communists followed suit—and promptly. The very next day their paper, the "Oesterreichische Volksstimme," referred to the "International Free Trade Union News" as follows:

"It is a publication of the A.F. of L., which is the only important trade union body that has refused to affiliate with the W.F.T.U. and fights the latter by using all methods and large financial means. . . . The Executive Board of the Austrian Federation of Trade Unions will have to explain how it is possible that the Austrian trade unions receive support from the A.F. of L., which is known to be a strike-breaking organization."

Concerning the A.F. of L.'s "large financial means," let us take advantage of the opportunity to point out that the A.F. of L. has no income other than the voluntary contributions of its members. The A.F. of L. receives no government funds, and has no "Dongo treasures" nor "German assets" at its disposal.

Apparently, the Russians and their stooges are seeking to create the impression that their world-wide propaganda is financed by collecting pennies on the streets.

It is also of interest to note that trade unionism, as conceived by the Russian masters of the W.F.T.U., means that the army—or, more exactly, the police—has the right to tell union members what they are to do and, in particular, what to read.

ment of Western Germany.

Early results covering about 60 to 70 per cent of the Works Councils elections gave 666 seats to Social Democrats, 328 to Communists, 407 to Christian Democrats and 114 to candidates with no party.

Labor Political League Set Up by A. F. of L.

The 66th annual A.F. of L. convention at San Francisco took a notable step in the formulation of a political action program when it authorized the establishment of "Labor's Educational and Political League." Recommended by the A. F. of L. Executive Council, the formation of the League was unanimously approved by the delegates after hearing a report from the Committee on Resolutions. The pertinent portions of the report are as follows:

"The tragic failure of the Eightieth Congress to serve the people, its abject servility in advancing the interests of the most reactionary anti-labor lobbies and combinations, and the wave of legislation against labor in the various state legislatures make imperative the need for sound political education and political action by organized labor.

"In order to serve most effectively the interests of the workers of the nation and to meet adequately the challenge presented by predatory and vested interests, we recommend that the 66th annual convention of the American Federation of Labor authorize and direct the Executive Council to arrange for the immediate establishment of 'Labor's Educational and Political League' to further the A. F. of L.'s economic and political policies.

"1. It shall be the duty of 'Labor's Educational and Political League' to prepare and disseminate information by such media of communication as the League may decide for the purpose of acquainting the workers of the nation with the economic and political policies of the A. F. of L.

"2. The League shall prepare and disseminate information concerning the attitude of candidates for nomination and/or election to federal offices, with particular reference to their attitude toward the political and economic policies of the A. F. of L.

"3. The League shall take such other actions as it may deem advisable in furtherance of its objectives.

"4. The League shall provide for the raising of necessary funds and for the conduct of its business in such manner as it may determine.

"5. The League shall be authorized to employ staff members necessary to conduct its business and to fix their compensation and expenses.

"In order to carry out these proposals it is further recommended that the officers and Executive Council shall call a conference of the presidents of all the affiliated national and international unions at the earliest possible opportunity for the purpose of completing the structure outlining methods of procedure, and in giving early and effective realization to the political activities indicated."

Because of these recommendations on the part of the Executive Council and particularly because of the instructions contained therein that there be called very shortly a conference of the presidents of all the national and international unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, your Committee deems it best that all these proposals be referred to the Executive Council.

Your Committee is of the opinion that the formation of a distinctive third political party at this time would not serve the good purposes of organized labor. To the contrary, it would prove extremely detrimental if we attempted to do so.

International Labor Leaders At A. F. of L. Convention

Foreign visitors who addressed the A.F. of L. convention at San Francisco included:

OMAR BECU, president, Belgian Transport Workers' Union, and member of executive committee, International Transport Workers' Federation.

ROBERT H. BROWN, fraternal delegate, Canadian Trades and Labor Council.

ARTHUR DEAKIN, secretary, British Transport and General Workers' Union, and president, World Federation of Trade Unions.

TRIFON GOMEZ, president, Spanish Union of General Workers, and member of executive committee, International Transport Workers' Federation.

ROBERT OPENSHAW, British Amalgamated Engineering Union.

KURT SCHUMACHER, chairman, German Social Democratic Party.

A. F. of L. Publications

"Labor Looks at the World"..... *50 cents*
"Towards Democracy in Germany"..... *50 cents*
"The Rights of Labor"..... *25 cents*
"Slave Labor Camps in Russia"—
illustrated map ..... *25 cents*

Order from Free Trade Union Committee, A.F. of L., Box 65, Station G, New York 19, New York.

Japanese Labor Builds Toward Freedom

James S. Killen, vice president of the A. F. of L. International Brotherhood of Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers, reported to the San Francisco convention in his capacity as chief labor adviser to General Douglas MacArthur in Japan. Here are the main excerpts of his address.

THE basic purpose of the Labor Division in General Headquarters is to encourage establishment in Japan of a free and democratic labor movement which is intended to become an integral part of a free and democratic Japan; to support that movement with such legislation as is necessary to secure the legal rights of free labor; to place upon the statute books such legislation as is necessary to establish minimum standards of work, minimum standards of pay, and minimum standards of employment. In addition, the Labor Division has undertaken a far-reaching program of labor education.

As for the Japanese labor movement itself, there was a labor movement of sorts in Japan before the war, at which time its maximum strength approached 350,000 members. It was concentrated primarily in two fields—the textile and maritime industries.

Since the Allied occupation began, a Labor Ministry has been established with all governmental labor administrative agencies under that ministry.

At about 1937, the year of the Chinese incident, the labor movement in Japan was arbitrarily and summarily dissolved and never was able to reassert itself until after the surrender. With the establishment of occupation policies, Japanese workers readily took advantage of the opportunity to organize into free labor unions. That group has carried on until there are today in Japan approximately 6,000,000 union members—new and inexperienced union members. There are only a handful of men today who have had any pre-war labor experience. One of those men is now Speaker of the House of Representatives in the Diet, Komakichi Matsuoka, who was head of the Textile Workers' Union prior to the war.

THE Japanese workers are organized into two national federations. One is the Japanese Federation of Labor and the other is the National Congress of Industrial Unions.

The Japanese Federation of Labor—the Sodomei—is made up of approximately 1,250,000 workers, headed by Matsuoka, and is pretty much influenced by the Social

by governmental programs, and the unions therefore take part in vigorous political activity, seeking to influence governmental policies in such a way as to be beneficial to the workers.

THE Japanese workers are not yet familiar, as are our American workers, with the manner in which the Communist Party twists and weaves its way, reversing itself in accordance with the momentary political interests of Soviet Russia.

The Japanese Communist Party has sought to cause the usual chaos and confusion within the Japanese labor movement by fostering strikes and by seeking to interrupt the production processes, knowing full well that the only real salvation for the Japanese worker is in the increased output of clothing and the necessities of life. To the extent that production can be hampered, to the extent that shortages can be made even more severe, will the Japanese people be a more fertile area for dissemination of Communist propaganda and doctrine.

The Labor Division has sought to carry on its program of education in terms of union organization, in the development of a new labor movement, in the development of free collective bargaining as an integral part of the operation of a free society. We have used pamphlets, the press, the radio, rallies and conferences of all kinds all over Japan to try to tell the story of free trade unionism. And let me say that while there was some doubt in my mind when I first went to Japan as to the opportunity we would have to talk frankly and freely, we have been privileged to carry on such discussions with the Japanese trade union movement and other groups—free from any restraint or interference whatsoever by General MacArthur's top military advisers.

Japan potentially may be and can be a rampart of democracy in a free world. There is no insurmountable reason why it should not become such. I think that under the leadership of General MacArthur, the seeds of a democratic society have been carefully sown in Japan. These seeds are taking root. They will, if properly nurtured, grow.

MERE slogans and professions of faith will not by themselves be sufficient to create a democratic society in Japan. America has been and is making a substantial contribution towards meeting those economic ills that the Japanese worker is facing. I pray that this country will continue that effort. When the Japanese worker dreams of a better life, a democratic life, he dreams of adequate food, adequate clothing, adequate housing. In his collective bargaining negotiations, he is not only bargaining for wages—he is also bargaining for food.

If we are effective in opposing the totalitarian philosophies which are seeking to overrun the world, we must be ready to back up our professions of faith with such works as are necessary and within our ability to perform.

In this connection, the work which the A.F. of L. is carrying on in Europe—the distribution of food parcels and other activities—presents the American labor movement as being for a free society, presents the American labor movement as having a positive and constructive program for which it is ready to battle all over the world. I hope that in the future it will be able to extend that program to Japan as well.

A. F. of L. Pledge to Japanese Workers

The following resolution was unanimously adopted by A.F. of L. convention:

WHEREAS a delegate to the San Fran- ment—free from all control and domination

Since the Allied occupation began, a Labor Ministry has been established with all governmental labor administrative agencies under that ministry.

At about 1937, the year of the Chinese incident, the labor movement in Japan was arbitrarily and summarily dissolved and never was able to reassert itself until after the surrender. With the establishment of occupation policies, Japanese workers readily took advantage of the opportunity to organize into free labor unions. That group has carried on until there are today in Japan approximately 6,000,000 union members—new and inexperienced union members. There are only a handful of men today who have had any pre-war labor experience. One of those men is now Speaker of the House of Representatives in the Diet, Komakichi Matsuoka, who was head of the Textile Workers' Union prior to the war.

THE Japanese workers are organized into two national federations. One is the Japanese Federation of Labor and the other is the National Congress of Industrial Unions.

The Japanese Federation of Labor—the Sodomei—is made up of approximately 1,250,000 workers, headed by Matsuoka, and is pretty much influenced by the Social Democratic Party. The National Congress of Industrial Unions—the Sanbetsu—is of approximately equal size. While many of the units of this organization support the Social Democratic Party, the greatest part of the pro-Communist section of the Japanese labor movement is centered in the Sanbetsu.

Together, those two bodies make up 2,500,000 of the 6,000,000 workers organized in Japan. The others are independent unions or are linked up in Liaison Councils of particular groups of unions.

The collective bargaining process has been encouraged and is making rapid development in all Japanese industries. They have developed their own collective bargaining techniques; they have developed their own style of contract writing.

Japanese unions have, of necessity, found themselves closely tied in with political developments. Under the conditions existing in Japan today, the livelihood of the worker, his employment opportunities, his rates of pay, his food and his clothing supplies and his housing are all influenced very directly ests of Soviet Russia.

The Japanese Communist Party has sought to cause the usual chaos and confusion within the Japanese labor movement by fostering strikes and by seeking to interrupt the production processes, knowing full well that the only real salvation for the Japanese worker is in the increased output of clothing and the necessities of life. To the extent that production can be hampered, to the extent that shortages can be made even more severe, will the Japanese people be a more fertile area for dissemination of Communist propaganda and doctrine.

The Labor Division has sought to carry on its program of education in terms of union organization, in the development of a new labor movement, in the development of free collective bargaining as an integral part of the operation of a free society. We have used pamphlets, the press, the radio, rallies and conferences of all kinds all over Japan to try to tell the story of free trade unionism. And let me say that while there was some doubt in my mind when I first tion towards meeting those economic ills that the Japanese worker is facing. I pray that this country will continue that effort. When the Japanese worker dreams of a better life, a democratic life, he dreams of adequate food, adequate clothing, adequate housing. In his collective bargaining negotiations, he is not only bargaining for wages—he is also bargaining for food.

If we are effective in opposing the totalitarian philosophies which are seeking to overrun the world, we must be ready to back up our professions of faith with such works as are necessary and within our ability to perform.

In this connection, the work which the A.F. of L. is carrying on in Europe—the distribution of food parcels and other activities—presents the American labor movement as being for a free society, presents the American labor movement as having a positive and constructive program for which it is ready to battle all over the world. I hope that in the future it will be able to extend that program to Japan as well.

A. F. of L. Pledge to Japanese Workers

The following resolution was unanimously adopted by A.F. of L. convention:

WHEREAS a delegate to the San Francisco convention, James Killen, brought to us a cheering message of organization of Japanese wage-earners into free trade unions; and

WHEREAS free trade unions are the keystone of democratic freedom and opportunity for workers to promote their welfare by collective bargaining to increase wages and improve working conditions and to give wage-earners that economic status which leads to social and political influence; and

WHEREAS the problems of wage-earners in all countries throughout the world are dealt with by similar methods and procedures, hence there is a world-wide fraternity between members of free trade unions everywhere which expresses itself in international labor organizations and in the exchange of fraternal delegates; and

WHEREAS the establishment and firm consolidation of a mighty, genuine free trade union movement in Japan will prove to be the bulwark of a democratic, peaceful and prosperous Japanese people, who will be able to take their rightful place among the freedom-loving nations of the world; therefore be it

RESOLVED that the A.F. of L. pledge its full moral and material support to the Japanese workers and the free trade unions in building a virile, free trade union movement—free from all control and domination by the government, the political parties and the employers. We are convinced that the creation of such a healthy free trade union movement is the strongest rampart against the encroachment and menace of totalitarian tyranny and dictatorship of every type and stripe, of every color and kind; therefore be it further

RESOLVED that we further pledge to the Japanese free trade union movement our sympathy and cooperation in establishing democratic institutions in Japan and that we send, through Brother James Killen, fraternal greetings and salutations to Japanese labor; and be it further

RESOLVED that in this critical period in the history of mankind, we extend to the workers of Japan and their free trade unions a firm handclasp of fraternal solidarity in a common struggle to enhance the welfare of the toiling people of all lands, to assure peace for all mankind, to preserve and promote human rights and democratic liberties throughout the world; and be it further

RESOLVED that the American Federation of Labor propose to the Japanese free trade unions that they select a representative to accompany James Killen, our representative in Japan, to the next convention of the American Federation of Labor.

Debate on the Taft-Hartley Law:

One of the most important discussions that arose during the A.F. of L. San Francisco convention concerned the course to be adopted by the A.F. of L. in relation to that provision of the Taft-Hartley Law requiring submission of non-Communist affidavits by all officers of unions desiring to avail themselves of the use of the National Labor Relations Board.

Since the discussion revolved around the fate of the "federal labor unions," it is necessary to bear in mind that such organizations are unions directly chartered by and subordinated to the A.F. of L. Executive Council. The constitutional change authorized by the A.F. of L. convention was based on the need to enable the federal labor unions, which generally are relatively new and insufficiently consolidated bodies, to use the facilities and services of the N.L.R.B.

Major excerpts of the debate are herewith presented, including both the majority and minority viewpoints. The latter was represented by Thomas Kennedy and John L. Lewis, respectively Secretary-Treasurer and President of the United Mine Workers. The majority position was upheld by Daniel J. Tobin, President of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters; George Meany, Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor; William Green, President of the American Federation of Labor; and David Dubinsky, President of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, who served as chairman of the convention's Committee on Laws.

The Committee on Laws reported favorably on the recommendation of the A.F. of L. Executive Council that the A.F. of L. constitution be amended to eliminate the posts of 13 vice presidents, identifying them only as members of the Executive Council, and to establish the president and secretary-treasurer as the only officers of the A.F. of L. "within the meaning of the Taft-Hartley Law." The recommendation pointed out that "such action would not, however, curtail or limit the responsibility and authority of the Executive Council."

THOMAS KENNEDY:

**Secretary-Treasurer,
United Mine Workers**

"THE United Mine Workers' constitution has a direct clause prohibiting any member of the Communist Party from holding membership in our organization. . . . In refusing to sign these affidavits, we do so not because we favor Communism, but because we believe that somewhere along the line in the labor movement of this country some organization has got to stand up for the principles that are involved in this situation. The report of the Executive Council on this subject is simply substituting expediency for principle. . . .

"It is said that we may not be able to get on a ballot and that some organization not representing the majority of the men may be delegated as the bargaining agent. I submit that if any minority group is designated as the bargaining unit in an industry where there has been no vote pertaining to an organization that did not sign this affidavit. . . that collective bargaining instrument would last just about long enough for the majority to get together and devise some plan to work their matters out on a basis where the majority would rule. Our organization is just as much affected by this as the federal labor unions.

"We have District 50. District 50 went out and organized, and it is still organizing the unorganized, just as the federal labor unions are organizing. We have as much to lose as the federal labor unions, but I don't think we are going to lose anything, and I don't enterprises for collective bargaining, to make more difficult the securing of new members for the labor movement, without which our movement will become so possessed of inertia that there will be no action and no growth. . . .

"The Executive Council said: 'We must stand for the repeal of this un-American statute and we must resist and withhold support from all modifying amendments that seek to make it virtuous. It is so completely bad that it can't be made virtuous . . . so we will stand against its modification by amendment and we will ask the American people to join us in asking for its complete repeal.' . . .

"Now comes a report that, in effect, says: 'No, we won't permit Congress to amend it. We will debase ourselves and amend our own constitution to make it unnecessary.' What a paradox!

"The great brains in Congress who enacted this measure under the tutelage of the lawyers employed by the National Association of Manufacturers, in a moment of mental aberration, put an optional clause in this statute, and they made it optional as to whether or not you would conform to the obligations of the Act. . . .

"And they unwittingly gave to labor the greatest chance to destroy this statute that will ever come to us. All we needed to do. . . was to do nothing—and the Act would have been discredited. There would have been no cases filed before the National Labor Relations Board, and its only function would have been functions solely in the interests of the employer. The sense of fair play of the tion will pass by long enough to stop and get on a ballot. I make the averment that unless a majority of the members of a local union want to change their affiliation or leave that union, the contracting organization does not have to be on the ballot.

"If you grovel enough in this convention, you will probably have more to grovel for next January and March, because when the Congress and the enemies of labor find out how easy you are, they will give you more to grovel for. . . .

"If you elect to take this astounding action, I can only say that you will be voting this speaker off the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. I will not be a candidate for election to this debased board."

* * *

DANIEL J. TOBIN:

President, International Brotherhood of Teamsters

"I DON'T think we ought to take this question . . . half as seriously as it has been made to appear by the representatives of the United Mine Workers.

"The changing of my title—or whoever will succeed me—from that of Vice President to Executive Council member means just exactly the same thing—no difference. We have the same powers and we will function just as before.

"Why are we doing this? To help 286,000 members that need our help. Some people say: 'Defy the law.' This is a law that we resent, but there is a legal procedure to change the law, and it isn't by revolution.

sented by Thomas Kennedy and John L. Lewis, respectively Secre- ...tive Council.

THOMAS KENNEDY:

Secretary-Treasurer,
United Mine Workers

"THE United Mine Workers' constitution has a direct clause prohibiting any member of the Communist Party from holding membership in our organization. . . . In refusing to sign these affidavits, we do so not because we favor Communism, but because we believe that somewhere along the line in the labor movement of this country some organization has got to stand up for the principles that are involved in this situation. The report of the Executive Council on this subject is simply substituting expediency for principle. . . .

"It is said that we may not be able to get on a ballot and that some organization not representing the majority of the men may be delegated as the bargaining agent. I submit that if any minority group is designated as the bargaining unit in an industry where there has been no vote pertaining to an organization that did not sign this affidavit. . . that collective bargaining instrument would last just about long enough for the majority to get together and devise some plan to work their matters out on a basis where the majority would rule. Our organization is just as much affected by this as the federal labor unions.

"We have District 50. District 50 went out and organized, and it is still organizing the unorganized, just as the federal labor unions are organizing. We have as much to lose as the federal labor unions, but I don't think we are going to lose anything, and I don't think the federal labor unions will lose anything, and I don't think any international union will lose anything, by exercising its option and declining to sign this insulting anti-Communist affidavit."

* * *

JOHN L. LEWIS:

President,
United Mine Workers

"THE Taft-Hartley statute is the first ugly, savage thrust of Fascism in America. It came into being through an alliance between industrialists and the Republican majority in Congress, aided and abetted by those Democratic legislators who still believe in the institution of human slavery. It was bought and paid for by campaign contributions from the industrial and business interests of this country, and the Republican Party and the Democratic minority made good by forging these legislative shackles for you and the men and women who pay you to intelligently represent them. . . .

"The signing of the affidavit isn't the only thing that an organization has to do to conform to this Act. This Act is a trap, a pitfall for the organizations of labor . . . passed to oppress labor, to make difficult its current enterprises for collective bargaining, to make more difficult the securing of new members for the labor movement, without which our movement will become so possessed of inertia that there will be no action and no growth. . . .

"The Executive Council said: 'We must stand for the repeal of this un-American statute and we must resist and withhold support from all modifying amendments that seek to make it virtuous. It is so completely bad that it can't be made virtuous . . . so we will stand against its modification by amendment and we will ask the American people to join us in asking for its complete repeal.' . . .

"Now comes a report that, in effect, says: 'No, we won't permit Congress to amend it. We will debase ourselves and amend our own constitution to make it unnecessary.' What a paradox!

"The great brains in Congress who enacted this measure under the tutelage of the lawyers employed by the National Association of Manufacturers, in a moment of mental aberration, put an optional clause in this statute, and they made it optional as to whether or not you would conform to the obligations of the Act. . . .

"And they unwittingly gave to labor the greatest chance to destroy this statute that will ever come to us. All we needed to do. . . was to do nothing—and the Act would have been discredited. There would have been no cases filed before the National Labor Relations Board, and its only function would have been functions solely in the interests of the employer. The sense of fair play of the American people would not have permitted the government to spend money to utilize the savage devices of this statute solely in the interests of the great industrialists and employers who are now making larger profits than ever before in the history of our country or any other country.

"What built up the labor movement in this country? Was it laws and statutes that protected the organizers of our movement? . . . Oh, no! The founders of the American Federation of Labor had no such protection. They had to fight for the right to hold a meeting, and men had to sacrifice and sometimes die for the right to join a union. . . .

"Well, what are we going to do? Are we going to abandon the policy and course of action that created us, that made strong and courageous men out of our members and great leaders out of their representatives? And are we now going to cry aloud, like a voice in the wilderness, that we must have a law that will prevent men and women from leaving our unions?

"That is what this clause in the constitution amounts to. Some people are afraid that some federal labor union will leave the A. F. of L. because some raiding organization will pass by long enough to stop and get on a ballot. I make the averment that unless a majority of the members of a local union want to change their affiliation or leave that union, the contracting organization does not have to be on the ballot.

"If you grovel enough in this convention, you will probably have more to grovel for next January and March, because when the Congress and the enemies of labor find out how easy you are, they will give you more to grovel for. . . .

"If you elect to take this astounding action, I can only say that you will be voting this speaker off the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. I will not be a candidate for election to this debased board."

* * *

DANIEL J. TOBIN:

President, International Brotherhood of Teamsters

"I DON'T think we ought to take this question . . . half as seriously as it has been made to appear by the representatives of the United Mine Workers.

"The changing of my title—or whoever will succeed me—from that of Vice President to Executive Council member means just exactly the same thing—no difference. We have the same powers and we will function just as before.

"Why are we doing this? To help 286,000 members that need our help. Some people say: 'Defy the law.' This is a law that we resent, but there is a legal procedure to change the law, and it isn't by revolution.

"As far as I am concerned, I am quite happy to get an opportunity to say to the world by affidavit or otherwise: 'I am not a Communist.' That is all the affidavit means....

"I would be very sorry if the United Mine Workers are not represented on the A.F. of L. Executive Council. They are a great help, but if they choose the other way, we will have to carry on as we did before. We will have to do the best we can under the circumstances, and I don't think we are going out of business. I am going to stay with the A. F. of L. even though it disagrees with me. I always have. I don't believe in secession, either within a local, an international or the Federation. I am going to support the report of the Committee on Laws because I think it is the only logical thing to do. . . .

"It is my individual judgment that the main cause of the Taft-Hartley Law in some respects could be placed at the door of labor. The division within the family of labor—two great organizations fighting each other, raiding each other, trying to destroy each other—is the main cause of our weakness in Washington. . . . All my life I have been trying to defeat men like Taft and Hartley and their kind. For four national elections I led the opposition to men of that kind,

Shall A. F. of L. Affiliates Sign Non-Communist Affidavits? Why the Federation's Constitution Was Amended

and I had 98 per cent of the working people of the country backing me up.

"We have a job to do to hold our unions together. Part of our job is to fulfill our obligations to these federal labor unions. . . . As I see the light, I am going to do that, and I don't think any man on the Executive Council who has been placed in charge of these federal labor unions should refuse to help them."

* * *

GEORGE MEANY:

Secretary-Treasurer,
American Federation of Labor

"AS has been stated, the reason it is necessary to amend the A. F. of L. constitution to give this power to the federal labor unions, the right to exercise this option, is because it is also necessary to respect the position of any member of the Executive Council who feels that he is obligated, because of the attitude of his own international union, to refuse to sign this non-Communist affidavit.

"The purpose of this amendment, in addition, is to preserve the freedom of action of members of the Executive Council to follow the dictates of their own organizations. The reason for this is that 13 members of the Executive Council are in a dual capacity in the A. F. of L. While they are members of the Executive Council they are also officers of international unions. Two members of the Executive Council are not in that position. Their obligation is to the Federation as a whole. Under present circumstances, every international union affiliated to the A. F. of L. has the option and the right to sign this affidavit and bring its members into a position where they can defend themselves under the law or refuse to sign this affidavit. . . . Unless this amendment passes, that right is denied to the federal labor unions. As an officer of the Federation, I feel it is my obligation to ask that this convention give the same right to the federal labor unions. . . .

"The only other solution that has so far been offered is that we use this non-Communist affidavit as a focal point of resistance to the Taft-Hartley Law. I question the wisdom of that proposal, even if the entire Federation was prepared to use the non-Communist affidavit as its focal point of attack. But in view of the fact that the international unions are not going to use it as their focal point of attack on the Taft-Hartley Law, it would be folly for the Federation to do so. The only result would be that the Federation would be destroyed. That has been the destruction of the American Federation of Labor. . . .

"Practically all the federal labor unions have secured their representation rights under the National Labor Relations Act, and unless they have the right to appear on the ballot at the expiration of their contracts, 80 per cent of these organizations will be destroyed—not go to the C.I.O., not go to independent unions, but destroyed—because the one vital feature of their existence is their ability to face the employer and say: 'We are the legal representatives of the men and women in the employ of this plant.'

"So, when the question of courage comes up, when the inference is made that there is a lack of courage in failing to start a revolution against this law . . . I say to you that I don't know of a more cowardly thing you could do than to take these groups that haven't the backing, the experience, the structure and the financial standing of the international unions and place them in the forefront of this fight. . . . To me that would be abject desertion of a quarter of a million members of the A. F. of L. who have every right to expect your complete support."

* * *

WILLIAM GREEN:

President,
American Federation of Labor

"FIRST of all, may I say that there is no greater democratic forum in the United States of America than a convention of the American Federation of Labor. We want to maintain all A. F. of L. conventions upon that basis, so that we can freely express ourselves and our opinions and our judgment in good faith, without having our motives questioned.

"Surely it is not expected that a great body such as this could assemble, coming as they do from every city and hamlet and town and village in the United States, and be unanimous in their opinions. But surely we possess enough wisdom and mutual respect for each other to disagree as friends and not as enemies. . . .

"Every man and woman attending this convention hates the Taft-Hartley Act and holds in contempt those who voted for the enactment of that vicious anti-labor law. Its purpose is, as I have said, to make strong unions weak, to make weak unions still weaker, and to render the weakest among us impotent.

can do so, and as a result it is certified and the federal labor union is driven out.

"The federal labor unions are the prey of the raiders everywhere, and unless they are accorded the same protection—not a greater protection, no favoritism—but an equal protection with the other unions, then our federal labor unions will die. Is that good policy and good strategy? . . . All we are trying to do, as I see it, is to follow a strategic course in order to save our federal labor unions and increase our membership by organizing new federal labor unions in competition with our raiding enemies."

* * *

DAVID DUBINSKY:

President, International
Ladies' Garment Workers' Union

"I CONSIDER the anti-Communist affidavit provision as stupid, obnoxious and ineffective—as well as unconstitutional. I have fought Communism all my life, and my organization has been involved in this fight for more than 25 years. But the only question before us is whether the federal labor unions shall be accorded the same privilege of choosing whether or not to use the N.L.R.B. machinery as the international and national unions possess. I don't want to deny to anybody any privileges that I myself enjoy. What I enjoy, others should also have the freedom to enjoy.

"By accepting the recommendation of the Executive Council and the Committee on Laws, the convention will not decide that it becomes mandatory for the federal labor unions to use the machinery of the N.L.R.B. Similarly, the decision of the convention does not mean that it is mandatory for any union to use that machinery. It is optional with the United Mine Workers; it is optional with the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union; it is optional with the International Brotherhood of Teamsters—and with all others. Let it be optional with the federal labor unions as well. . . .

"Though we condem the Taft-Hartley Law, I doubt that an attack on the affidavit is the strongest weapon and the best means of fighting it. And I am honestly and sincerely not ready to compromise with my principles. I have fought and sacrificed my freedom for the principles I believe in. But I know that the same law that provides for unions to sign the anti-Communist affidavit, in order to avail themselves of the

unions, the right to exercise this option, is because it is also necessary to respect the position of any member of the Executive Council who feels that he is obligated, because of the attitude of his own international union, to refuse to sign this non-Communist affidavit.

"The purpose of this amendment, in addition, is to preserve the freedom of action of members of the Executive Council to follow the dictates of their own organizations. The reason for this is that 13 members of the Executive Council are in a dual capacity in the A. F. of L. While they are members of the Executive Council they are also officers of international unions. Two members of the Executive Council are not in that position. Their obligation is to the Federation as a whole. Under present circumstances, every international union affiliated to the A. F. of L. has the option and the right to sign this affidavit and bring its members into a position where they can defend themselves under the law or refuse to sign this affidavit. . . . Unless this amendment passes, that right is denied to the federal labor unions. As an officer of the Federation, I feel it is my obligation to ask that this convention give the same right to the federal labor unions. . . .

"The only other solution that has so far been offered is that we use this non-Communist affidavit as a focal point of resistance to the Taft-Hartley Law. I question the wisdom of that proposal, even if the entire Federation was prepared to use the non-Communist affidavit as its focal point of attack. But in view of the fact that the international unions are not going to use it as their focal point of attack on the Taft-Hartley Law, I object most strenuously to a situation in which we would put the federal labor unions in the forefront as the shock troops to bear the brunt of that attack.

"Let us be practical about this. The federal labor unions are not in a position to be the shock troops of the A. F. of L., even if you wanted them to—and I am convinced you don't want them to. . . .

"I don't think anyone in this room thinks it is a good law. I don't think we have to point out the iniquities of the law. We know it is a bad law. . . . This particular section of the law, on the so-called non-Communist affidavit, is by no means the most important section of the law. However, the inference seems to have gone out that you can escape the reprehensible provisions of this law by failing to sign the non-Communist affidavit. . . . Every section of this Act directed against labor is still in operation, whether you sign the non-Communist affidavit or not. Suits can be filed and injunctions secured against organizations, whether they sign or not. . . .

"Insofar as that affidavit is concerned, I don't see why we should pull the Communist chestnuts out of the fire. For 27 years, the one major objective, the one prime objective of the Communist Party in America, as the first step in its aspirations to take control, you could do than to take these groups that haven't the backing, the experience, the structure and the financial standing of the international unions and place them in the forefront of this fight. . . . To me that would be abject desertion of a quarter of a million members of the A. F. of L. who have every right to expect your complete support."

* * *

WILLIAM GREEN:

President,
American Federation of Labor

"FIRST of all, may I say that there is no greater democratic forum in the United States of America than a convention of the American Federation of Labor. We want to maintain all A. F. of L. conventions upon that basis, so that we can freely express ourselves and our opinions and our judgment in good faith, without having our motives questioned.

"Surely it is not expected that a great body such as this could assemble, coming as they do from every city and hamlet and town and village in the United States, and be unanimous in their opinions. But surely we possess enough wisdom and mutual respect for each other to disagree as friends and not as enemies. . . .

"Every man and woman attending this convention hates the Taft-Hartley Act and holds in contempt those who voted for the enactment of that vicious anti-labor law. Its purpose is, as I have said, to make strong unions weak, to make weak unions still weaker, and to render the weakest among us impotent.

"All the resolutions referred to in the discussion are incorporated in the Act for the express purpose of destroying the organized labor movement. That means that if we want to live, if we value the life of our movement, we must unite as never before and fight against this infamous piece of legislation. . . .

"Now, what is the issue? It is this: Shall all unions chartered and affiliated with the A. F. of L. stand on the same basis? Shall the local unions chartered by international unions be accorded the right to process cases before the National Labor Relations Board and that same right be denied to the federal labor unions?

"Many of the officers of our international unions have already filed their anti-Communist affidavits and qualified. They will process their cases before the National Labor Relations Board. Can the federal labor unions live if they are denied the right to do what these other local unions are accorded the right to do? Suppose a federal labor union cannot process a case before the N.L.R.B. because its officers have not filed the non-Communist affidavit? Then the independent union that meets the legal requirements, or the C.I.O. union that meets the legal requirements, or any other union,

"I CONSIDER the anti-Communist affidavit provision as stupid, obnoxious and ineffective—as well as unconstitutional. I have fought Communism all my life, and my organization has been involved in this fight for more than 25 years. But the only question before us is whether the federal labor unions shall be accorded the same privilege of choosing whether or not to use the N.L.R.B. machinery as the international and national unions possess. I don't want to deny to anybody any privileges that I myself enjoy. What I enjoy, others should also have the freedom to enjoy.

"By accepting the recommendation of the Executive Council and the Committee on Laws, the convention will not decide that it becomes mandatory for the federal labor unions to use the machinery of the N.L.R.B. Similarly, the decision of the convention does not mean that it is mandatory for any union to use that machinery. It is optional with the United Mine Workers; it is optional with the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union; it is optional with the International Brotherhood of Teamsters—and with all others. Let it be optional with the federal labor unions as well. . . .

"Though we condem the Taft-Hartley Law, I doubt that an attack on the affidavit is the strongest weapon and the best means of fighting it. And I am honestly and sincerely not ready to compromise with my principles. I have fought and sacrificed my freedom for the principles I believe in. But I know that the same law that provides for unions to sign the anti-Communist affidavit, in order to avail themselves of the N.L.R.B. machinery, does not provide that the employer who employs members of the federal locals, when he wants to file an unfair labor practice against them, also has to sign. He can file it without any affidavit.

"The law is unfair in that it provides only that the union representatives should sign an affidavit, but the employer—whether he is a Communist, an Anarchist or a Trotskyite—doesn't have to sign one. He can go straight to the N.L.R.B. and use the machinery whenever it serves his purpose. When will employers use it? They will use it when they want to defeat a federal local. They will use it when they want to eliminate collective bargaining. They will use it when they feel they have the upper hand.

"Why give a weapon to the employer to use when it serves him, and deny ourselves that right when it serves us?

"It is from this point of view that the Executive Council and the Committee on Laws have come to the almost unanimous conclusion that the privileges accorded to the representatives and membership of the national and international unions should be accorded to the federal locals. I think it is the greatest virtue of the American Federation of Labor that we have the right of autonomy—for ourselves to decide."

THE A. F. of L. AND WO

IT is with a full appreciation of the key role played by the trade unions in this critical period that the International Labor Relations Department, through the Free Trade Union Committee and the Labor League for Human Rights, has conducted its numerous activities. Brothers Irving Brown and Henry Rutz have rendered highly valuable service in the struggle against the menace of totalitarian infiltration and domination of these basic organizations of labor. The dynamic democratic role played by the A.F. of L. is now known to additional millions of workers.

The forthright and unmistakable democratic position taken by the A.F. of L., the fight it has vigorously carried to the enemies of human decency and all stripes of reactionaries, have won it much moral support at home and abroad. This fight has made the totalitarian Communists more bitter than ever against the A.F. of L. and its democratic ideals. The Communist slanderers in many lands have gone to the wildest extremes of recklessness in their abuse and misrepresentation of the position of the A.F. of L. They recognize in the A.F. of L. their main enemy and obstacle to their attempts to dominate organized labor and for foisting dictatorship on more nations.

Because of its traditional opposition to state domination and the evils of "statism" and because of its intense spirit of independence and devotion to human rights and liberties, the A.F. of L. is particularly well-fitted and duty-bound to meet its responsibilities to world labor now hungry for freedom and human rights as well as for food and clothing. The A.F. of L. Executive Council has found that "the increasing and varied volume of correspondence with trade unionists of every continent is irrefutable proof of the growing interest in and support of the ideals of democracy and free trade unionism as expounded, advocated and applied by the American Federation of Labor."

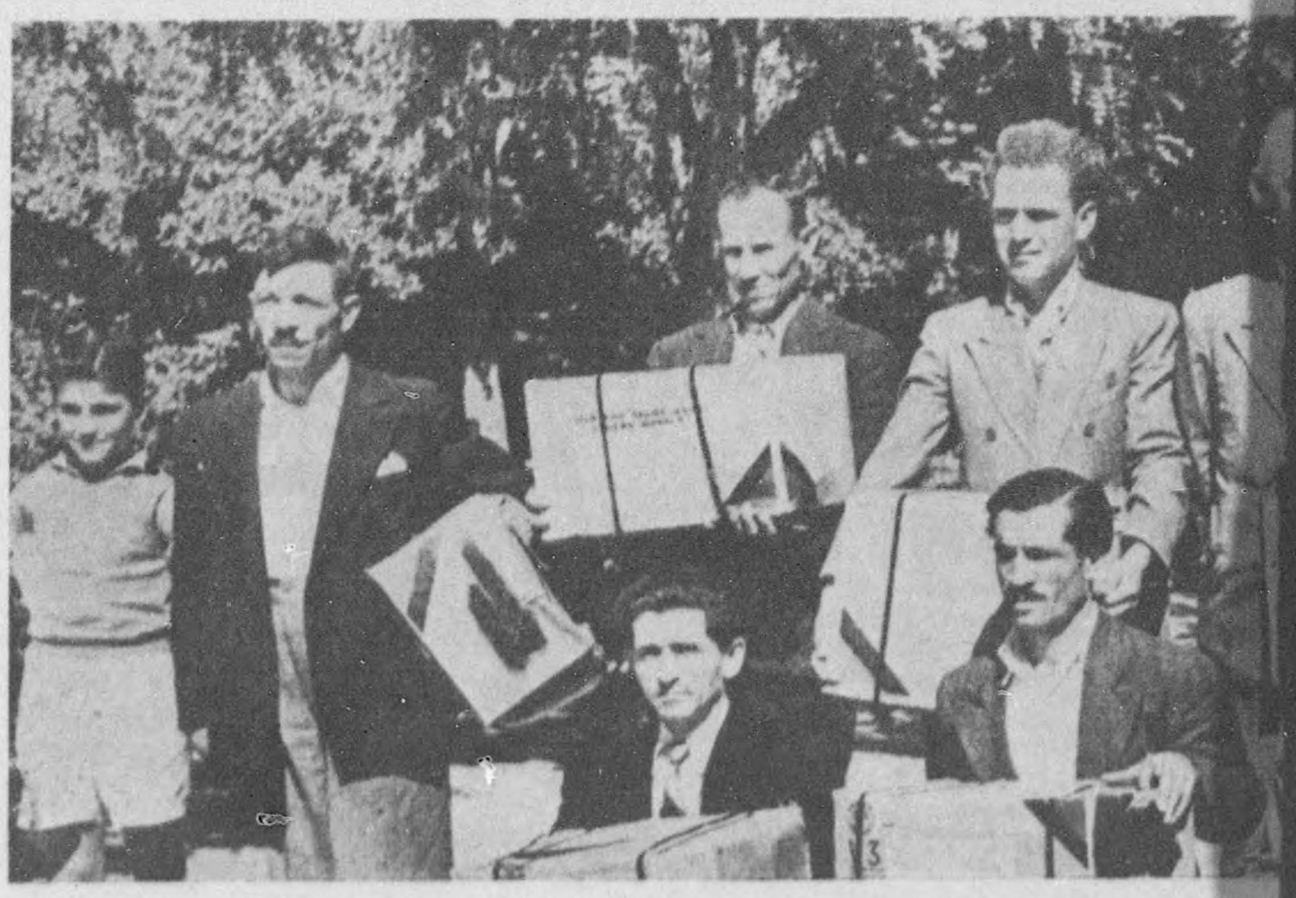
1. Struggle Against W. F. T. U.

IT is only natural that the A. F. of L., as the strongest body of free trade unions in the world, should come into head-on collision with the W.F.T.U. Everything that has happened since this caricature of a world federation of unions was set up has confirmed our evaluation of it as a camouflaged and delicately controlled instrument of Soviet imperialist interests and foreign policy. It has dismally failed to defend the interests of the workers on the economic field. As an international body, it has thrown its weight behind government-coordinated unions in Czechoslovakia and has put the stamp of approval on the so-called trade unions in all the other Russian satellite countries. In these unfortunate lands, the trade unions have been transformed into parts of the state apparatus of the brutal dictatorships exploiting and oppressing the workers.

The W.F.T.U. has also turned a deaf ear to the widespread protests against the persecution and arrest of tried and true leaders of the bona fide trade union movement in these overrun countries. The role of the W.F.T.U. as an instrument of the aggressive and expansionist foreign policy of the U.S.S.R. has been most painfully confirmed by its refusal to heed the repeated requests of the Austrian trade unions for help against the Soviet attempt to secure Russian imperialist domination of Austria by the seizure of the so-called German assets. In Germany, the W.F.T.U. has treated even the most courageous trade union fighters against Nazism as second-class citizens. The only prescription it could offer for the ailing Ruhr coal fields is forced labor. The largest affiliate of the W.F.T.U.—the so-called Russian Trades Council—does not enjoy any of the most elementary rights of organized labor in free lands. Its machinery has even been turned into an agency to facilitate the savage deportation of millions of workers to infernal slave labor camps in God-forsaken regions.

In the Social and Economic Council of the United Nations, the W.F.T.U. consultants have hewed to the Communist Party line, studiously avoided all basic issues confronting world labor, and stubbornly fought against the constructive initiative and positive programs offered by the consultants of the A.F. of L.

A growing uneasy feeling now permeates the ranks of the W.F.T.U. affiliates west of the "iron curtain." The rank-and-file is realizing more and more that there is something fundamentally wrong with an international trade union organization which dares not even discuss the problems of world reconstruction—let alone try to help in the rebuilding of war-wrecked economies and to foster the protection and promotion of the rights, liberties and interests of the working people. In fact, many affiliates of the W.F.T.U. are now part of the Russian Fifth Column which is frantically seeking to sabotage post-war reconstruction and doom the toiling people to poverty, misery and chaos.



Text of resolution on A.F. of
Matthew Woll to A.F.

2.

THERE is even more profound
ment in large sections of the
its adamant refusal to utter a
test against—or even dare to
alarming spread of forced labo
litical convicts" from iron cu
Being controlled by the Russia
W.F.T.U. has not opposed an
approved the reckless dismantli
trial plants whose operation is
livelihood of German workers
velopment of strong free trade

While the W.F.T.U. bureaucra
securely in the hands of Commu
has worked overtime to slander
tions of British and American d
has never made the slghtest
Russian expansionist imperialis
not be otherwise. The overwhelm
of the membership of the W.F.T
found in Russia, its satellite st
federations like the French and
which Communists still have a

Your Committee is glad to re
International Labor Relations
has carried the fight to the W
posed its false role, and
sought to counteract its danger
with positive, constructive p
strengthening free trade unio

3. A

THE enlarged responsibilitie
the expanded activities of t
in the realm of internationa
further disclosed by our active
participation in the developme
Nations social and economic
many-sided tasks confronting
been adequately covered by t
Council report. Through its
Bill of Rights to safeguard a
human liberties, the A.F. of

AND WORLD LABOR

Text of resolution on A.F. of L. International Labor Relations Department, presented by Chairman Matthew Woll to A.F. of L. convention at San Francisco and unanimously adopted.

2. Menace of Slave Labor

THERE is even more profound disillusionment in large sections of the W.F.T.U. at its adamant refusal to utter a word of protest against—or even dare to discuss—the alarming spread of forced labor and "political convicts" from iron curtain zones. Being controlled by the Russian bloc, the W.F.T.U. has not opposed and has even approved the reckless dismantling of industrial plants whose operation is vital to the livelihood of German workers and the development of strong free trade unions.

While the W.F.T.U. bureaucratic machine, securely in the hands of Communist stooges, has worked overtime to slander the aspirations of British and American democracy, it has never made the slghtest criticism of Russian expansionist imperialism. It could not be otherwise. The overwhelming majority of the membership of the W.F.T.U. is to be found in Russia, its satellite states, and in federations like the French and Italian over which Communists still have a stranglehold.

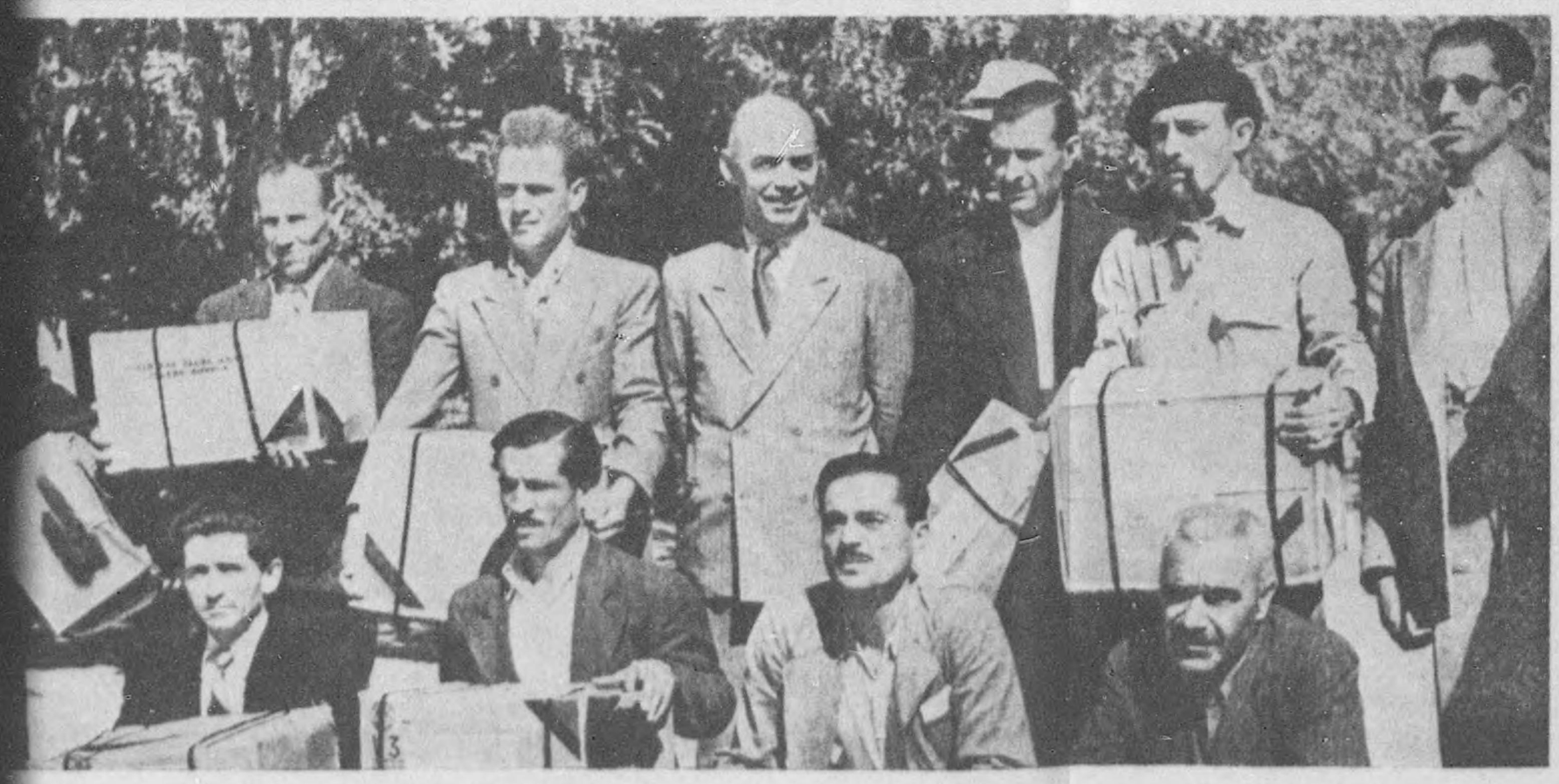
Your Committee is glad to report that the International Labor Relations Department has carried the fight to the W.F.T.U., exposed its false role, and energetically sought to counteract its dangerous activities with positive, constructive programs for strengthening free trade unionism and rescuing free trade unionists from famine.

Though there is still much to be done before world labor will again be able to reconstitute a genuine international federation of free trade unions, we have made real headway. The forces that dominate the W.F.T.U. realize this. One of the primary reasons for the steps recently taken to reestablish the Comintern formally and openly is to prepare a machine with which to replace the W.F.T.U. in the event that it should become seriously weakened or be stripped of such bona fide trade union affiliates as the British Trades Union Congress or the labor unions from the Netherlands, Scandinavian countries, Switzerland and Latin America.

In this light, it is no accident that the A.F. of L. has been the principal target of the officials of the state-controlled unions in the countries under the yoke of totalitarian dictatorships. We are proud of our friends in the democratic world. And we are glad to be judged by the nature of the enemies we have made. This convention of the A.F. of L. must resolve to expand its educational and relief activities in behalf of free trade unionism and democracy. The A.F. of L. will give the proper and deserving answer to the Comintern—no matter under what guise those who pull its strings operate.

3. A. F. of L. in United Nations

THE enlarged responsibilities as well as the expanded activities of the A.F. of L. in the realm of international affairs are further disclosed by our active and fruitful participation in the development of United Nations social and economic policies. The many-sided tasks confronting us here have been adequately covered by the Executive Council report. Through its International Bill of Rights to safeguard and strengthen human liberties, the A.F. of L. has contributed to the freedom of all mankind. Through our concrete and comprehensive program for protecting trade union rights and through our initiative on other occasions, we have made valuable contributions, as the Executive Council so ably stressed, towards "making the U.N. an international institution where not only diplomats and government representatives meet, but where also the voice of the people and especially that of democratic labor can be heard directly."



Greek trade unionists receiving food packages donated by A.F.of L. affiliates.

IN our relations
of Latin Ame
nificant headway
forces of free tra
continental basis.
the workers of
the Rio Grande
of the great valu
to the cause of fre
Argentina render
democratic and fr
the Americas by
championing of t
merciless exposu
on them.

The "greatly in
America, both in t
and with propag
contacts," noted
report, reveal ar
portance the A.F
labor solidarity a
the development
relations among
Western hemisph
cooperation in t
political fields are
for the realizatio
peace and world p
point, the outco

INDEED much h
of L. during th
much more must
of our internatio
only a beginning
pear in some resp

Towards impro
work in behalf of
decisive force for
motion of huma
ideals and insti
recommends the
for your conside
action by the Int
Department of th

1. Provide the
of L. in particula
ing people in gen
formation about
to enable organize
in the formulatio
country's foreign
democracy and pe

2. Expand the
"International Fre
special pamphlet
home and abroad
knowledge, better
energetic support
of the A.F. of L.

3. Strongly ur
members of the
the "International

4. Commend
and return them

5. Authorize th
tions Department
Committee and th
Rights to raise an
activities, and an a

...o the wildest ex-
...their abuse and
...position of the
...n the A.F. of L.
...acle to their at-
...nized labor and
...n more nations.
...al opposition to
...rils of "statism"
... spirit of inde-
...uman rights and
...particularly well-
...eet its responsi-
...hungry for free-
...well as for food
... Executive Coun-
...easing and varied
...ith trade union-
...rrefutable proof
... and support of
... and free trade
...vocated and ap-
...ration of Labor."

...T.U. consultants
...unist Party line,
... issues confront-
...ubbornly fought
...itiative and posi-
...he consultants of

...g now permeates
... affiliates west of
...-and-file is realiz-
...ere is something
... an international
...which dares not
... of world recon-
...elp in the rebuild-
...ies and to foster
...on of the rights,
...e working people.
... the W.F.T.U. are
...fth Column which
...abotage post-war
...he toiling people
...os.

LABOR

ons Department, presented by Chairman
cisco and unanimously adopted.

e Labor

uing free trade unionists from famine.
Though there is still much to be done be-
re world labor will again be able to
econstitute a genuine international federa-
on of free trade unions, we have made real
eadway. The forces that dominate the
.F.T.U. realize this. One of the primary
easons for the steps recently taken to re-
tablish the Comintern formally and openly
to prepare a machine with which to replace
e W.F.T.U. in the event that it should be-
me seriously weakened or be stripped of
ch bona fide trade union affiliates as the
ritish Trades Union Congress or the labor
nions from the Netherlands, Scandinavian
untries, Switzerland and Latin America.
In this light, it is no accident that the
.F. of L. has been the principal target of
e officials of the state-controlled unions
the countries under the yoke of totalitar-
n dictatorships. We are proud of our
riends in the democratic world. And we are
lad to be judged by the nature of the
nemies we have made. This convention of
e A.F. of L. must resolve to expand its
ducational and relief activities in behalf of
ree trade unionism and democracy. The
.F. of L. will give the proper and deserving
nswer to the Comintern—no matter under
hat guise those who pull its strings operate.

ed Nations

ributed to the freedom of all mankind.
hrough our concrete and comprehensive
rogram for protecting trade union rights
nd through our initiative on other occasions,
e have made valuable contributions, as the
xecutive Council so ably stressed, towards
making the U.N. an international institu-
on where not only diplomats and govern-
ent representatives meet, but where also
e voice of the people and especially that
democratic labor can be heard directly."

Greek trade unionists receiving food packages donated by A.F.of L. affiliates.

4. Eyes on Latin America

IN our relations with the labor movement of Latin America, we have made significant headway towards consolidating the forces of free trade unionism on an intercontinental basis. Since the last convention, the workers of our sister republics below the Rio Grande have had striking evidence of the great value the A.F. of L. attaches to the cause of free labor. Our delegation to Argentina rendered a signal service to the democratic and free labor forces throughout the Americas by its forthright and forceful championing of the rights of labor and its merciless exposure of how Peron trampled on them.

The "greatly increased activities in Latin America, both in the distribution of literature and with propaganda tours and personal contacts," noted in the Executive Council report, reveal and confirm the great importance the A.F. of L. attaches to active labor solidarity as a basic requirement for the development of genuine good-neighbor relations among all the countries of the Western hemisphere. Such friendship and cooperation in the economic, cultural and political fields are indispensable prerequisites for the realization of lasting international peace and world prosperity. From this viewpoint, the outcome of the inter-American conference, recently held at Petropolis in Brazil, should facilitate the New World's coming to the rescue of the Old, now suffering from the devastating effects of global war and the ravages of totalitarian tyranny.

Not only in North, South and Central America but throughout the world, the forces of free trade unionism will watch with keenest of interest and warmest of sympathy the inter-American labor conference to be held in Lima, Peru, in January, 1948. The establishment of an inter-American federation of trade unions devoted to human rights, to democracy and to peace will receive the hearty support of the A.F. of L. Such a solid intercontinental federation of free labor unions will deal a crushing blow to the pernicious totalitarian Communist Fifth Column which has been operating in Latin America under the leadership of Toledano and Company, under the firm name C.T.A.L. The forthcoming establishment of a bona fide inter-American Federation of Labor will have a most wholesome effect on labor and democracy outside as well as inside the Americas. No doubt the effective functioning of such a federation as a loyal champion of the workers' interests, rather than as a slavish lackey of Russian—or any other—imperialism, is bound to have the profoundest repercussions in the W.F.T.U. itself.

5. Proposals for Action

INDEED much has been done by the A.F. of L. during the past 12 months. But very much more must be done. In certain phases of our international work we have made only a beginning—auspicious as it may appear in some respects.

Towards improving and expanding our work in behalf of free trade unionism as a decisive force for the preservation and promotion of human rights and democratic ideals and institutions, your Committee recommends the following specific proposals for your consideration and approval for action by the International Labor Relations Department of the Executive Council:

1. Provide the membership of the A.F. of L. in particular, and the American working people in general, with authoritative information about international affairs so as to enable organized labor to do its full share in the formulation and application of our country's foreign policy as a force for world democracy and peace.

2. Expand the publications program—the "International Free Trade Union News" and special pamphlets—for circularization at home and abroad so as to assure a greater knowledge, better understanding and more energetic support of the policies and position of the A.F. of L. in international affairs.

3. Strongly urge all affiliated bodies and members of the A.F. of L. to subscribe to the "International Free Trade Union News."

4. Commend our representatives abroad and return them to their respective posts.

5. Authorize the International Labor Relations Department and its Free Trade Union Committee and the Labor League for Human Rights to raise an adequate fund for general activities, and an additional adequate fund for food parcels to needy trade unionists abroad.

6. Intensify the fight against slave labor, regardless of the guise under which it appears or the form it takes.

7. Call upon the U.N. Social and Economic Council to commission the I.L.O. to make a thoroughgoing survey of the extent of forced labor in all member nations and to provide a program to counteract this evil. In this connection, we especially call for a careful investigation of the role of U.N. member governments in the inhuman deportation and condemnation to forced labor of many thousands of miners, textile workers, railwaymen and other workers in what was once the Sudeten area.

8. Sharpen the struggle against the divisive and disruptive activities of the W.F.T.U. as a serious obstacle to genuine world labor cooperation for post-war reconstruction, the defense and extension of human rights and liberties, and the maintenance of friendly and cordial relations among the nations of the world.

9. Affiliation of our various international unions with their respective International Trade Secretariats—transport, metal and coal—in the interests of advancing and effecting cooperation by bona fide trade unions on a world scale for their common basic economic interests and promotion of real international trade union unity of democratic labor.

10. Participation in and hearty support of the forthcoming Inter-American Conference of Labor to be held at Lima, Peru, as the beginning of and foundation for "a new constructive era in the relationship and cooperation of the organized workers of the Western hemisphere."

Spanish Workers Battle for Liberty

The A. F. of L. convention at San Francisco was addressed by Trifon Gomez, president of the Spanish U.G.T. and member of the executive board of the International Transport Workers' Federation. The major portions of his address follow:

The honor falls on me to be the first speaker that the General Union of Workers of Spain has had before a convention of the American Federation of Labor.

I speak to you as a man who has spent the greater part of his life in the constant struggle to improve the living and working conditions of the worker. I was elected general secretary of the National Railroad Workers' Union in 1918 and, later, in 1932, assistant secretary of the General Union of Workers. I was elected president of the Central Organization in the first convention held in Toulouse, France, in 1944. Also, since 1921, I have been a member of the general council of the International Transport Workers' Federation and, since 1935, a member of its executive committee.

It is important that you know the true situation of the Spanish workers. They are trying to improve their standard of living, as they also seek to reconquer their individual liberty and reconstruct their organizations.

All the Spanish people—employers and employees—are obligated to belong to their respective unions, unions dominated by the employers. There are no meetings, they take no actions; the workers are informed of the decisions taken by the Minister of Labor. Thus, there does not exist freedom of association —much less unions—nor is there any other freedom permitted by the government.

The economic situation of the Spanish workers cannot become more desperate. If we take the official statistics as correct, we find that salaries have increased by 125 per cent since 1936, but that the cost of living for necessities of life has increased 275 per cent since 1936. I refer to official prices, but black market prices are astronomical. As the average salary does not take care of one-quarter of the cost of living, the Spanish workers have been obliged to work 72 hours a week and to make all members of the family work in order that they can live.

The underground movement becomes more important every day. Actually, the General Union of Workers has organizations in all the provinces of Spain, and even in Madrid some 40,000 workers regularly pay their dues.

We give them moral and economic aid from the outside. We have established the General Union of Workers in France and to us have come 23,000 Spaniards whom we have sent out over the continent. We have sent about 5,000,000 francs into Spain. But what the Spanish exiles have done is not enough. For this reason we must appeal to the conscience of the organized workers of other countries and be assured of their support.

The General Union of Workers has decided on a course of joint action with the anti-Franco forces, except those of the Communist Party, in order to depose Franco and his regime and to prevent the introduction, in its place, of any other totalitarian ideology.

With this thought, we have subscribed to the declaration formulated by the 65th convention of the American Federation of Labor in its statement on Communism, and with this declaration we most wholeheartedly join. We shall unite to collaborate with the workers' organizations of other countries that have the same concept of liberty and democracy.

We do not wish to conceal our profound sorrow in contemplating the mistaken course which marks the activity of the international labor movement. Each day that passes tends to prove that it is the fond hope of the Communist elements to destroy our national and international organizations and substitute in their place another form of organization which we must docilely serve. In the face of this storm and madness, the General Union of Workers has not ceased to fight.

Furthermore, the organizations in the International Trade Secretariats can and should be the basis of a true international labor movement in the immediate future, if they have the prompt support and aid of such a great organization as the American Federation of Labor.

A. F. of L. Vows Support

Following this address, President William Green declared:

In your name and in your behalf, I wish to thank Brother Gomez for his inspiring message. I want to assure him that he is among friends, very dear friends, close friends, and it will be our purpose and our desire to help him in the promotion of that great cause that he referred to in such an eloquent and convincing way. When he goes away, we want him to carry with him the feeling of assurance that this great organization which you represent, 7,500,000 members, will stand by him and with him in support of the realization of his great objective.

Italian Democratic Labor Forces Hailed by A. F. of L. in Denouncing Communist Terror

The following resolution was unanimously adopted by the A.F. of L. convention:

"Attention is called to the courageous struggle being waged by the democratic labor forces of Italy for the cause of human liberty and decency and for the reconstruction of Europe as a force for world peace

glorious Giacomo Matteotti whose name will remain immortal in the annals of human freedom.

"The convention greets the liberty-loving workers of Italy and, in this difficult hour

I have been a member of the general council of the International Transport Workers' Federation and, since 1935, a member of its executive committee.

It is important that you know the true situation of the Spanish workers. They are trying to improve their standard of living, as they also seek to reconquer their individual liberty and reconstruct their organizations.

All the Spanish people—employers and employees—are obligated to belong to their respective unions, unions dominated by the employers. There are no meetings, they take no actions; the workers are informed of the decisions taken by the Minister of Labor. Thus, there does not exist freedom of association —much less unions—nor is there any other freedom permitted by the government.

The economic situation of the Spanish workers cannot become more desperate. If we take the official statistics as correct, we find that salaries have increased by 125 per cent since 1936, but that the cost of living for necessities of life has increased 275 per cent since 1936. I refer to official prices, but black market prices are astronomical. As the average salary does not take care of one-quarter of the cost of living, the Spanish workers have been obliged to work 72 hours a week and to make all members of the family work in order that they can live.

In Spain, not only does a dictatorship exist but there exists a regime of terror more pronounced than the Fascist regime which existed in Italy or Germany. Despite this,

Trifon Gomez

and be assured of their support.

The General Union of Workers has decided on a course of joint action with the anti-Franco forces, except those of the Communist Party, in order to depose Franco and his regime and to prevent the introduction, in its place, of any other totalitarian ideology.

With this thought, we have subscribed to the declaration formulated by the 65th convention of the American Federation of Labor in its statement on Communism, and with this declaration we most wholeheartedly join. We shall unite to collaborate with the workers' organizations of other countries that have the same concept of liberty and democracy.

We do not wish to conceal our profound sorrow in contemplating the mistaken course which marks the activity of the international

A. F. of L. Vows Support

Following this address, President William Green declared:

In your name and in your behalf, I wish to thank Brother Gomez for his inspiring message. I want to assure him that he is among friends, very dear friends, close friends, and it will be our purpose and our desire to help him in the promotion of that great cause that he referred to in such an eloquent and convincing way. When he goes away, we want him to carry with him the feeling of assurance that this great organization which you represent, 7,500,000 members, will stand by him and with him in support of the realization of his great objective.

Italian Democratic Labor Forces Hailed by A. F. of L. in Denouncing Communist Terror

The following resolution was unanimously adopted by the A.F. of L. convention:

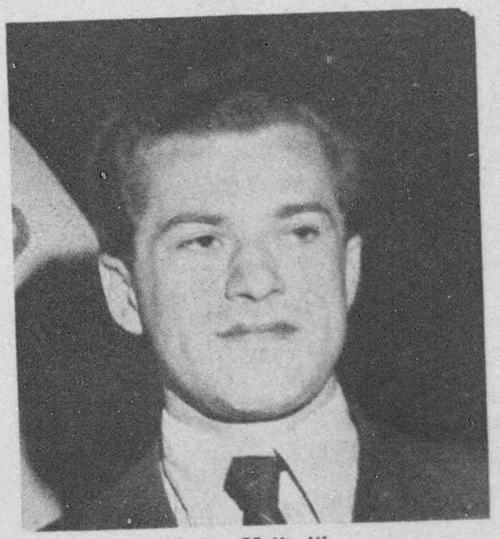
"Attention is called to the courageous struggle being waged by the democratic labor forces of Italy for the cause of human liberty and decency and for the reconstruction of Europe as a force for world peace and prosperity.

"The destructive role of the Communist totalitarians, who now dominate the trade unions in Italy and are betraying the interests of the Italian people in the interests of Russian imperialism, is being heightened.

"So desperate have the Communists become in their drive to seize control of Italy and turn the country into a vassal of Russian imperialism that they have begun to apply the murderous Red Terror against their democratic opponents.

"In this connection, we particularly condemn the brutal Communist physical assault on the heroic and world-renowned fighter for liberty, Matteo Matteotti. These tactics of the Communist totalitarian gangsters are in line with the worst practices of the Fascist bands of Mussolini against their democratic opponents. The hired assassins of Mussolini murdered Giacomo Matteotti, the father of young Matteo. Now the Communists are continuing the work of their Fascist predecessors by seeking to murder the son of the glorious Giacomo Matteotti whose name will remain immortal in the annals of human freedom.

"The convention greets the liberty-loving workers of Italy and, in this difficult hour of their struggle, pledges its heartiest support to them in their inspiring fight for the ideals and aims of a free humanity and a democratic, prosperous and peaceful world."



Matteo Matteotti

On-the-Scene Reports from Abroad to A.F. of L. Convention

Progress and Problems in Germany

HENRY RUTZ:

A. F. of L. Representative in Germany

REALIZING that American methods may not be applicable to European conditions, it has been our policy to give wholehearted support to organizations and leaders when it had been demonstrated that these organizations and leaders represented the democratic will of the workers concerned.

For 12 years German workers had been cut off from the international labor movement. They hungered for news about the other countries. To supply this need the A.F. of L. Free Trade Union Committee is publishing a German edition of the "International Free Trade Union News," of which more than 8,000 copies are distributed. The Communists have forbidden their members, even in the British and United States zones, from reading or distributing our literature.

The German union leaders are particularly hard-hit by the food situation. They exist on 1,000 or 1,500 calories a day. The A.F. of L. has been sending 500 food packages a month to full-time union functionaries who otherwise have no other opportunity to augment their meager rations. The hundreds of letters we have received reveal the deep gratitude this program has evoked. Unfortunately, there are many more than 500 full-time union functionaries in the three Western zones. Consequently, we have had to start to rotate our lists, with packages now being delivered every two or three months. It is hoped that means can be found to bring the program back to a monthly basis, especially for the coming winter.

A special request for food packages came from the youth leaders of the three states comprising the United States zone. They had hoped to set up summer recreational-educational camps for boys and girls between the ages of 14 and 21 who work in factories. Supplementary food, however, was needed or the camps would have missed one of their main purposes—that of rehabilitation. The A.F. of L. agreed to provide 500 packages. Without this food many of

JOSEPH P. KEENAN:

Labor Adviser to U.S. Military Governor of Germany

TRADE unions in the American zone have now a membership of 1,300,000. In the English zone there is a membership of about 2,200,000. This makes a total of about 3,500,000 members. Today our great concern is whether we can hold these members against the onslaught of the Russians and the Communists.

Every day in these two zones they are flooded with all kinds of literature. They have agents working in these zones. They have strategically placed people in the large plants who have become officers or directors in the Works Councils, and they are continually trying to undermine and destroy the structure of the trade union movement as we have it now.

It will take a great deal of work to convince all the people who believe in democracy that the Taft-Hartley Law is only one of the happenings in America, and that it will in no way interfere with the progress and efforts of the trade unions in the United States.

I hope the A.F. of L. will go on record as doing everything it possibly can to help in securing appropriations for the food and raw materials necessary to get Germany started again. Everyone in Germany today has given up hope of ever trying to work out a satisfactory arrangement with the Russians, after two years of doing everything they possibly can to block any progressive movement in Germany.

Because it has been impossible to bring the Russians in, it will be necessary to go out of the country for raw materials. These raw materials will have to be bought with dollars and we will have to furnish the dollars, no doubt, in order that the German people can at least get started.

---

reparations and related subjects. On the whole, the top leadership of the Military Government of both Germany and Austria

Europe and U. S.

IRVING BROWN:

A. F. of L. Representative in Europe

THE speech of Secretary of State Marshall last June galvanized the truly democratic forces of the continent into concerted action. For the first time since the ending of the war the political initiative was with the Americans and their European friends, and the Russians and their satellites were on the defensive. There was a breath of hope and a feeling of confidence about the future which had been absent from Europe for many years. In the ranks of the Communist and pro-Soviet forces there was great consternation, especially after every East European country was forced, against its will and desire, to decline participation in the Marshall Plan conferences which have become confined to 16 nations of Western Europe. Through the Marshall Plan, America was offering to Europe the economic means to plan on a unified continental basis instead of through outworn forms of economic and political nationalism. In spite of many prejudices and misinformation about so-called American capitalism, most of the democratic and progressive forces, especially in the trade union movements, saw a way out and the basis by which democracy and free trade unionism could be preserved.

The original initiative of the Marshall Plan in Europe was robbed by the passing of the Taft-Hartley Law. When this law was passed, every Communist and anti-American paper in Europe ran headlines about reaction triumphing in the United States. The American Congress, by passing the Taft-Hartley Act, was in actual effect sabotaging American foreign policy and sabotaging the Marshall Plan. There isn't a working-class or pro-American movement in Europe that wasn't let down by the passing of that law, which was in direct contradiction to the Truman policy abroad.

Russian strategy today is to prevent the economic unification of Europe. It is to make permanent the split between the East and the West. It is to totalitarianize every country that she comes into. Furthermore,

more than 8,000 copies are distributed. The Communists have forbidden their members, even in the British and United States zones, from reading or distributing our literature.

The German union leaders are particularly hard-hit by the food situation. They exist on 1,000 or 1,500 calories a day. The A.F. of L. has been sending 500 food packages a month to full-time union functionaries who otherwise have no other opportunity to augment their meager rations. The hundreds of letters we have received reveal the deep gratitude this program has evoked. Unfortunately, there are many more than 500 full-time union functionaries in the three Western zones. Consequently, we have had to start to rotate our lists, with packages now being delivered every two or three months. It is hoped that means can be found to bring the program back to a monthly basis, especially for the coming winter.

A special request for food packages came from the youth leaders of the three states comprising the United States zone. They had hoped to set up summer recreational-educational camps for boys and girls between the ages of 14 and 21 who work in factories. Supplementary food, however, was needed or the camps would have missed one of their main purposes—that of rehabilitation. The A.F. of L. agreed to provide 500 packages. Without this food many of the camps would not have been possible.

In addition to supervising the distribution of literature and food packages, I have held many conferences with trade union leaders in all zones of Austria and Germany except the Russian. I have been able to fill only half the requests to speak about the American labor movement before trade union bodies, forums, labor colleges and over the radio. One such speech before 70,000 workers in Hamburg brought a protest from the Russian Military Government to the British in which an explanation was demanded as to why the A.F. of L. was permitted to slander one of Britain's allies over a national radio hook-up. I had described forced labor camps behind the "iron curtain."

German and Austrian leaders have asked us to take up with the Military Government such problems as paper shortages, typewriters, gasoline, return of former trade union property, prisoners of war in France,

(Continued next column)

in the Works Councils, and they are continually trying to undermine and destroy the structure of the trade union movement as we have it now.

It will take a great deal of work to convince all the people who believe in democracy that the Taft-Hartley Law is only one of the happenings in America, and that it will in no way interfere with the progress and efforts of the trade unions in the United States.

I hope the A.F. of L. will go on record as doing everything it possibly can to help in securing appropriations for the food and raw materials necessary to get Germany started again. Everyone in Germany today has given up hope of ever trying to work out a satisfactory arrangement with the Russians, after two years of doing everything they possibly can to block any progressive movement in Germany.

Because it has been impossible to bring the Russians in, it will be necessary to go out of the country for raw materials. These raw materials will have to be bought with dollars and we will have to furnish the dollars, no doubt, in order that the German people can at least get started.

---

reparations and related subjects. On the whole, the top leadership of the Military Government of both Germany and Austria has been most cooperative. We regret, however, that to date no means have been fund to supply trade unions with sufficient paper for their publications, while the Russian zone is still flooding our zone with propaganda.

We also protested the continued destruction and dismantling for reparations of that German industry which cannot be classed as coming under war potential. The continued destruction of Germany's productive capacity can only accentuate the chaos in which Germany finds herself and add to the burden of the American taxpayer.

The trust the A.F. of L. has placed in the new German and Austrian trade union movement has not been in vain.

If these unions continue under the idealisms which have governed them in the past and if we give them further needed assistance, the trade union movement in Germany and Austria will be the force to keep these countries free.

the Marshall Plan conferences which have become confined to 16 nations of Western Europe. Through the Marshall Plan, America was offering to Europe the economic means to plan on a unified continental basis instead of through outworn forms of economic and political nationalism. In spite of many prejudices and misinformation about so-called American capitalism, most of the democratic and progressive forces, especially in the trade union movements, saw a way out and the basis by which democracy and free trade unionism could be preserved.

The original initiative of the Marshall Plan in Europe was robbed by the passing of the Taft-Hartley Law. When this law was passed, every Communist and anti-American paper in Europe ran headlines about reaction triumphing in the United States. The American Congress, by passing the Taft-Hartley Act, was in actual effect sabotaging American foreign policy and sabotaging the Marshall Plan. There isn't a working-class or pro-American movement in Europe that wasn't let down by the passing of that law, which was in direct contradiction to the Truman policy abroad.

Russian strategy today is to prevent the economic unification of Europe. It is to make permanent the split between the East and the West. It is to totalitarianize every country that she comes into. Furthermore, the Russians are banking on a severe economic crisis in the Western world, and are relying on the failure of the American Congress and people to back the Marshall Plan. America is attacked throughout Europe by Communists and their supporters as a wealthy, rapacious and imperialistic country ready to dominate the world, and the Marshall Plan is attacked as a barefaced capitalistic conspiracy to ensnare all Europe. This propaganda is not falling on deaf ears, especially as it is being presented to hungry and despairing people.

The 16 countries participating in the Marshall Plan embrace 25,000,000 to 35,000,000 organized workers, trade unionists, who are, in effect, attempting to secure the economic basis upon which they can resist the forces of totalitarianism. Remember that these people have experienced wars for many generations. Yet, wherever there have been free elections, the majority have still

(Continued on Page 11)

For A United Democratic Germany:

THE national convention of the A. F. of L. affords me the first opportunity to convey, in a spirit of fraternity and solidarity, the greetings of the German democratic workers to the democratic workers of America and the entire world.

The struggle for freedom in any single country has nowadays become the affair of all other countries. As yet, no answer has been found to the great question of our time —the question of whether we are to attain an age of freedom or to go down in a system of slave labor.

Even in post-war Germany we have slave labor in some parts of the country. I should like to draw your attention to the use of forced labor in the uranium mines of Germany. I speak of war prisoners in general and particularly those in Russia. The return of German war prisoners to their homes, which to date has been fully complied with only by the United States, is certainly an economic necessity for German production.

We are particularly glad to come to the national convention of the A.F. of L. because the A.F. of L. has vigorously raised its voice against slave labor, even during the days of war psychosis. We are grateful to the A.F. of L. for giving us an opportunity to study the conditions and methods of the American labor movement. Mistakes can be avoided by knowing each other better. The study of conditions in Germany by representatives of the A.F. of L. has begun to bear fruit.

On this occasion, the fighting democrats of Germany express their gratitude to all organizations which have extended to them their effective assistance. We live in a country where the active members of the labor movement are frequently unable to fulfill their tasks because of physical exhaustion. Every food parcel you send us is not only a contribution to the preservation of life, but also a means of making possible political and trade union activities. The food you send helps to keep democracy alive.

Germany's Fighting Democrats

the collapse of the Nazi or Third Reich, a new situation developed in the trade union movement. Today, the trade unions of Germany are no longer divided along ideological and denominational lines. A unified trade union movement has been created. However, while in the Russian-occupied zone the trade unions function as an instrument of the totalitarian state for the domination of the workers, in the Western zone the trade unions serve the people and not the state. The Social Democratic Party, 75 per cent of whose members are organized in trade unions, does not seek to capture, control or direct the trade unions. The party is, however, prepared to use its influence among the workers in order to help them resist successfully the attempts of any political tendencies and, above all, the Communists to capture the unions. Our aim is to establish in Germany a political regime which will give the fullest possibility of free development to strong and independent trade unions.

Europe's Common Destiny

A GERMAN Social Democrat cannot address an American convention except with a sense of European responsibility. The nations of Europe are bound to share a common fate. The outdated political and economic structure of Europe prevents her from making use of that community of destiny.

No European nation can long remain unaffected by the weakening of another European nation. No European nation can become prosperous through exploiting another European nation. One of the greatest advantages of the Marshall Plan is that it leads the European people to a rapprochement among themselves.

There are today no administrative or legislative authorities in Germany who could issue a clearly worded statement explaining the conditions under which the most dishonorable and most barbarous excesses of the Third Reich were committed. The Social Democratic Party of Germany, therefore, declares that the German people have the duty to make reparation to and to compensate the Jewish people. The Social Democrats demand the punishment of all those who participated in the persecutions of the Jewish people or acquired wealth as a result of these persecutions. The Social Democratic Party opposes anti-Semitism as uncompromisingly as it rejects totalitarianism.

We stand for the equality of rights of the Jewish people with all other peoples the world over. We stand for such equality with the same determination with which we want to prevent the Germans from becoming a second-class people with less rights. From this point of view, the cause of the Jewish people in a new Germany—in a truly democratic and independent Germany—is also the cause of the German people, and the cause of equality of all mankind.

There is much in Germany that deserves punishment and condemnation, but there are also men and accomplishments worthy of confidence. Without such mutual confidence it is impossible to achieve the reorganization of Europe and to overcome her present chaotic conditions.

The Marshall Plan has brought new hope into an atmosphere of dangerous resignation.

However, no new situation can be met by using old methods. All further application of the old and dangerous policy of dismantling industrial plants will prove catastrophic in its effects from the economic and, even more so, from the psychological angle. It threatens to bring back an attitude of hopelessness and lack of faith. The production of war material must, of course, be prevented. But in the overwhelming majority of cases, dismantling is now applied to factories which serve peacetime production. The democratic labor movement is duty-bound to stand for the preservation of the means of production and of workers' jobs. The policy of dismantling plants is a most dangerous threat to the reorganization of Germany and all Europe on a sound basis.

The Marshall Plan will become an eco-

many. I speak of war prisoners in general and particularly those in Russia. The return of German war prisoners to their homes, which to date has been fully complied with only by the United States, is certainly an economic necessity for German production.

We are particularly glad to come to the national convention of the A.F. of L. because the A.F. of L. has vigorously raised its voice against slave labor, even during the days of war psychosis. We are grateful to the A.F. of L. for giving us an opportunity to study the conditions and methods of the American labor movement. Mistakes can be avoided by knowing each other better. The study of conditions in Germany by representatives of the A.F. of L. has begun to bear fruit.

On this occasion, the fighting democrats of Germany express their gratitude to all organizations which have extended to them their effective assistance. We live in a country where the active members of the labor movement are frequently unable to fulfill their tasks because of physical exhaustion. Every food parcel you send us is not only a contribution to the preservation of life, but also a means of making possible political and trade union activities. The food you send helps to keep democracy alive.

Germany's Fighting Democrats

THE material and moral political help which the A. F. of L. has given us, through the visit of its special delegation to Germany and through sending food parcels and publications, constitutes an extremely important contribution to the strengthening of the German democratic labor movement. However, the onslaught of the Communist machine, with its enormous financial resources and horde of agents and functionaries, must be resisted with much stronger forces than ever before. The prerequisites for a successful struggle against the Communist *"Gleichschaltung"* — Communist totalitarian coordination — of Germany and Europe are more representatives abroad, more work of enlightenment in Germany, and more extensive help for the freedom-loving forces of the German labor movement.

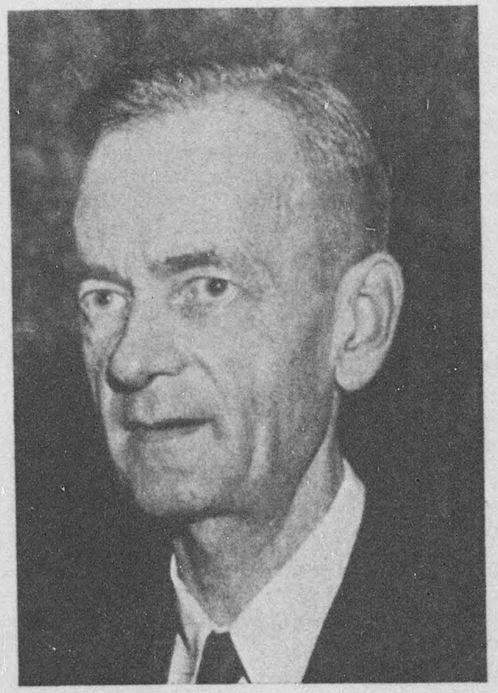
The German labor movement originated in various independent forms—trade unions, cooperative societies and the Social Democratic Party. These three sections were bound together by a unity of purpose. After fully the attempts of any political [illegible] and, above all, the Communists to capture the unions. Our aim is to establish in Germany a political regime which will give the fullest possibility of free development to strong and independent trade unions.

Europe's Common Destiny

A GERMAN Social Democrat cannot address an American convention except with a sense of European responsibility. The nations of Europe are bound to share a common fate. The outdated political and economic structure of Europe prevents her from making use of that community of destiny.

No European nation can long remain unaffected by the weakening of another European nation. No European nation can become prosperous through exploiting another European nation. One of the greatest advantages of the Marshall Plan is that it leads the European people to a rapprochement among themselves.

There are today no administrative or legislative authorities in Germany who could issue a clearly worded statement explaining the conditions under which the most dishonorable and most barbarous excesses of the Third Reich were committed. The Social



Dr. Kurt Schumacher

ocratic and independent Germany—is also the cause of the German people, and the cause of equality of all mankind.

There is much in Germany that deserves punishment and condemnation, but there are also men and accomplishments worthy of confidence. Without such mutual confidence it is impossible to achieve the reorganization of Europe and to overcome her present chaotic conditions.

The Marshall Plan has brought new hope into an atmosphere of dangerous resignation.

However, no new situation can be met by using old methods. All further application of the old and dangerous policy of dismantling industrial plants will prove catastrophic in its effects from the economic and, even more so, from the psychological angle. It threatens to bring back an attitude of hopelessness and lack of faith. The production of war material must, of course, be prevented. But in the overwhelming majority of cases, dismantling is now applied to factories which serve peacetime production. The democratic labor movement is duty-bound to stand for the preservation of the means of production and of workers' jobs. The policy of dismantling plants is a most dangerous threat to the reorganization of Germany and all Europe on a sound basis.

The Marshall Plan will become an economic reality by awakening to new life the latent productive capacities of Europe. But the economic revival of Western Germany can never be achieved by reducing and paralyzing its means of production. It is necessary to embark in a resolute manner upon a reindustrialization of Germany in order to create the possibility of paying for imports by German exports.

No More Totalitarianism

COMMUNIST totalitarianism is now attempting to conquer the European continent. The transplanting of totalitarian methods in Germany would be catastrophic for all Europe, with disastrous world-wide consequences. For the German people, Communism is an alien system which serves alien interests. We do not want any dictatorship. We went through the hellish experience of totalitarianism on our own soil. We saw the reprehensible irresponsibility of Communist policy with its banking on catastrophe. The Weimar Republic would not have fallen into

Kurt Schumacher, Social Democratic Chief, Tells A. F. of L. German Workers Strive for Political, Economic Freedom and Full National Independence

the hands of the Nazis had the Communists not pursued such policies.

The best proof that the German workers understand the profound significance of the fight for freedom is the fact that they have not passed from nationalism to Communism, as has happened in other parts of Europe, but are now engaged in a struggle for democracy. In our opinion, the conquest of Germany by Communism would be the gravest menace to the peace of the world.

A partition of Germany engineered by the East will not last. The economic revival and recovery of Western Germany must be achieved in a manner sufficiently effective, rapid and convincing to serve as an irresistible attraction for Eastern Germany.

German Self-Responsibility

IN a crucial situation like the present, even a single false step may have disastrous consequences. If, for instance, the Western Powers were to evacuate Berlin, it would undermine confidence in the consistency, firmness and continuity of their policy. It would be a shock to the German people and would transmit their feelings of fear and insecurity to the other peoples of Europe. This atmosphere of deadly fear is the strongest weapon of the Eastern dictatorship.

Only that which is built on the basis of the convictions and the free will of the German people will last in Germany. The people of Germany must do their own thinking. They must make their own decisions.

If any attempt is made forcibly to import an ideology into Germany, it will arouse active opposition to such attempts. The Russians were the first ones to find that it is impossible to apply mechanically the methods of their own country in a different, in a highly developed country. If such mechanical attempts were to be made by others, the Russians would win a new chance —an opportunity they have not had in Germany since their, politically speaking, Battle of the Marne in May, 1945.

In Europe and, above all, in Germany, no one should ever forget that German big business has been an enemy of democracy. They sabotaged democracy in order to eliminate the influence of the labor movement. They concluded an alliance with militarism and thus initiated the dangerous turn of German policy towards aggression. Because of their class interests they put Nazism into power and thus sacrificed their people and the peace.

The fate of democracy and peace cannot be entrusted to any group of German capitalists. If economic power is restored to them, they will be able to buy political influence for their money and to resume their dangerous game with the forces of nationalism and fascism.

Democratic Socialism Only Way

WE of the democratic labor movement want to replace the thirst for power and arrogance with boundless aspirations to justice, with a sense of reality and with a sound approach. However, it is precisely this will to face reality in a responsible manner, this ability to distinguish between what is possible and what is not, what is necessary and what can be avoided, which has led us to demand the socialization of heavy industry. We do not conceive socialization as state control, as a gigantic venture into state capitalism, as the creation of a mammoth concern similar to the Nazi Reichwerke concern of the recent past. The decisive sectors of the productive capacity of Germany must become the property of the German people, adapted to contemporary economic requirements in its form of organization. This socialization does not mean the total rejection of free market economy.

We insist that the basic industries, without which there can be no reconstruction or payment of reparations, must not be misused for private monopolistic profits. The total product of German economy is much too small for such profits. Were such society on a foundation which would correspond to reality and to the principles of justice. Together with the free democratic trade unions, the Social Democratic Party has fought and will continue to fight against racialism, nationalism and dictatorship.

We want to represent the interests of the working people in Germany and to harmonize them with the requirements of international political and economic solidarity.

THIS convention in San Francisco makes us realize that a political decision in Germany is not only a German or a European problem. It is part of the problem of all humanity. The prohibition and the persecution of Social Democrats and the prevention of the organization of a genuinely free trade union movement in the Russian zone of Germany are as much a weakening of world democracy as, in the reverse sense, the strengthening of the American trade union movement is of the utmost importance and advantage to the fate of the working people in Germany. We are all engaged in the struggle for a free trade union movement in a democratic Germany in a free world.

Europe and U.S.

(Continued from Page 9)

shown their firm desire to remain opposed to all forms of totalitarianism. With the exception of Italy and France, all the countries coming under the Marshall Plan have rejected both Communism and reaction by overwhelming majorities. The governments in power in these countries are either completely labor-controlled or represent a coalition of labor parties with other democratic parties. As contrasted to last year, there is not a single Communist Party in any government of Western Europe.

The trade unionists and the non-Communist forces in these countries look to America and the American labor movement for hope and inspiration. For the democratic and free trade union forces of Europe, the A. F. of L. is looked to as the sole force in

German Self-Responsibility

IN a crucial situation like the present, even a single false step may have disastrous consequences. If, for instance, the Western Powers were to evacuate Berlin, it would undermine confidence in the consistency, firmness and continuity of their policy. It would be a shock to the German people and would transmit their feelings of fear and insecurity to the other peoples of Europe. This atmosphere of deadly fear is the strongest weapon of the Eastern dictatorship.

Only that which is built on the basis of the convictions and the free will of the German people will last in Germany. The people of Germany must do their own thinking. They must make their own decisions.

If any attempt is made forcibly to import an ideology into Germany, it will arouse active opposition to such attempts. The Russians were the first ones to find that it is impossible to apply mechanically the methods of their own country in a different, in a highly developed country. If such mechanical attempts were to be made by others, the Russians would win a new chance —an opportunity they have not had in Germany since their, politically speaking, Battle of the Marne in May, 1945.

In Europe and, above all, in Germany, prevailing shortages necessitate the planning of production and distribution. It is no accident that the Marshall Plan has called upon Europe to map out a common plan.

THE method practically suited to the reconstruction of Europe and Germany is democratic socialism based upon the freedom of human personality. It is our firm conviction that there can be no true social democracy without freedom. Only with the help of democratic socialism will it be possible to repel the onslaught of totalitarianism.

ism and fascism.

Democratic Socialism Only Way

WE of the democratic labor movement want to replace the thirst for power and arrogance with boundless aspirations to justice, with a sense of reality and with a sound approach. However, it is precisely this will to face reality in a responsible manner, this ability to distinguish between what is possible and what is not, what is necessary and what can be avoided, which has led us to demand the socialization of heavy industry. We do not conceive socialization as state control, as a gigantic venture into state capitalism, as the creation of a mammoth concern similar to the Nazi Reichwerke concern of the recent past. The decisive sectors of the productive capacity of Germany must become the property of the German people, adapted to contemporary economic requirements in its form of organization. This socialization does not mean the total rejection of free market economy.

We insist that the basic industries, without which there can be no reconstruction or payment of reparations, must not be misused for private monopolistic profits. The total product of German economy is much too small for such profits. Were such monopolistic profits permitted, the consequences would be misery and death for the poor and helpless people. Under the present German conditions, such private profits are not possible without the worst social and political consequences. They would be like dynamite in their effect upon German society and would generate all the phenomena which must be prevented both from a national and international point of view. All those who represent what is still good and healthy in the German people want the organization of

of the organization of a genuinely free trade union movement in the Russian zone of Germany are as much a weakening of world democracy as, in the reverse sense, the strengthening of the American trade union movement is of the utmost importance and advantage to the fate of the working people in Germany. We are all engaged in the struggle for a free trade union movement in a democratic Germany in a free world.

A. F. of L. Assures German Labor of Full Solidarity

Following Dr. Schumacher's address, President William Green declared:

You have demonstrated your deep appreciation of the magnificent address delivered by Dr. Schumacher, and I know that I speak your sentiments when I say that we here find ourselves in thorough individual and collective accord with the aims and purposes of the great party he represents, as set forth in his masterly address. What we seek to attain for the people of Germany is the re-establishment of democratic control by the people of Germany, the elimination of totalitarian control, freedom for the German people, the right to decide for themselves their own form of government and to administer the policies of that form of government.

I know I can assure Dr. Schumacher in your name that we will fully cooperate with him and those he represents in the attainment of that objective.

Europe and U.S.

(Continued from Page 9)

shown their firm desire to remain opposed to all forms of totalitarianism. With the exception of Italy and France, all the countries coming under the Marshall Plan have rejected both Communism and reaction by overwhelming majorities. The governments in power in these countries are either completely labor-controlled or represent a coalition of labor parties with other democratic parties. As contrasted to last year, there is not a single Communist Party in any government of Western Europe.

The trade unionists and the non-Communist forces in these countries look to America and the American labor movement for hope and inspiration. For the democratic and free trade union forces of Europe, the A.F. of L. is looked to as the sole force in the struggle for peace and democracy.

Against this new wave of totalitarianism and slave labor, which is the basic issue in Europe and throughout the world, the A.F. of L. has become a symbol in Europe for sanity, logic and justice, for a concept of genuine humanitarianism. Trade union movements in Greece have been saved by the intervention of the A. F. of L. through its representatives. In Austria, the Communists in their initial attack in the elections singled out the A. F. of L. as their special target, and the free trade unionists of Austria were tied to the so-called representatives of "dollar imperialism." In France and in Germany, through the A.F. of L. food programs and through the principled basis upon which you oppose the menace of slave labor and totalitarianism, the A.F. of L. is becoming the magnetic point beyond which the entire issue of free labor versus slave labor is being fought out. The tremendous power that you have for good, if you use it and extend it into the international field, cannot be overestimated.

The C. I. O. and the Marshall Plan

THE majority of the members of the C.I.O. are not Communists. An increasing number of C. I. O. leaders, as well as rank-and-file members, are fed up with the political maneuvers of the Communists and their fellow-travellers. We welcome the steps which have been taken by several important C. I. O. unions to check Communist activities within their ranks. However, the non-Communist majority of the C. I. O. has not yet learned to oppose Communism with sufficient vigor and clarity in a principled manner by unmasking the entire political system and doctrine of Communism rather than attacking it as a mere nuisance in one or another union.

Especially in regard to questions of international and foreign policy have the non-Communists in the C. I. O. tended to avoid any struggle with the Communists. To date, they have even gone so far as to yield to the Communists on these questions—apparently because they considered such problems of minor importance. This is, of course, a completely wrong attitude, since the problems of foreign and international policy are today of vital interest to the American workers and of highest importance to the future of labor and all mankind.

The resolutions on international problems adopted by the recent annual convention of the C. I. O., held at Boston, show the deplorable consequences of the attempt to evade the crucial issues of our time. These resolutions constitute a great achievement in artful dodging and fence-sitting. But each sentence can be interpreted in at least two ways. No issue is treated in a clear and unequivocal manner. If the non-Communists boast that they have succeeded in preventing the Communists from planting their undiluted propaganda into the resolutions, they are profoundly mistaken. The ambiguous wording of the unanimously adopted resolutions can and will be interpreted by the Communists in their own manner and for their own purposes.

Artful Ambiguities

by Vishinsky against alleged American "warmongers"?

However, the gem of the resolution is what it says—or rather what it fails to say—about the Marshall Plan. Everybody knows that the attitude towards the Marshall Plan has become the touchstone for all pronouncements in the field of foreign policy. The resolution of the C. I. O. convention does not even mention the Marshall Plan. In his speech on the resolution, Philip Murray, president of the C. I. O., even denied the existence of the Marshall Plan. He said: "A slogan has been used which attaches the name of Secretary Marshall to a plan of some description. . . . Whatever his ideas may be with reference to the allocation of relief, they are now in the hands of certain governmental committees. . . ."

Basis of Marshall Plan

On the contrary, Secretary Marshall stressed the fact that "we have now reached the point where 16 nations have submitted a preliminary plan" and stated that this plan was under study by governmental agencies and Congressional committees. It is clear that, regardless of the final blueprint of the plan, its basic, underlying conceptions have been very definite from the outset. This is the opinion of Walter Reuther, president of the United Automobile Workers, who in his address to the C. I. O. convention, acknowledged the existence of a Marshall Plan. Although he himself voted for the resolution, Reuther went on to say:

". . .I am for the Marshall Plan. What is the Marshall Plan? The Marshall Plan has not been blueprinted. I think you and I, the people of America, ought to fight like hell to blueprint the Marshall Plan. . . . The Marshall Plan merely says that because we have these tremendous resources we will help the peoples of the world to help themselves rehabilitate their economies so that they can have a fighting chance in building up a democratic society for themselves. . . . That is what the Marshall Plan is. . . . Unless we make the Marshall Plan succeed in

but of the attacks directed by Molotov against the Marshall Plan. In the first place, the Marshall Plan is not a plan of aiding other countries **in general**, but of aiding **countries which are willing to cooperate in the reconstruction of Europe on a collective continental basis.** By their refusal of such cooperation, the Soviet Union and its satellites deliberately excluded themselves from the application and benefits of the Marshall Plan. On the other hand, the imputation that the Marshall Plan might be used "as a means of coercing free but needy people" is nothing but a repetition of Soviet propaganda attacks which are in patent contradiction to all official American pronouncements to date on the Marshall Plan.

Our interpretation of the C. I. O. resolution is supported by the fact that Irving Potash, the Communist Party delegate representing the International Fur and Leather Workers' Union, endorsed it in his speech at the convention "because it is not the Marshall Plan nor anybody else's plan, but because it is the C. I. O. plan."

In line with this attitude, the resolution, insofar as the German problem is concerned, calls for "no rebuilding of industry which has war or military potential." This is an innocent-sounding formula for the policy of destroying and dismantling German industrial enterprises which do not directly serve the production of arms and other military material but are urgently needed for and essential to the economic reconstruction of Europe within the framework of the Marshall Plan.

Spotlight on W.F.T.U.

UNDER these circumstances, it is also not astonishing that the C.I.O. convention, in its resolution on the World Federation of Trade Unions, uncritically and wholeheartedly approved the activities of this Communist-manipulated body. The resolution on the W. F. T. U. also attacks the A. F. of L. for the support given by it to the free trade unionists of Latin America in their fight against Toledano and his pro-Moscow policies. This resolution hails the W. F. T. U. for its "outstanding contribution towards the

Communists in the C. I. O. tended to avoid any struggle with the Communists. To date, they have even gone so far as to yield to the Communists on these questions—apparently because they considered such problems of minor importance. This is, of course, a completely wrong attitude, since the problems of foreign and international policy are today of vital interest to the American workers and of highest importance to the future of labor and all mankind.

The resolutions on international problems adopted by the recent annual convention of the C. I. O., held at Boston, show the deplorable consequences of the attempt to evade the crucial issues of our time. These resolutions constitute a great achievement in artful dodging and fence-sitting. But each sentence can be interpreted in at least two ways. No issue is treated in a clear and unequivocal manner. If the non-Communists boast that they have succeeded in preventing the Communists from planting their undiluted propaganda into the resolutions, they are profoundly mistaken. The ambiguous wording of the unanimously adopted resolutions can and will be interpreted by the Communists in their own manner and for their own purposes.

Artful Ambiguities

TAKE the C. I. O. resolution on "Foreign Policy and World Democracy." It states, in part:

"The voices which have been raised in a few places in our country calling for a so-called preventive war are not the voices of the American people. We deny any charge that we plan to launch a war. The American people oppose as inconsistent with their basic interests and aspirations any such attempt, as we oppose any form of aggression by America or any other nation. There must be the most vigorous and relentless opposition by all liberty- and peace-loving citizens to the offensive led by evil forces to provoke and foster the insane idea of another world war."

There is not a single word in the entire resolution against the aggressive propaganda and the aggressive actions of the Soviet government and its Cominform and other agencies. Was it not clear that those voted for the quoted passage were unwittingly assisting the vicious propaganda campaign

governmental committees. . . ."

Basis of Marshall Plan

On the contrary, Secretary Marshall stressed the fact that "we have now reached the point where 16 nations have submitted a preliminary plan" and stated that this plan was under study by governmental agencies and Congressional committees. It is clear that, regardless of the final blueprint of the plan, its basic, underlying conceptions have been very definite from the outset. This is the opinion of Walter Reuther, president of the United Automobile Workers, who in his address to the C. I. O. convention, acknowledged the existence of a Marshall Plan. Although he himself voted for the resolution, Reuther went on to say:

". . .I am for the Marshall Plan. What is the Marshall Plan? The Marshall Plan has not been blueprinted. I think you and I, the people of America, ought to fight like hell to blueprint the Marshall Plan. . . . The Marshall Plan merely says that because we have these tremendous resources we will help the peoples of the world to help themselves rehabilitate their economies so that they can have a fighting chance in building up a democratic society for themselves. . . . That is what the Marshall Plan is. . . . Unless we make the Marshall Plan succeed in the world, there won't be any free trade unions anywhere in Europe, **as there aren't any on the other side of the iron curtain.**"

However, the resolution adopted by the C. I. O. convention merely declares:

". . .We, therefore, support sound **programs** for post-war rehabilitation. We urge, in support of our nation's fight against hunger throughout the world, prompt action to provide food and other economic aid for the rehabilitation of their countries. We also urge that under no circumstances should food or any other aid given by any country be used as a means of coercing free but needy people in the exercise of their rights of independence and self-government or to fan the flames of civil warfare."

IT is to be noted that the resolution supports **programs**—more than one. Did any of its authors have in mind the Molotov Plan as a sound program? Thanks to this ambiguous wording, we actually have the C.I.O.'s endorsement **not** of the Marshall Plan

Potash, the Communist Party delegate representing the International Fur and Leather Workers' Union, endorsed it in his speech at the convention "because it is not the Marshall Plan nor anybody else's plan, but because it is the C. I. O. plan."

In line with this attitude, the resolution, insofar as the German problem is concerned, calls for "no rebuilding of industry which has war or military potential." This is an innocent-sounding formula for the policy of destroying and dismantling German industrial enterprises which do not directly serve the production of arms and other military material but are urgently needed for and essential to the economic reconstruction of Europe within the framework of the Marshall Plan.

Spotlight on W.F.T.U.

UNDER these circumstances, it is also not astonishing that the C.I.O. convention, in its resolution on the World Federation of Trade Unions, uncritically and wholeheartedly approved the activities of this Communist-manipulated body. The resolution on the W. F. T. U. also attacks the A. F. of L. for the support given by it to the free trade unionists of Latin America in their fight against Toledano and his pro-Moscow policies. This resolution hails the W. F. T. U. for its "outstanding contribution towards the development of free and democratic trade unions in Germany and Japan." In the speeches of Kurt Schumacher and James Killen at the San Francisco convention of the A. F. of L., our readers will find valuable material regarding this "outstanding contribution." In his speech, quoted above, Walter Reuther, by pointing to the fact that the trade unions of the Soviet Union and its satellite states are not free labor organizations, exposed the W.F.T.U.'s true nature.

We hope that the democratic forces in the C. I. O. will eventually come to understand that, by playing into the hands of the Communists in matters of international and foreign policy, they serve to discredit themselves and contribute to negating and vitiating the success which they have achieved in eliminating Communist influence within the C. I. O. We also hope that the democratic forces of the C. I. O. will, sooner or later, find out that association with the W. F. T. U. only serves to facilitate destructive Communist maneuvers within its ranks.

INTERNATIONAL
FREE TRADE UNION NEWS

Vol. 3, No. 6 | Published by the Free Trade Union Committee of the American Federation of Labor
Box 65, Station G, New York 19, New York, U. S. A. 357 | JUNE, 1948

The Battle for Berlin

THE City of Berlin has become a crucial point in the world-wide conflict between democracy and totalitarianism. The series of deliberate and systematic provocations directed against representatives of the Western powers in Berlin cannot be explained in terms of personal recklessness and ambition on the part of the Soviet military commanders; these acts constitute the latest well-planned manifestation of the Kremlin's policy of expansionism and aggression.

By now, Stalin's policy has reached the same stage as that of Hitler after the subjugation of Austria. Like the Nazi policies at that stage, the aggressive acts of the Russian dictatorship now succeed one another without respite. The crisis in Berlin immediately followed the Communist coup d'état in Czechoslovakia.

The situation in Berlin is a reminder to world democracy that, in spite of the setbacks Stalin has suffered in France and in Italy and in spite of his failure to prevent adoption of the Marshall Plan, he has not in the least abandoned his intention to wreck the European Recovery Program and, eventually, to bring Western Europe under his totalitarian rule.

The A.F. of L. has consistently emphasized that the success of the Marshall Plan and the defense of democracy in Europe will be decisively determined by the economic and political evolution of Germany. Although many in democratic countries unfortunately still fail to realize the importance of economic reconstruction and of an unhampered development of democratic institutions in Germany, Stalin is fully conscious of it. For this reason, he is sparing no effort to fortify his position in Germany. To wreck the prospects of German democracy and to block the recovery of German economy would shatter the whole structure of the Marshall Plan which is based on the integration of G[illegible]

mocracy" had less success than in any other European country, Stalin is now trying to instill them with a spirit of fear and helplessness before the might and ruthlessness of Russia. Once in full possession of Berlin, he would be in a position to paralyze any attempts in Western Germany aimed toward economic reconstruction within the framework of the Marshall Plan.

That is why the fate of Berlin is today of crucial importance to the entire world; that is why the Western powers must continue to remain resolute and calm in confronting Russian attempts to dislodge them from the city by pinpricks, insults and other acts. Such a firm attitude is made all the more necessary by the fact that the Russians are playing with fire and are not only quite probably aware of it but are consciously speculating on the effects of this dangerous game. **The only way to stop Soviet aggression and preserve the peace of the world is to make the Russian dictators understand that they would be thoroughly mistaken if they assumed that the Western powers might be induced, because of their aversion to a new war, to yield a single additional part or particle of Europe to Soviet expansion.**

Aftermath of Western Errors

IT is obvious that, under these circumstances, the plans of Soviet totalitarianism cannot be defeated unless the Western powers supplement their resistance to Russian provocation by constructive proposals which

ACTUALLY, the events in Berlin are not merely expressions of friction and dispute between military commanders. One of the major reasons why the Russians seek unlimited control of the city undoubtedly arises from the fact that they have met there a force which can be silenced only with their most ruthless forms of oppression. That force is the indomitable democratic spirit of the workers of Berlin. Dwelling among ruins, living on a starvation diet for years, their ranks depleted by the Gestapo, the democratic workers of Berlin have nevertheless continued fearlessly to oppose Soviet totalitarianism and its German quislings. They have not allowed themselves to grow discouraged by the fact that they form an isolated and seemingly forlorn outpost, right in the center of an area of unlimited Russian totalitarian terror. Constantly harassed by the Russian police whom the German Communists serve as voluntary agents, daily facing the menace of being kidnapped and carried off to some concentration camp in the Russian zone— or even Siberia—the democratic workers of Berlin have proven themselves an unbending spearhead of world democracy at the most advanced and dangerous position in the struggle for human freedom today.

This situation, however, imposes a compelling responsibility upon the democratic forces of the world. The proper handling of the Russian provocations in Berlin involves far more than a question of the political and military prestige of the Western powers; it represents the fulfillment of a human duty—the duty of world democracy to protect the courageous democratic population of Berlin.

aggression.

By now, Stalin's policy has reached the same stage as that of Hitler after the subjugation of Austria. Like the Nazi policies at that stage, the aggressive acts of the Russian dictatorship now succeed one another without respite. The crisis in Berlin immediately followed the Communist coup d'état in Czechoslovakia.

The situation in Berlin is a reminder to world democracy that, in spite of the setbacks Stalin has suffered in France and in Italy and in spite of his failure to prevent adoption of the Marshall Plan, he has not in the least abandoned his intention to wreck the European Recovery Program and, eventually, to bring Western Europe under his totalitarian rule.

The A.F. of L. has consistently emphasized that the success of the Marshall Plan and the defense of democracy in Europe will be decisively determined by the economic and political evolution of Germany. Although many in democratic countries unfortunately still fail to realize the importance of economic reconstruction and of an unhampered development of democratic institutions in Germany, Stalin is fully conscious of it. For this reason, he is sparing no effort to fortify his position in Germany. To wreck the prospects of German democracy and to block the recovery of German economy would shatter the whole structure of the Marshall Plan which is based on the integration of Germany's productive capacities in a continental plan of European reconstruction.

Path to Quisling "Government"

BY attempting to make conditions in Berlin unbearable for representatives of the Western powers and thus inducing them to pull out, the Russians seek not only to obtain full control of the capital and largest city of Germany; they also desire to set up there a puppet government composed of their Piecks, Grotewohls and other quislings to pose as a "government" for all Germany. In addition, Stalin is scheming to humiliate and discredit the Western democracies by creating the impression that they are neither sufficiently determined nor sufficiently strong to resist the Russians, so that the German people will be led to expect no protection in case of a Soviet move into Western Germany.

The object is clear. As the Communists' efforts to win over the German people by their usual line of propaganda about "popular de-

instill them with a spirit of fear and helplessness before the might and ruthlessness of Russia. Once in full possession of Berlin, he would be in a position to paralyze any attempts in Western Germany aimed toward economic reconstruction within the framework of the Marshall Plan.

That is why the fate of Berlin is today of crucial importance to the entire world; that is why the Western powers must continue to remain resolute and calm in confronting Russian attempts to dislodge them from the city by pinpricks, insults and other acts. Such a firm attitude is made all the more necessary by the fact that the Russians are playing with fire and are not only quite probably aware of it but are consciously speculating on the effects of this dangerous game. **The only way to stop Soviet aggression and preserve the peace of the world is to make the Russian dictators understand that they would be thoroughly mistaken if they assumed that the Western powers might be induced, because of their aversion to a new war, to yield a single additional part or particle of Europe to Soviet expansion.**

Aftermath of Western Errors

IT is obvious that, under these circumstances, the plans of Soviet totalitarianism cannot be defeated unless the Western powers supplement their resistance to Russian provocation by constructive proposals which would enable the spirit of the Marshall Plan to be fully applied through securing the free existence of a democratic Germany within a community of the free nations of Europe and the whole world.

The present situation in Berlin is the sad aftermath of the fatal blunders committed by the Western powers at Teheran, Yalta and Potsdam. Responsible people in the democratic countries will now hardly deny that the attempt to treat the German problem in a spirit of vengeance directed against the entire German people—that is, including the democratic forces of Germany—has been one of the principal factors in the acquiescence of the Western powers to the subjugation of half Europe by Soviet totalitarianism. It is, therefore, imperative that the Western powers completely free their policy from the last remnants of the spirit of Yalta and Potsdam and approach the German problem exclusively in the light of the principles of the Marshall Plan and of the defense of European and world democracy.

most ruthless forms of oppression. That force is the indomitable democratic spirit of the workers of Berlin. Dwelling among ruins, living on a starvation diet for years, their ranks depleted by the Gestapo, the democratic workers of Berlin have nevertheless continued fearlessly to oppose Soviet totalitarianism and its German quislings. They have not allowed themselves to grow discouraged by the fact that they form an isolated and seemingly forlorn outpost, right in the center of an area of unlimited Russian totalitarian terror. Constantly harassed by the Russian police whom the German Communists serve as voluntary agents, daily facing the menace of being kidnapped and carried off to some concentration camp in the Russian zone— or even Siberia—the democratic workers of Berlin have proven themselves an unbending spearhead of world democracy at the most advanced and dangerous position in the struggle for human freedom today.

This situation, however, imposes a compelling responsibility upon the democratic forces of the world. The proper handling of the Russian provocations in Berlin involves far more than a question of the political and military prestige of the Western powers; it represents the fulfillment of a human duty—the duty of world democracy to protect the courageous democratic population of Berlin.

Workers Devoted to Democracy

ONLY recently the democratic workers of Berlin gave fresh proof of their unwavering devotion and loyalty to the principles of democracy. The recent trade union elections in Berlin were a brilliant success for the Independent Trade Union Opposition (U.G.O.) which includes democratic trade unionists of all tendencies—Social Democrats, Christian Democrats, Liberal Democrats and non-partisan elements. The U.G.O.'s achievement is of particular importance in that the voting took place during the days when the international tension in Berlin was reaching its climax. Although the Russian military spokesmen resorted to a bullying attitude and the Soviet-controlled papers announced that the Western powers were about to withdraw from the city, the Berlin workers refused to be intimidated in casting their ballots.

(Continued on last page)

Trade Unionism Under Tito

By ZIVKO TOPALOVICH

IN the early years following the creation of the Yugoslav state, the Communists succeeded in gaining control of the free trade unions. After some unsuccessful attempts at political terrorism and a number of lost strikes, which had been purely political in purpose, the Communist movement was suppressed. The whole working class of Yugoslavia suffered a terrible defeat, thanks to the Communist leadership to which it had submitted.

Not until several years later, during the period from 1923 to 1926, did the Socialists succeed in rebuilding the free trade unions. However, their membership never again reached its original 300,000 mark. Meanwhile, the Communists developed their underground organizations and their nuclei extended their activities to the free trade unions. The underground Communist forces resorted to all kinds of legal organizations as a cover—trade unions, consumer cooperatives, benevolent societies, choral groups, Esperanto associations, sports clubs, temperance leagues, Christian and other religious institutions, all political parties and their affiliates, the press—and all citizens' bodies without regard to the latter's specific aims.

Thus, the Communists gradually sneaked into all organizations. Posing as loyal members, they actually used these organizations as meeting places and as means to win and wield influence over the entire life of the people. The purpose of these activities was to praise the Soviet Union and gain friends for her. This propaganda continuously increased; during the next 15 years, several hundred young people, students and workers, annually went illegally to the Soviet Union, returning after a few months as trained propagandists and terrorists.

Communists Defended Hitler

AT that time, however, the Communists did not dare to provoke an open conflict within the free trade unions. They therefore concentrated on winning over workers in the war industries and on setting up their

Dr. Zivko Topalovich was for many years secretary general of the Chamber of Labor in Belgrade. He is also former chief of the Department of Labor Relations of the International Labor Organization at Geneva.

the non-Communist groups were forcibly suppressed and Communist dictatorships established in the Balkan countries.

IN its initial stage, the Yugoslav dictatorship felt rather insecure and therefore sought the collaboration of democratic forces. Of the prominent trade union leaders only those were executed on the spot who had played an important role in Mikhailovich's movement—for instance, Laza Petrovich. All others were invited to collaborate with the Tito forces under the leadership of an old Communist trade union leader, Laza Stefanovich, who returned to Belgrade after having spent several years in Moscow.

The slogan, "unity of the working class and its trade unions," was proclaimed. A number of well-known trade union leaders of the Socialist, Communist, non-partisan, national and Christian tendencies who recognized the "Popular Government"—that is, control by the Communist Party—formed a Central Council which began to rebuild the trade unions. This Central Council was led, in addition to Stefanovich, by the Communist Pavle Pavlovich. Since the editors of the trade union press were also Communists, these papers hailed the Communist Party and the Soviet Union as the sole liberators of Yugoslavia.

The old non-Communist trade union leaders who were known in Western Europe—for instance, Bogdan Krekich, general secretary of the free trade unions—were used to establish relations between the Yugoslav Communists and the Western trade unions, especially those of Great Britain. The object of this move was to establish the "unity of the working class" likewise on the international level.

selves completely swept aside as a result of these methods.

The next stage came with the launching of a Communist press campaign against the veteran trade union leaders in which they were accused of "fascist activities" and "national betrayal." This campaign served as an ideological preparation for their trial by the so-called "People's Tribunals." By these threats, the Communists forced all non-Communist trade union leaders to resign their posts. Milorad Belich and Bogdan Krekich, the former president and general secretary of the free trade unions, respectively, were among those who "withdrew" from their offices. However, the elimination of the non-Communists was not the end of the "purge." Stefanovich and Pavlovich were likewise removed, together with all other old Communists who had long experience in the trade union movement. They were replaced by confidantes of the political police and blind idolators of Tito and Stalin. The present head of the Yugoslav trade unions is an obscure individual of Hungarian origin, a certain Djura Salai.

"Enemies of the People"

THE Yugoslav trade union movement today is merely an auxiliary instrument of the Communist dictatorship. The alleged organizational independence of the trade unions is purely formal as their real boss is the trade union committee of the Communist Party. All local trade union officers are actually appointed from above. The procedure is as follows: The Communist Party group proposes a list of candidates in a public membership meeting where, since the vote is by a show of hands, nobody dares to vote against the list. Those who might so vote would at once be denounced as "enemies of the people."

All trade union meetings send telegrams of greetings to the Communist Party and its leader, Tito. Frequently, resolutions are adopted at plant meetings by which the workers pledge to contribute to the "glorious Communist Party" their wages for one or

derground organizations and their nuclei extended their activities to the free trade unions. The underground Communist forces resorted to all kinds of legal organizations as a cover—trade unions, consumer cooperatives, benevolent societies, choral groups, Esperanto associations, sports clubs, temperance leagues, Christian and other religious institutions, all political parties and their affiliates, the press—and all citizens' bodies without regard to the latter's specific aims.

Thus, the Communists gradually sneaked into all organizations. Posing as loyal members, they actually used these organizations as meeting places and as means to win and wield influence over the entire life of the people. The purpose of these activities was to praise the Soviet Union and gain friends for her. This propaganda continuously increased; during the next 15 years, several hundred young people, students and workers, annually went illegally to the Soviet Union, returning after a few months as trained propagandists and terrorists.

Communists Defended Hitler

AT that time, however, the Communists did not dare to provoke an open conflict within the free trade unions. They therefore concentrated on winning over workers in the war industries and on setting up their own military organizations. Under a cloak of patriotism they publicly organized military units which were placed under the supervision and command of the War Ministry. Quite a number of fools in civilian clothes and uniforms let themselves be deceived and misused in this way. But those policies came to an end when Stalin concluded his pact with Hitler. The people of the whole nation condemned this betrayal of democracy, with only the Communists daring to defend Hitler against "Western imperialism." As a result of the bitter fight that ensued within the labor organizations, Communists were expelled from many trade unions.

The Second World War soon put an end to this conflict. During the war, the Communists organized their own resistance movement under the leadership of Tito, who had long lived in Soviet Russia. The Communist resistance movement was considerably weaker than that of General Mikhailovich. Unfortunately, the Allies proceeded to abandon the Balkans, with the exception of Greece, to the Russians, with the result that

played an important role in Mikhailovich's movement—for instance, Laza Petrovich. All others were invited to collaborate with the Tito forces under the leadership of an old Communist trade union leader, Laza Stefanovich, who returned to Belgrade after having spent several years in Moscow.

The slogan, "unity of the working class and its trade unions," was proclaimed. A number of well-known trade union leaders of the Socialist, Communist, non-partisan, national and Christian tendencies who recognized the "Popular Government"—that is, control by the Communist Party—formed a Central Council which began to rebuild the trade unions. This Central Council was led, in addition to Stefanovich, by the Communist Pavle Pavlovich. Since the editors of the trade union press were also Communists, these papers hailed the Communist Party and the Soviet Union as the sole liberators of Yugoslavia.

The old non-Communist trade union leaders who were known in Western Europe—for instance, Bogdan Krekich, general secretary of the free trade unions—were used to establish relations between the Yugoslav Communists and the Western trade unions, especially those of Great Britain. The object of this move was to establish the "unity of the working class" likewise on the international level.

First Exploited, Then Purged

BUT as soon as the old trade unionists had rendered the Communists the services expected from them, both at home and internationally, a "purge" was organized. First, all officers on the lower level of the trade union organization were filled with Communists after elections in which the membership had to vote in public. The Communists took advantage of the mass of new members who had never before been unionized, who were utterly ignorant of the aims of the trade union movement, and who were completely unfamiliar with the records of any of the old trade unionists. By joining a trade union, a worker could secure his job and obtain certain quantities of food and clothing which were distributed by the trade unions. This huge and backward mass of new union members followed those leaders who had the confidence of the Tito government and spoke in its name. Not only the veteran trade union leaders but the old trade union members as a whole found themStefanovich and Pavlovich were likewise removed, together with all other old Communists who had long experience in the trade union movement. They were replaced by confidantes of the political police and blind idolators of Tito and Stalin. The present head of the Yugoslav trade unions is an obscure individual of Hungarian origin, a certain Djura Salai.

"Enemies of the People"

THE Yugoslav trade union movement today is merely an auxiliary instrument of the Communist dictatorship. The alleged organizational independence of the trade unions is purely formal as their real boss is the trade union committee of the Communist Party. All local trade union officers are actually appointed from above. The procedure is as follows: The Communist Party group proposes a list of candidates in a public membership meeting where, since the vote is by a show of hands, nobody dares to vote against the list. Those who might so vote would at once be denounced as "enemies of the people."

All trade union meetings send telegrams of greetings to the Communist Party and its leader, Tito. Frequently, resolutions are adopted at plant meetings by which the workers pledge to contribute to the "glorious Communist Party" their wages for one or two days or for several hours during a given number of days. That is how the Communists replenish their treasuries. Who the members of the Communist Party are and whether they pay dues remains a mystery, for the Yugoslav Communist Party has never held a convention. In a new section of Belgrade a magnificent palace for the Central Committee of the Communist Party is being constructed by the unpaid work of several thousand "volunteers."

PROTECTION of the workers' interests is relegated to last place in the activities of the trade unions. The prominent "union" leaders ride in luxurious cars and are conspicuous at all military parades, festivities, theatrical presentations, receptions in Tito's palace and other such affairs. The principal task of these leaders is to "represent" the "working class" at official functions. The duty assigned to local trade union leaders is to get the workers to leave the factories whenever demanded from above, and to have

(*Continued on next page*)

INTERNATIONAL LABOR HIGHLIGHTS

I.T.F. Fully Endorses European Recovery Program

The conference on Marshall Plan aid held by the International Transport Workers' Federation in Luxembourg from April 6 to 9 constituted another significant step towards a fundamental realignment in the international trade union movement.

The I.T.F. conference decided to express "its appreciation of the open-handedness with which the American government has offered, under the European Recovery Program, economic help on a hitherto unheard-of scale to those European countries that are prepared to cooperate with one another in establishing and maintaining the stable economic conditions which are essential for the peace and prosperity of the world as a whole." The conference likewise stressed "its recognition of the active part played by the trade union movement in the United States in furthering the legislation to implement the program and assuring the support of American workers for this measure."

After the delegates unanimously endorsed the declaration of the International Trade Union Conference on the E.R.P., held in London on March 9 and 10, the I.T.F. conference declared "its willingness to coordinate its efforts with those of other trade union organizations seeking to promote the success of the E.R.P."

Among other actions and decisions of this historic gathering were:

1. A demand for participation by labor in the E.R.P. administration, especially in connection with transport problems.

2. A demand for an integrated transport system with a transport authority under the Committee for European Economic Cooperation rather than under the United Nations Economic Committee for Europe in which Russia and its satellite nations are participating.

3. A resolution on the shipping problem which took cognizance of the needs and position of American seamen—a concrete example of international labor solidarity.

4. Adoption of a report by President Omar Becu proposing that the I.T.F. continue to maintain contact with the free trade unionists of all countries in spite of totalitarian dictatorships which may have overwhelmed some lands—a position which is precisely in line with the course pursued by the I.T.F. against the Nazis, and which reveals a courageous and dynamic acceptance of the ideological and world trade union struggle against Russian Bolshevist tyranny.

5. A call for full application of the various I.L.O. provisions to improve the working conditions and raise the living standards of the people.

6. The presence of representatives of the German transport workers' unions, of the C.G.T.-Force Ouvrière and the minority group of the Italian C.G.I.L. indicates further progress in the reconstruction of a general international trade union body not dominated by totalitarian Communism.

YUGOSLAVIA

(*Continued from preceding page*)

them parade in the streets for hours to provide a semblance of popularity to Communist demonstrations, to fill meeting halls, to acclaim visitors from abroad upon arrival or to applaud them when escorted through the streets.

In their capacity as representatives of the police in the factories, the trade unions act as "drivers" to force the workers to attain the prescribed output; again, the unions compel the workers, after hours or during holidays, to perform unpaid work in the cities or even outside town limits. Finally, the unions spy on the workers and act, in every respect, as organs of the political police.

THE membership of the Yugoslav trade unions is unknown. Even their top leaders will not be sure of the exact figures until the "purge" of the rank-and-file members, which has just been ordered, is completed. The total number of membership cards distributed during the past three years amounts to 1,000,000. On December 8, 1947, *Borba*, principal paper of the Yugoslav Communist Party, stated: "A large number of [illegible] have regular files. It

GREECE

As a result of pressure and protest from

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

An idea of trade unionism in the "new people's democracy" of Czechoslovakia may be gained from the fact that two leading "trade union" officials have joined the Gottwald government—Antonin Zapotocky, chairman of the Communist-dominated U.R.O., as Deputy Prime Minister and Evzen Erban, its crypto-Communist general secretary, as Minister of Social Welfare. Erban, who was formerly a minor official in the Office and Distributive Workers' Union, has been posing as a Social Democrat.

The present acting chairman of the "Revolutionary Trade Union Movement"—the U.R.O.—is Vaclav Cipro, a former minor official and accountant of the Engineering and Metal Workers' Union, a fellow-traveller and now at least a crypto-Communist, posing as a Social Democrat. The acting general secretary is Rudolf Kolsky, an outright Communist who was formerly secretary of the Communist-controlled Metal Workers' Union —an organization whose membership amounted to 872 workers.

In his ministerial function, Erban is master of the Labor Offices, which are sending all dismissed workers into the mines, the building, iron and steel industries and agricultural work. Reporting to Parliament, he announced that already 8,300 workers had been dismissed from their posts because of "political unreliability"—among them 2,500 public officials and 5,800 employees of nationalized and private enterprises. The purge is continuing, with people being compelled to join the Communist Party to avoid falling under suspicion. The consequence of such suspicion is to face the threat of job dismissal and assignment to forced labor.

The worst Nazi time-saving methods are now being established under the direction of a German "scientist," Dr. Otto Schmidt, who is everywhere introducing the so-called Refa system. As a result, bricklayers, for example, who used to earn 2,000 Kcs ($40) weekly, are now reduced to earnings of 700 Kcs. When the railways tunnel workers at Vinogrady in Prague struck, U.R.O. officials quickly arrived to order them back to work immediately, making it plain that there are

the trade union movement in the United States in furthering the legislation to im-

YUGOSLAVIA

(*Continued from preceding page*)

them parade in the streets for hours to provide a semblance of popularity to Communist demonstrations, to fill meeting halls, to acclaim visitors from abroad upon arrival or to applaud them when escorted through the streets.

In their capacity as representatives of the police in the factories, the trade unions act as "drivers" to force the workers to attain the prescribed output; again, the unions compel the workers, after hours or during holidays, to perform unpaid work in the cities or even outside town limits. Finally, the unions spy on the workers and act, in every respect, as organs of the political police.

THE membership of the Yugoslav trade unions is unknown. Even their top leaders will not be sure of the exact figures until the "purge" of the rank-and-file members, which has just been ordered, is completed. The total number of membership cards distributed during the past three years amounts to 1,000,000. On December 8, 1947, *Borba*, principal paper of the Yugoslav Communist Party, stated: "A large number of organizations do not have regular files. It has happened that trade union officers gave one and the same trade union member several membership cards. Dues are not paid regularly and membership statistics are quite deficient."

The Central Council decided that, beginning with January, 1948, the old trade union membership cards were no longer valid. The "purge" has begun. The resolution of the Central Council on this question states: "Only members in good standing—that is, those who have regularly paid their dues during 12 months—can obtain new membership cards. The purpose of the exchange of membership cards is the organizational and **political consolidation of the trade unions** so they may be able to fulfill the tasks imposed upon them by the Five-Year Plan."

What this means is that the "purged" trade unions will have to exert an even stronger pressure upon the mass of workers to secure fulfillment of the economic plans of the Tito dictatorship.

operation rather than under the United Nations Economic Committee for Europe in which Russia and its satellite nations are participating.

3. A resolution on the shipping problem which took cognizance of the needs and position of American seamen—a concrete example of international labor solidarity.

4. Adoption of a report by President Omar Becu proposing that the I.T.F. continue to maintain contact with the free trade unionists of all countries in spite of totalitarian dictatorships which may have overwhelmed some lands—a position which is precisely in line with the course pursued by the I.T.F. against the Nazis, and which reveals a courageous and dynamic acceptance of the ideological and world trade union struggle against Russian Bolshevist tyranny.

5. A call for full application of the various I.L.O. provisions to improve the working conditions and raise the living standards of the people.

6. The presence of representatives of the German transport workers' unions, of the C.G.T.-Force Ouvrière and the minority group of the Italian C.G.I.L. indicates further progress in the reconstruction of a general international trade union body not dominated by totalitarian Communism.

GREECE

As a result of pressure and protest from the democratic forces, the Greek parliament has repealed the drastic anti-strike law enacted last year. In a statement on this action, the A.F. of L. International Labor Relations Department declared:

"The repeal of this iniquitous legislation will encourage the growth of free trade unionism as a bulwark of democracy in Greece and will inspire Greek labor to take its rightful place in the front ranks of the international workers' movement fighting for human freedom, social justice and lasting peace, and against every type of reaction and totalitarian tyranny."

NEW ZEALAND

The democratic trade union forces of New Zealand administered a crushing defeat to Communists in the annual election for seats on the Auckland Trades Council in April. With the Council hitherto dominated by Communists, every one of their candidates in this election was beaten.

retary is Rudolf Kolsky, an outright Communist who was formerly secretary of the Communist-controlled Metal Workers' Union —an organization whose membership amounted to 872 workers.

In his ministerial function, Erban is master of the Labor Offices, which are sending all dismissed workers into the mines, the building, iron and steel industries and agricultural work. Reporting to Parliament, he announced that already 8,300 workers had been dismissed from their posts because of "political unreliability"—among them 2,500 public officials and 5,800 employees of nationalized and private enterprises. The purge is continuing, with people being compelled to join the Communist Party to avoid falling under suspicion. The consequence of such suspicion is to face the threat of job dismissal and assignment to forced labor.

The worst Nazi time-saving methods are now being established under the direction of a German "scientist," Dr. Otto Schmidt, who is everywhere introducing the so-called Refa system. As a result, bricklayers, for example, who used to earn 2,000 Kcs ($40) weekly, are now reduced to earnings of 700 Kcs. When the railways tunnel workers at Vinogrady in Prague struck, U.R.O. officials quickly arrived to order them back to work immediately, making it plain that there are means to compel them to do so. Thus, their strike was broken by the "trade union" movement itself.

According to a confidential report, those members of the factory works councils who formerly opposed the Communists are now being dismissed from one job after another, and this process is continued until they finally wind up working as common laborers, regardless of their occupational qualifications. The report reveals that dismissals are announced through a notice signed by the "Action Committee President," which reads as follows:

"The Action Committee has decided that the employee [name filled in] is to be dismissed. Reason: During the time of emergency, he agreed with the actions of the reactionary Ministers and criticized the actions which were directed against the enemies of the Republic. Now he is disturbing the peace and successful development of the Republic by disgraceful utterances about the present regime."

Pattern for Nation-Wide Political Education

A CONFERENCE of delegates from the State Federations of Labor was held in Washington, D. C., last month by Labor's League for Political Education, the A.F. of L. political arm. The conference marked the formal opening of L.L.P.E. headquarters in a building opposite the White House. The text of the declaration, which was unanimously adopted, follows:

"REPRESSION of human rights and freedoms can never succeed in America. The Taft-Hartley Act is now confirming this truth anew.

"The Taft-Hartley Act not only seeks to destroy the economic rights of American workers by fettering their trade unions, but it also attempts to prevent political retaliation by labor and the furtherance of any progressive legislative program. It does this by prohibiting the expenditure of union funds for political purposes.

"But organized labor is not taking that blow lying down. Our people throughout the nation are rising to the challenge and are determined that the political influence of the trade union movement shall become more powerful in our country than ever before.

League Must Be Permanent

"AS the first step toward that objective, the American Federation of Labor already has organized Labor's League for Political Education, which is now functioning. We are convinced that it must become a permanent organization.

"Two cardinal principles have been enunciated by the league:

"It must carry on a nation-wide campaign of political education among the rank and file of American workers to impress upon them the vital need of registering and voting. From a practical standpoint, we cannot hope to win unless union members understand the importance of the election issues and are interested enough to vote.

"From the same standpoint, since under the Taft-Hartley Act we must depend upon the voluntary contributions of our members for financial support of our political efforts, we must convince them that such contributions will serve their best interests and the best interests of the nation.

"This conference unanimously agrees that Labor's League for Political Education, in order to be effective, must be organized at state and local levels as well as the national level.

"WE therefore call upon every State Federation of Labor which has not already done so to organize state leagues. This is necessary because the Taft-Hartley Act will not allow State Federations to spend money as such for federal political purposes any more than it permits the American Federation of Labor to do so.

"Each state league should include the officers of the State Federation of Labor and representatives of the central labor unions in each congressional district. To get out the vote of union workers and their friends, the organization will have to build up precinct by precinct.

"The state league will, of course, cooperate closely with the national league and provision should be made for regular reports and interchange of information.

"The national league proposes to raise funds for the coming election campaigns through voluntary contributions which will be collected by affiliated national and international unions and their local unions. These funds will be allotted to the state leagues for expenditure in the congressional districts and in the senatorial campaigns where labor's chances for success are best. But there is nothing to prevent the state leagues from raising additional funds on their own initiative to carry on their political activities, by every legal method and in accordance with the methods best suited in each case. Since our campaign is still in the formative stage, we wish to emphasize that the state leagues should cooperate in every way with the efforts of the national and international unions in raising voluntary contributions and that all affiliated national and international unions should call upon their local unions to coordinate their activities with the state and local leagues where they are located. Only by such perfect teamwork can we hope to do the important job that has to be done.

For Non-Labor Cooperation

"IT should also be remembered that each state league will be required to keep careful records of all financial receipts and expenditures. Model procedure will be suggested and outlined by the national league.

"Each state league, when organized, should set up a speakers' committee, a registration committee and a get-out-the-vote committee or similar groups to carry on its campaign activities.

"Likewise, each state league should hold timely state-wide and regional meetings to enlist the support of all union members and their friends.

"The cooperation of friendly organizations outside the labor movement should be invited and encouraged. Time and experience will indicate how this can be promoted but care should always be exercised to maintain the identity of the state leagues.

"WE, the representatives of 46 State Federations of Labor assembled here in the nation's capital, realize we have a big job on our hands. In many congressional districts, we are already carrying on active campaigns with encouraging prospects of success. We are determined to defeat those whose record on the Taft-Hartley Act and other vital national issues has made it evident that they are misrepresenting the American people. We are equally determined to elect those who will defend and uphold human rights and stand for good government for all."

THE A. F

T

May Day greetings fr
were extended last month
Labor Relations Departm

Nearly three-score ye
day of Labor and inaugu
historic struggle for the
celebrating the first Mon

The decades that hav
ories of martyrdom, mom
ment of the workers of a
social justice and ever-be

The A.F. of L. is full
filed by the Nazi and Co
have hypocritically sought
for their own despotic purp
tion of forced labor and th
ple. Nevertheless, we mus
to hide from us the histori
newed faith and solidarit

On this day of your h
in a free and peaceful wo
you, the trade unionists of
darity, we extend to you, t
an unbreakable bond with
of your war-scarred homel
servation and expansion o
freedoms; for the attainm
terment of our working
sion and exploitation; for

To the working people
gist totalitarian dictatorsh
emnly declares:

We are for you. We a
despotic regimes which op
to those in your country
sociation, of your right to
your right to organize int
governmental domination.

American labor has or
hope and trust that the d
and liberties, the full bles
richly deserve. We look fo
with American labor and
progressive, prosperous an

A. F. of L

IN a five-week strike directed
ployees, A.F. of L., demonstr
for nearly 1,000 workers. Alth
to take place at the New York
ity of the financial employees.

"A lot of people thought
breaking ranks. We now know
membership who stuck it out.
bosses' bosses—meaning the St

At the New York Curb E
ning a 10 per cent wage incre
sions and dues check-off. Sim
ficials acceded to union dema

The Wall Street strike was
tic A.F. of L. unions, particula
nique—the "liedown" in front
clubs, injuring a number of pic

A statement by the Offic
denounced the Stock Exchange

"The strike is a clear-cut
legal union security to its cleri
workers expressed their desire

THE A. F. of L. AT WORK

The Day of Labor

May Day greetings from the American Federation of Labor to the forces of world labor were extended last month by Matthew Woll, as chairman of the A.F. of L. International Labor Relations Department and Free Trade Union Committee, in the following message:

Nearly three-score years ago, May First was conceived as an International Holiday of Labor and inaugurated as such by the American Federation of Labor in its historic struggle for the eight-hour day. Since then, however, American labor has been celebrating the first Monday in September as Labor Day.

The decades that have gone by have seen this Day of Labor enriched by the memories of martyrdom, momentary setbacks and stirring successes in the forward movement of the workers of all countries for greater democratic rights and liberties, higher social justice and ever-better standards of life and labor.

The A.F. of L. is fully aware that the Day of Labor has, in recent years, been defiled by the Nazi and Communist totalitarians. These brutal enemies of human liberty have hypocritically sought to pervert, degrade and exploit this day of international labor for their own despotic purposes—the regimentation of the working people, the imposition of forced labor and the consolidation of their tyrannical dictatorship over the people. Nevertheless, we must not allow their Iron Curtain of demagogy and despotism to hide from us the historical fact that this Day of Labor continues to be a day of renewed faith and solidarity for millions of workers in many lands.

On this day of your heightened inspiration and determination to live as free men in a free and peaceful world, the Free Trade Union Committee of the A.F. of L. greets you, the trade unionists of the world. In the spirit of firmest international labor solidarity, we extend to you, the workers of free Europe, a warm handclasp. We shall weld an unbreakable bond with you—a bond for wholehearted cooperation in the rebuilding of your war-scarred homelands through the European Recovery Program; for the preservation and expansion of our common and dearly cherished democratic rights and freedoms; for the attainment of greater social and economic justice through the betterment of our working and living conditions; for the end of all imperialist aggression and exploitation; for lasting world peace.

To the working people of the lands under the iron heel of Communist and Falagist totalitarian dictatorship, the Free Trade Union Committee of the A.F. of L. solemnly declares:

We are for you. We are with you. We distinguish sharply between you and the despotic regimes which oppress and exploit you. Our opposition is not to you but only to those in your country who have robbed you of your freedom of expression and association, of your right to full freedom of conscience and religious worship, and of your right to organize into bona fide trade unions free from all political, employer and governmental domination.

American labor has only the sincerest fraternal regards and concern for you. We hope and trust that the day is not far off when you will be free to enjoy the rights and liberties, the full blessings of economic progress and social justice which you so richly deserve. We look forward to the day when you will be free to work together with American labor and the labor movements of all other democratic countries for a progressive, prosperous and peaceful world.

A. F. of L. Workers Strike Wall Street

IN a five-week strike directed at the nerve centers of Wall Street, the fledgling United Financial Employees, A.F. of L., demonstrated their growing strength by securing a series of wage increases for nearly 1,000 workers. Although other demands were defeated, the strike, which was the first one to take place at the New York Stock Exchange in its 156-year history, demonstrated the basic solidarity of the financial employees. According to John Cole, U.F.E. vice president:

"A lot of people thought a white-collar union couldn't conduct a strike in Wall Street without breaking ranks. We now know something that we didn't know when we started—that we have a solid membership who stuck it out. The material gain to the union is that we have proved we can fight the bosses' bosses—meaning the Stock Exchange."

At the New York Curb Exchange the strike triumphed after three weeks, with the union winning a 10 per cent wage increase, special contract bonus clauses, maintenance-of-membership provisions and dues check-off. Similar gains were secured at the New York Cotton Exchange whose officials acceded to union demands without a walkout.

The Wall Street strike was marked by large and militant picket lines manned by several sympathetic A.F. of L. unions, particularly the Seafarers' Union. The struggle brought a new picketing technique—the "liedown" in front of the Stock Exchange—which police attempted to break up with their clubs, injuring a number of pickets and causing sharp protests by all organized labor in New York.

A statement by the Office Employees' International Union, with which the U.F.E. is affiliated, denounced the Stock Exchange management, declaring:

"The strike is a clear-cut example of the failure of this employing group to accord proper and legal union security to its clerical workers despite the fact that by tremendous majority votes, such workers expressed their desire for union shop conditions in N.L.R.B. election polls."

U.S. Worki

2. A

THIS article is the seco
will show the worki
living standards of the
worker in the United Sta
union members in five
the North, the South an
should be pointed out that
bers are neither the hig
lowest-paid, but represent
and kind of work affectin

The series, prepared by
Information Service of t
eration of Labor, has
metal worker in Milwauke
a chemical worker in St.
in Cleveland and a printe

THE tables here presente
living for a typical u
ment worker in New Yo
under a contract between t
Manufacturers' Associatio
New York Dressmakers' Jo
International Ladies' Garm
ion, A.F. of L. The cont
union shop; for employer g
clude maintenance of mac

Cost-of-Living Ite

Price	Ite
$0.14	Bread
.66	Beef,
.83	Butte
.21	Milk,
.87	Eggs,
.53	Orang
.07	Cabb
.05	Potat
.23	Dried
.48	Coffe
.10	Sugar
† Price	Art
	Men's
$55.10	Overc
6.06	Hat,
48.53	Suit,
1.78	Shirt,
6.26	Shoes
	Wom
22.37	Coat,
2.98	Dress
1.44	Hose,
7.67	Shoes
	‡Hou
122.22	Radio
130.65	Wash
66.35	Vacu
226.87	Refri
	‡Tran
1465.00	Auto
	(Chev
	Recre
.18	Cigare

* Hourly Earnings: $2.00.

† Includes 2% sales tax.

AT WORK

abor

f Labor to the forces of world labor
n of the A.F. of L. International
mittee, in the following message:

nceived as an International Holi-
erican Federation of Labor in its
however, American labor has been
Day.

Day of Labor enriched by the mem-
ng successes in the forward move-
cratic rights and liberties, higher
labor.

abor has, in recent years, been de-
e brutal enemies of human liberty
loit this day of international labor
f the working people, the imposi-
annical dictatorship over the peo-
rtain of demagogy and despotism
abor continues to be a day of re-
in many lands.

determination to live as free men
Committee of the A.F. of L. greets
f firmest international labor soli-
a warm handclasp. We shall weld
rted cooperation in the rebuilding
n Recovery Program; for the pre-
cherished democratic rights and
economic justice through the bet-
the end of all imperialist aggres-

iron heel of Communist and Fala-
Committee of the A.F. of L. sol-

ish sharply between you and the
r opposition is not to you but only
your freedom of expression and as-
ce and religious worship, and of
ree from all political, employer and

regards and concern for you. We
ou will be free to enjoy the rights
ss and social justice which you so
ou will be free to work together
ll other democratic countries for a

e Wall Street

Street, the fledgling United Financial Em-
by securing a series of wage increases
eated, the strike, which was the first one
ar history, demonstrated the basic solidar-
F.E. vice president:

conduct a strike in Wall Street without
w when we started—that we have a solid
is that we have proved we can fight the

after three weeks, with the union win-
lauses, maintenance-of-membership provi-
he New York Cotton Exchange whose of-

t picket lines manned by several sympathe-
struggle brought a new picketing tech-
ich police attempted to break up with their
sts by all organized labor in New York.
Union, with which the U.F.E. is affiliated,

is employing group to accord proper and
that by tremendous majority votes, such
N.L.R.B. election polls."

U.S. Working Conditions and Living Standards

2. A NEW YORK GARMENT WORKER

THIS article is the second in a series which will show the working conditions and living standards of the average factory worker in the United States and for typical union members in five industrial cities in the North, the South and the Midwest. It should be pointed out that these union members are neither the highest-paid nor the lowest-paid, but represent the average pay and kind of work affecting a large number.

The series, prepared by the Research and Information Service of the American Federation of Labor, has already covered a metal worker in Milwaukee and will include a chemical worker in St. Louis, a carpenter in Cleveland and a printer in Washington.

THE tables here presented show the cost of living for a typical union women's garment worker in New York City employed under a contract between the Affiliated Dress Manufacturers' Association and the Greater New York Dressmakers' Joint Board and the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, A.F. of L. The contract provides for union shop; for employer guarantees that include maintenance of machinery and equipment, cleanliness of premises, good lighting and ventilation and adequate working room; for six holidays with pay plus a half-day on Election Day; for employer contributions of 3½ per cent of payrolls to finance health and vacation benefits; for guaranteed minimums for all piece-workers; for grievance and arbitration procedure.

THE typical New York union women's garment worker—a sewing machine operator in the dress industry—earns a weekly rate of $70. His straight-time rate is $2 an hour; his work-week is 35 hours. The bulk of the workers in this industry are employed on a piece-work basis and the contracts provide for minimums below which earnings are not supposed to go.

These tables show the number of hours and minutes a typical women's garment worker in New York would have to work in order to buy such articles as food, clothing, household goods, utilities, heat, transportation and recreation for himself and his family. The prices are the latest available, representing the last months of 1947.

*Cost-of-Living Items and Hours' Work Required to Buy Them**

Price	Item		Time Required To Buy Item Hours	Time Required To Buy Item Minutes	Amount Bought With One Hour Of Work
$0.14	Bread, white	1 lb.		4	14.60
.66	Beef, chuck roast	1 lb.		20	3.03
.83	Butter	1 lb.		25	2.40
.21	Milk, fresh	1 qt.		6	9.76
.87	Eggs, fresh	1 doz.		26	2.30
.53	Oranges, sz. 200	1 doz.		16	3.80
.07	Cabbage	1 lb.		2	28.99
.05	Potatoes, white	1 lb.		1	43.48
.23	Dried navy beans	1 lb.		7	8.58
.48	Coffee	1 lb.		14	4.18
.10	Sugar	1 lb.		3	20.62

† Price	Article	Time Required To Buy Article Hours	Time Required To Buy Article Minutes
	Men's Clothing		
$55.10	Overcoat	28	3
6.06	Hat, fur felt	3	2
48.53	Suit, heavy wool (three-piece)	24	16
1.78	Shirt, work, cotton		53
6.26	Shoes, work, pair	3	8
	Women's Clothing		
22.37	Coat, heavy wool, no fur	11	11
2.98	Dress, house, percale	1	29
1.44	Hose, nylon, 45-gauge, pair		43
7.67	Shoes, oxford, pair	3	50
	‡Household Goods		
122.22	Radio-phonograph, table model	61	7
130.65	Washing machine	65	20
66.35	Vacuum cleaner	33	11
226.87	Refrigerator, electric	113	26
	‡Transportation		
1465.00	Automobile, 1947 model (Chevrolet, four-door)	732	30
	Recreation		
.18	Cigarettes (package of 20)		5

* Hourly Earnings: $2.00.

† Includes 2% sales tax.

‡ Many workers buy these goods second-hand at prices from roughly one-third to two thirds of the present selling price.

French Unions Laud A. F. of L. Aid

AS a practical manifestation of international labor solidarity, the A.F. of L. has donated typewriters and mimeographing equipment to a number of French trade union organizations affiliated with the recently constituted C.G.T.-Force Ouvrière to help them organize their activities.

Since the split of the French trade unions left the Communist-controlled C.G.T. in possession of most trade union property and offices, the adherents of the C.G.T.-Force Ouvrière had to start their work for the reconstruction of democratic trade unionism in France under most unfavorable conditions.

A recent letter from a C.G.T.-Force Ouvrière official in Southern France gives a vivid description of these conditions:

"After the severe trials which they had endured, the French people permitted the Communists to extend their network over the country. Now this network is strangling them. The trade unions were conquered by surprise attacks of active minorities who were directed by political slogans. Last December, however, when the Communists wanted to seize power by violence and thought they could do so through the strike movement and the support of the C.G.T., the overwhelming majority of the workers refused to follow them.

"By not joining the strike—an attitude which was based on their respect for the principles of democracy—these workers have enabled France to remain a free country. This was the moment when the Force Ouvrière emerged as a force for the defense of trade unionism. But in order to assure the existence of the new trade union organization, which has neither money nor office equipment nor buildings, mere good intentions and workers prepared to sacrifice themselves for the preservation of human rights are not sufficient. We need understanding and generous friends.

"In our province we have not even a typewriter. . . . How are we to fight the Communists who have tremendous means, a great number of stenographers, mimeographic equipment, paper, pamphlets, automobiles, etc., at their disposal? . . .

"There is nobody except you who could help to assure the existence of French trade unionism. Don't permit a repetition of the tragedy of Czechoslovakia in France. . . . The attacks against us are increasing in directness and ruthlessness. Those who oppose Soviet imperialism with all their forces

"We hope to develop this organization which, we are certain, corresponds to the trade unionist sentiments of the metal workers of France in their entirety; the material help which you have given us in this situation is most useful in view of the difficulties our organization must overcome."

Metal Workers' Union, C.G.T.-F.O.

"Our friends were quite moved by this act of solidarity. It shows that our American brethren perfectly understand the aims of our activities. It would indeed have been extremely difficult for us to associate any longer with those who trample upon the essential principles of democracy and liberty and who, in the name of certain dogmas, show a profound disdain of man."

National Union of Civil Servants, F.O.

"In behalf of my fellow-workers, I hereby assure our American brethren of the gratitude of the French miners and of their determination to fight with all their forces in order to prevent the establishment of any kind of dictatorship in France, since any dictatorship would only result in a loss of their liberties, to which they are profoundly attached, and in a danger to world peace, which is their most cherished ideal."

Miners' Union of a province in Northern France.

"It is with the greatest pleasure that I thank you for the typewriter which has been given to me by your organization.

"I avail myself of this opportunity to thank you for the aid you have given and are still giving to the free trade union movement in France.

"We have always found our friend Brown [Irving Brown, A.F. of L. representative in Europe] to be of great assistance to us and full of a spirit of solidarity which has shown us that the ideal of internationalism is a living force in your organization.

"The other organizations likewise appreciate the material aid which they have received by the presentation of the typewriters."

Syndicalist National Union of Railw

A. F. of L. Hails Victory in Italy

UPON learning the results of the Italian elections, a mesage of congratulations was sent by Matthew Woll, as chairman of the A.F. of L. International Labor Relations Department and Free Trade Union Committee, to Giulio Pastore, Gugliemo Canini and Enrico Parri who attended the International Trade Union Conference in London last March in support of the European Recovery Program as representatives of the minority group of the Italian General Confederation of Labor. The message, dated April 21, read as follows:

"In behalf of the 8,000,000 members of the A.F. of L., I extend to you heartiest congratulations on the splendid election victory for democracy. The decisive role played by Italy's liberty-loving workers in this triumph inspires the American working people and the free labor movement of entire world.

"The A.F. of L. particularly appreciates the vital contribution towards this victory made by your forces through their courageous and fruitful activities to liberate the Italian trade union movement from all domination by government agencies, employers or political parties. The A.F. of L. is confident that free Italian labor will move quickly to eliminate Communist control of trade unions and thereby safeguard the victory of democracy on the political field.

"The A.F. of L. is confident that the election outcome will hasten the day when Italian trade unionism will be freed from political manipulation and Communist domination and become the firmest guarantee for the Italian people's enjoyment of the blessing of genuine democracy and ever-better conditions of life and labor."

In reply to this message, Enrico Parri, as vice secretary of the C.G.I.L., cabled:

"We are deeply touched by your congratulations and assure you that Italian labor will be able to safeguard democracy and liberty, and to realize new social progress."

Force Ouvriere Greeted

THE American Federation of Labor cabled greetings to the C.G.T.-Force Ouvrière on the occasion of its national congress in Paris. The message

them. The trade unions were conquered by surprise attacks of active minorities who were directed by political slogans. Last December, however, when the Communists wanted to seize power by violence and thought they could do so through the strike movement and the support of the C.G.T., the overwhelming majority of the workers refused to follow them.

"By not joining the strike—an attitude which was based on their respect for the principles of democracy—these workers have enabled France to remain a free country. This was the moment when the Force Ouvrière emerged as a force for the defense of trade unionism. But in order to assure the existence of the new trade union organization, which has neither money nor office equipment nor buildings, mere good intentions and workers prepared to sacrifice themselves for the preservation of human rights are not sufficient. We need understanding and generous friends.

"In our province we have not even a typewriter. . . . How are we to fight the Communists who have tremendous means, a great number of stenographers, mimeographic equipment, paper, pamphlets, automobiles, etc., at their disposal? . . .

"There is nobody except you who could help to assure the existence of French trade unionism. Don't permit a repetition of the tragedy of Czechoslovakia in France. . . . The attacks against us are increasing in directness and ruthlessness. Those who oppose Soviet imperialism with all their forces are already threatened with hanging. Believe me, much courage is required to stand up and oppose the Communists; our wives fear for our lives. Yes, the French people are afraid, and only by the display of our strength—only by proving that the adherents of freedom are stronger than their opponents —will we be able to achieve victory."

THE appreciation of the French democratic trade unionists for the A.F. of L.'s gifts of equipment is shown in their letters of thanks to the Free Trade Union Committee. Following are excerpts from some of these letters, written by leading officers of the unions concerned.

"The national union constituted to organize the metal workers who adhere to free and independent trade unionism has, at the present moment, more than 300 local unions, with a total membership of about 150,000.

sential principles of democracy and liberty and who, in the name of certain dogmas, show a profound disdain of man."

National Union of Civil Servants, F.O.

"In behalf of my fellow-workers, I hereby assure our American brethren of the gratitude of the French miners and of their determination to fight with all their forces in order to prevent the establishment of any kind of dictatorship in France, since any dictatorship would only result in a loss of their liberties, to which they are profoundly attached, and in a danger to world peace, which is their most cherished ideal."

Miners' Union of a province in Northern France.

"It is with the greatest pleasure that I thank you for the typewriter which has been given to me by your organization.

"I avail myself of this opportunity to thank you for the aid you have given and are still giving to the free trade union movement in France.

"We have always found our friend Brown [Irving Brown, A.F. of L. representative in Europe] to be of great assistance to us and full of a spirit of solidarity which has shown us that the ideal of internationalism is a living force in your organization.

"The other organizations likewise appreciate the material aid which they have received by the presentation of the typewriters."

Syndicalist National Union of Railway Employees, C.G.T.-F.O.

"Our fellow-workers who left the Communist C.G.T. to create a trade union free from all denominational and political domination are anxious to establish relations with our friends in other parts of the world in order to give reality to the solidarity which unites the interests of all the workers of the world. . . . We read the *International Free Trade Union News* every month with the greatest of interest."

Gas and Electrical Workers' Union of a province in Southern France.

"I am very happy to have received the latest issue of your bulletin. All documentary material is useful in the struggle which we wage against enslavement by Communism, and your material will be of particular help to us."

C.G.T.-F.O. officer in Southern France.

Italy's liberty-loving workers in this triumph inspires the American working people and the free labor movement of entire world.

"The A.F. of L. particularly appreciates the vital contribution towards this victory made by your forces through their courageous and fruitful activities to liberate the Italian trade union movement from all domination by government agencies, employers or political parties. The A.F. of L. is confident that free Italian labor will move quickly to eliminate Communist control of trade unions and thereby safeguard the victory of democracy on the political field.

"The A.F. of L. is confident that the election outcome will hasten the day when Italian trade unionism will be freed from political manipulation and Communist domination and become the firmest guarantee for the Italian people's enjoyment of the blessing of genuine democracy and ever-better conditions of life and labor."

In reply to this message, Enrico Parri, as vice secretary of the C.G.I.L., cabled:

"We are deeply touched by your congratulations and assure you that Italian labor will be able to safeguard democracy and liberty, and to realize new social progress."

Force Ouvriere Greeted

THE American Federation of Labor cabled greetings to the C.G.T.-Force Ouvrière on the occasion of its national congress in Paris. The message, sent by William Green, A.F. of L. president, and Matthew Woll, chairman of the A.F. of L. International Labor Relations Department, on April 13, was addressed to Leon Jouhaux as secretary. It stated:

"A.F. of L. hails this congress of C.G.T.-Force Ouvrière as a landmark in struggle of liberty-loving workers of France for free trade unionism. Free trade unions are foundation and indispensable prerequisite for genuine democratic society. We pledge you full support in your efforts to build strong trade union movement completely free from domination by political parties, employers or government. Your continued progress brings greatest encouragement to all forces working for international reconstruction, democracy and peace. Your rising strength aids true unification of world labor in vital struggle against every brand of totalitarian tyrannies and for human rights, higher living standards and social progress."

Arbitration of Labor Disputes in U.S.

By LAZARE TEPER

One of the notable developments that has appeared on the American labor-management scene in recent years is the increasing use of arrangements for private, voluntary arbitration in settling industrial disputes.

The existence of peaceful labor relations does not preclude disputes in connection with specific issues between labor and management. At times, such disputes may be personal in character—as when the worker takes exception to orders laid down by his foreman. At other times, there may be differences over shop practices, over particular piece-rates, over the distribution of overtime work, and similar matters. Again, a question may arise regarding the meaning of a given clause or provision in the union agreement.

As indicated, a widespread method of resolving such issues in the United States is by resort to arbitration. This is a voluntary way of settling differences between the unions and the employers. It must be emphasized that governmental authorities have no part in this process. The arbitrators are appointed by the disputants themselves, and their authority is limited by the mutual consent of the parties. However, the decisions of the arbitrators are generally respected; for that matter, their rulings can be enforced by the courts should either party find it necessary to do so.

Arbiter's Task Based on Agreement

As a rule, the settlement of grievances by arbitration is provided for in the contracts negotiated between the employers and the unions. Once a dispute arises, the first step is to settle it directly between the union representatives and the appropriate representatives of the employer. If no agreement can be reached in this fashion, the issue is referred to arbitration. Arbitrators' decisions are, as a rule, final and binding on all parties to the dispute.

Thus, the authority enjoyed by the arbitrator derives directly from the terms of a collective bargaining agreement. Under some contracts, arbitrators are given very wide powers to rule on all disputes between the union and management, including such issues as may arise during the life of the contract.

Dr. Lazare Teper is a well-known economist who is director of research for one of the largest unions in the American Federation of Labor. He is likewise the A.F. of L.'s representative to the Statistical Commission of the U.N. Economic and Social Council.

ers and workers, the arbitrator operates on a part-time basis, being called in when a disagreement between the parties arises. Occasionally, the naming of the arbitrator is left open at the time the contract is signed. In such cases, the contract provides machinery for the designation of arbitrators whenever the need arises, and it is common, in these instances, to provide that when it is impossible to agree upon the selection of an arbitrator, a third party—one with no interest in the dispute—shall name an arbitrator. Accordingly, such agreements designate such an intermediary. In some cases, this third party may be a prominent figure trusted by both management and labor; in other cases, it may be agreed that some government agency, such as the United States Department of Labor, is to be asked to name the arbitrator.

There is also in the United States a private group, the American Arbitration Association, which is devoted to the promotion of arbitration. It is to be noted that this group deals not only with labor disputes but also with commercial disagreements. It maintains lists of persons available for service as arbitrators. This organization has functioned so well that union agreements at times provide that it may be called upon to name arbitrators when needed.

Issues Varied—Procedure Simple

The issues which come before the arbitrator are as varied as the problems which confront management and labor in their relations with each other. For example, workers may feel that their overtime is improperly computed; or they may object to

union's request, the matter was submitted to arbitration. The union thereupon presented the arbitrator with data showing the extent to which the cost of living had risen as well as with information indicating the prevailing wage scales. The employers countered with the claim that business conditions did not permit them to make any wage adjustments. The union then offered statistics which revealed that business, far from declining, had been improving and that the profits of the particular manufacturers had been going up accordingly. The decision of the arbitrator in this case was in favor of the workers.

As can be seen from these cases, arbitration procedures are used to resolve disputes during the life of an agreement. Once the agreement expires, the powers of the arbitrator lapse with it. Not until the agreement is renewed does the authority of the arbitrator receive a new lease on life. In other words, whenever an agreement expires, each party is free to exercise its economic strength in order to reach a renewal of the contract. Occasionally, however, it is found, in negotiating a new contract, that most of the points at issue are agreed upon, with only a few points remaining unresolved. In such cases, it is not unusual to resort to arbitration. It becomes necessary, however, to appoint an arbitrator to hear the specific issues in question. These issues are carefully defined, and the authority of the arbitrator then flows from the special agreement worked out between the parties.

Even the Taft-Hartley Law did not invade the area of labor-management relations relating to voluntary arbitration. In those disputes which involve employer-financed welfare funds, the Taft-Hartley Law provides that when the employers and the unions are unable to agree on arbitrators, either of the parties may request the federal courts to appoint one. However, there is nothing in the law which prevents the parties from selecting an arbitrator of their own choice.

Against Compulsory Arbitration

In similar fashion, the Taft-Hartley Law

solving such issues in the United States is by resort to arbitration. This is a voluntary way of settling differences between the unions and the employers. It must be emphasized that governmental authorities have no part in this process. The arbitrators are appointed by the disputants themselves, and their authority is limited by the mutual consent of the parties. However, the decisions of the arbitrators are generally respected; for that matter, their rulings can be enforced by the courts should either party find it necessary to do so.

Arbiter's Task Based on Agreement

As a rule, the settlement of grievances by arbitration is provided for in the contracts negotiated between the employers and the unions. Once a dispute arises, the first step is to settle it directly between the union representatives and the appropriate representatives of the employer. If no agreement can be reached in this fashion, the issue is referred to arbitration. Arbitrators' decisions are, as a rule, final and binding on all parties to the dispute.

Thus, the authority enjoyed by the arbitrator derives directly from the terms of a collective bargaining agreement. Under some contracts, arbitrators are given very wide powers to rule on all disputes between the union and management, including such issues as may arise during the life of the contract but which were not foreseen at the time it was negotiated. Other agreements limit arbitrators' jurisdiction to definite questions. For example, many contracts provide that wages may be reviewed periodically, either at stated intervals ranging from six months to a year, or whenever living costs change materially. While many unions and employers, when unable to agree among themselves on such questions, prefer to let arbitrators decide these issues, as well as other grievances, there is a minority, both among labor and management, which insists on placing such questions outside the scope of the arbitrators' authority.

There are several different ways in which arbitrators are appointed. Frequently, the names of those who are to serve as arbitrators are agreed upon at the time the contract is negotiated. In some industries, arbitrators serve for the duration of the contract, on a full-time basis. In other industries, where contracts cover smaller numbers of employ-

the need arises, and it is common, in these instances, to provide that when it is impossible to agree upon the selection of an arbitrator, a third party—one with no interest in the dispute—shall name an arbitrator. Accordingly, such agreements designate such an intermediary. In some cases, this third party may be a prominent figure trusted by both management and labor; in other cases, it may be agreed that some government agency, such as the United States Department of Labor, is to be asked to name the arbitrator.

There is also in the United States a private group, the American Arbitration Association, which is devoted to the promotion of arbitration. It is to be noted that this group deals not only with labor disputes but also with commercial disagreements. It maintains lists of persons available for service as arbitrators. This organization has functioned so well that union agreements at times provide that it may be called upon to name arbitrators when needed.

Issues Varied—Procedure Simple

The issues which come before the arbitrator are as varied as the problems which confront management and labor in their relations with each other. For example, workers may feel that their overtime is improperly computed; or they may object to the promotion policy within the plant; or they may have complaints of their own. Either side, obviously, can bring the matter up for arbitration.

The arbitration procedure itself is rather simple. As a rule, a spirit of informality prevails. The complaining party proceeds to state its case and present whatever arguments and proof may bolster its position. The other party then submits an answer in the same manner. The arbitrator, of course, is empowered to ask whatever questions he feels may serve to throw light on the issues. At the end, each party offers a rebuttal. In some situations, the arbitrator may ask for additional information or order an investigation of certain facts. In all instances, however, the powers of the arbitrator are limited by the prior agreement between the management and the union.

In a recent case, for example, the union requested the employers to make an adjustment of wages because of increased living costs. When the employers rejected the

trator lapse with it. Not until the agreement is renewed does the authority of the arbitrator receive a new lease on life. In other words, whenever an agreement expires, each party is free to exercise its economic strength in order to reach a renewal of the contract. Occasionally, however, it is found, in negotiating a new contract, that most of the points at issue are agreed upon, with only a few points remaining unresolved. In such cases, it is not unusual to resort to arbitration. It becomes necessary, however, to appoint an arbitrator to hear the specific issues in question. These issues are carefully defined, and the authority of the arbitrator then flows from the special agreement worked out between the parties.

Even the Taft-Hartley Law did not invade the area of labor-management relations relating to voluntary arbitration. In those disputes which involve employer-financed welfare funds, the Taft-Hartley Law provides that when the employers and the unions are unable to agree on arbitrators, either of the parties may request the federal courts to appoint one. However, there is nothing in the law which prevents the parties from selecting an arbitrator of their own choice.

Against Compulsory Arbitration

In similar fashion, the Taft-Hartley Law provides that when unions have a jurisdictional dispute as to whose members are to be employed on a particular job, and the employer files a complaint with the National Labor Relations Board, the latter must give the unions ten days to settle the difference by themselves before it attempts to decide the issue. Thus, the unions' freedom to reach agreement on such questions, though restricted to a considerable extent, is nevertheless safeguarded.

It should be borne in mind that labor in the United States, both the A.F. of L. and the C.I.O., as well as the employer groups are opposed to compulsory arbitration—that is, arbitration ordered by the government or arbitration conducted through personnel selected by government agencies without a specific request to that effect made by both parties in a dispute. There is universal agreement that only in this way can genuine collective bargaining, free from any form of government interference or domination, be preserved.

The Battle for Berlin

(*Continued from front page*)

WHAT was the U.G.O. program? It advocated full independence of the trade union movement—from the government, from all employers, private or public, and from political parties. It supported the Marshall Plan and urged inclusion of the city of Berlin in the European Recovery Program. It insisted on free collective bargaining and rejected all forms of compulsory labor. It opposed utilization of the Berlin trade unions for the political campaigns of the Communist Party, such as those against the Marshall Plan and in favor of the so-called People's Congress—a Communist front established by the "Socialist Unity Party." It demanded measures to guarantee the democratic structure and life of trade union organizations, including financial autonomy for each individual industrial union.

IN spite of the fact that the election rules facilitated all kinds of fraudulent maneuvers by the Communist bureaucracy which dominates the Berlin Trade Union Federation (F.D.G.B.), and in spite of the pressure exerted by the Soviet authorities, the available election figures demonstrate that the majority of the Berlin workers are supporting the U.G.O.'s democratic program.

The U.G.O. won all delegates for the city trade union conference in six of the twelve Western boroughs—among them Spandau, the seat of the Siemens works, and Wedding, before 1933 the leading Communist stronghold in Berlin. In addition, the U.G.O. is expected to carry four other Western boroughs. The Communists, for obvious reasons, secured the delegates of all eight boroughs in the Soviet sector and of one borough in the Western sector while in another borough the delegates were divided almost equally—thirteen Communists and twelve U.G.O. Moreover, the U.G.O. won a city-wide majority in the industrial unions of the agriculture and forestry workers, the commercial employees, the technicians and foremen, the teachers and educators, the post and communications workers, the railway workers and the public service workers. Among the metal workers the U.G.O. scored splendid successes in the big enterprises. It should be noted that the metal workers and public service workers are the two largest unions of Berlin.

LATEST reports on the elections show that the Communists would rather split the Berlin trade unions than recognize the rights of the workers who voted for the U.G.O. Thus, the Communist F.D.G.B. leaders have revealed the hypocrisy of their appeals for "trade union unity" in Germany. Their "unity" is only that which assures them complete domination of the workers and suppression of the democratic will of the membership.

The free labor movement of the world must give the democratic workers of Berlin the full support and help that they so well deserve.

A. F. of L. Urges Return of German Trade Union Property

In support of free and democratic trade unionism in Germany, the following letter was sent on April 6 by Matthew Woll, as chairman of the A. F. of L. International Labor Relations Department, to Secretary of State Marshall and Secretary of Defense Forrestal.

"THE International Labor Relations Department and the Free Trade Union Committee of the American Federation of Labor have given very careful consideration to Directive No. 50 of the Allied Control Council in regard to the distribution of assets and property left by the former Nazi German Labor Front (D.A.F.). We are intensely distressed by its provisions, which we consider utterly unfair and gravely injurious to the bona fide free trade unions of Germany. Our disappointment is all the keener because of the growing urgency to strengthen the free trade unions as the bulwark of democracy and the front-line foe of Communist, Nazi and all other species of totalitarian tyranny in Germany.

"WE hold that, in all fairness, there should be returned to the reviving bona fide German trade unions not only the assets and property stolen from them by the D.A.F.

Zones and wholeheartedly supports their claims to these funds as made in their appeal of March 5, 1948, to the Allied Control Council. They are the only organizations which have a legal right to these funds. Millions of the German workers from whom these funds were forcibly taken by the Nazi D.A.F. are now members of the German trade unions. These dues-funds and other assets (taken in 1933-1945) belong, as such, to the German unionists, as does the property stolen from them by the D.A.F. when it first replaced the trade unions suppressed by Hitler.

"FURTHERMORE, we are sure that you realize the pivotal and decisive role that a strong and effective bona fide free trade union movement can play in transforming Germany into a vital force for the development of a virile democracy in the heart of Europe and assuring the full success of the

many. As you know, the vast majority of the former trade union offices were destroyed during the war. The few remaining buildings found under the administration of the D.A.F. would in themselves—even if they were all returned to the labor organizations—be insufficient for the needs of the reviving trade unions. Hence, it is all the more unjust and unsound that, in most instances, these buildings have been handed over to other institutions. There is neither rhyme nor reason for pursuing such a policy which puts these indispensable builders and defenders of democracy at a terrible disadvantage in their endeavors to assure decent working conditions, fair standards and a free life for the working people of Germany.

"IN the light of the above facts and especially because of the critical international situation, we sincerely appeal to you to lose no time in doing everything in your

ture and life of trade union organizations, including financial autonomy for each individual industrial union.

IN spite of the fact that the election rules facilitated all kinds of fraudulent maneuvers by the Communist bureaucracy which the delegates were divided almost equally—thirteen Communists and twelve U.G.O. Moreover, the U.G.O. won a city-wide majority in the industrial unions of the agriculture and forestry workers, the commercial employees, the technicians and foremen, the domination of the workers and suppression of the democratic will of the membership.

The free labor movement of the world must give the democratic workers of Berlin the full support and help that they so well deserve.

A. F. of L. Urges Return of German Trade Union Property

In support of free and democratic trade unionism in Germany, the following letter was sent on April 6 by Matthew Woll, as chairman of the A. F. of L. International Labor Relations Department, to Secretary of State Marshall and Secretary of Defense Forrestal.

"THE International Labor Relations Department and the Free Trade Union Committee of the American Federation of Labor have given very careful consideration to Directive No. 50 of the Allied Control Council in regard to the distribution of assets and property left by the former Nazi German Labor Front (D.A.F.). We are intensely distressed by its provisions, which we consider utterly unfair and gravely injurious to the bona fide free trade unions of Germany. Our disappointment is all the keener because of the growing urgency to strengthen the free trade unions as the bulwark of democracy and the front-line foe of Communist, Nazi and all other species of totalitarian tyranny in Germany.

"WE hold that, in all fairness, there should be returned to the reviving bona fide German trade unions not only the assets and property stolen from them by the D.A.F. when Hitler grabbed power but also the assets accumulated by this Nazi outfit through its enforced collection of dues from the workers. The free trade unions were the first target of Nazi aggression against the German people. The free trade unions should, therefore, be the first ones to receive reparations —in the form of a restoration of their assets and property. We are convinced that equity and sound policy call for the strengthening of free trade unions as the buttress of human liberty and demand that the assets accumulated by the D.A.F. *after* 1933, when it usurped the role of the genuine unions, be turned back to these organizations now that they have resumed their functioning. There is no moral, financial or political reason for the present policy of Directive No. 50 which allocates these assets to the Finance Administration of the Lander.

"THE A. F. of L. is in full accord with the Trade Union Council of the United Zones and wholeheartedly supports their claims to these funds as made in their appeal of March 5, 1948, to the Allied Control Council. They are the only organizations which have a legal right to these funds. Millions of the German workers from whom these funds were forcibly taken by the Nazi D.A.F. are now members of the German trade unions. These dues-funds and other assets (taken in 1933-1945) belong, as such, to the German unionists, as does the property stolen from them by the D.A.F. when it first replaced the trade unions suppressed by Hitler.

"FURTHERMORE, we are sure that you realize the pivotal and decisive role that a strong and effective bona fide free trade union movement can play in transforming Germany into a vital force for the development of a virile democracy in the heart of Europe and assuring the full success of the European Recovery Program. No other organization compares with the trade unions in number, in economic importance, in the capacity for educating the masses in true and living democracy, and in defeating the encroachment of Communism and every other brand of totalitarian despotism. We need but remind you of what happened in Czechoslovakia where the Communists, through seizing control of the trade unions, were able to wipe out every vestige of freedom in that unfortunate land. We are sure that the experience of the respective Military Government authorities with the German trade unions leads them to see eye to eye with us in this question.

"THE grave lack of office space and supplies, furniture, typewriters, mimeographs and stencils has already rendered much too much harm to the progress of these unions and, therefore, of democracy in Germany. As you know, the vast majority of the former trade union offices were destroyed during the war. The few remaining buildings found under the administration of the D.A.F. would in themselves—even if they were all returned to the labor organizations —be insufficient for the needs of the reviving trade unions. Hence, it is all the more unjust and unsound that, in most instances, these buildings have been handed over to other institutions. There is neither rhyme nor reason for pursuing such a policy which puts these indispensable builders and defenders of democracy at a terrible disadvantage in their endeavors to assure decent working conditions, fair standards and a free life for the working people of Germany.

"IN the light of the above facts and especially because of the critical international situation, we sincerely appeal to you to lose no time in doing everything in your power to revise Directive No. 50 so as to assure fair treatment for the free trade unions of Germany.

"WE strongly urge that Directive No. 50 be changed so as to classify all dues collected by the D.A.F. as property of the German trade unions and that the said assets, as well as other properties and assets taken by the D.A.F. from the free trade unions of Germany, be returned in full to these organizations of labor. Even this reimbursement to the trade unions would constitute only a small part of what Hitler stole from them. This is the least that our own and other governments devoted to democracy can do for these forces of labor which are decisive in the creation of a new, a democratic Germany which will be enabled to take its rightful place in the reconstruction of Europe and in the community of free, healthy and peaceful nations."

MAY 3 1948

INTERNATIONAL
FREE TRADE UNION NEWS

Vol. 3, No. 4 | Published by the Free Trade Union Committee of the American Federation of Labor, Box 65, Station G, New York 19, New York, U. S. A. | APRIL, 1948

A. F. of L. Acts on Main U.S. Issues

Firmly tackling the major issues presented by the current critical situation, the A.F. of L. Executive Council, at its mid-winter meeting last month, formulated policy for the guidance of its 8,000,000 members. Among its outstanding actions were the following:

ANTI-LABOR LEGISLATION

The Executive Council reiterated its determination to fight against the Taft-Hartley Law until it is repealed and to defeat all those in Congress who voted for the measure. Pointing out that the present quiet period in labor-management disputes is due to the fact that many agreements were negotiated just prior to the effective date of the law, the Executive Council warned that "America is now experiencing a lull before the storm." It declared that "the most difficult period in the history of labor relations in this country threatens to ensue."

Urging the labor movement to intensify its struggle to ward off further legislative efforts to curb union activities, the Executive Council stated:

"We know that if the forces of reaction are returned to power next November, they will proceed at once to renew their war against labor by enacting a ban on nation-wide collective bargaining, by outlawing all health and welfare funds for workers and by making unions subject to anti-trust prosecution."

Summing up its attack on the Taft-Hartley Law, the Executive Council charged that "the basic policy of its sponsors is to stifle progress in America."

HIGH PRICES

and the consequent frustration of our efforts to preserve world peace and freedom; in this hope, they are counting upon inflation as their most powerful ally," declared the Executive Council. "We, who are committed to the free American way of life, dare not let it succumb. Yet we know that there are powerful forces in our country who are committing economic atrocities. . . . "

The Executive Council proposed a four-point "minimum program for immediate action," as follows:

1. A sweeping Congressional investigation into the vast and unjustified spread between the prices paid to farmers for their products and the retail prices consumers are forced to pay for food.
2. Enactment of an excess profits tax to discourage profiteering.
3. Authorization to the President to impose rationing and selective price controls on vital commodities in short supply.
4. Extension of rent controls.

Referring to the wage question, the Executive Council emphasized that "under existing conditions, wages cannot be stabilized until prices are controlled and stabilized."

NATIONAL DEFENSE

Lashing out at the expansionist tactics of Soviet Russia, the Executive Council urged a strengthening of national defenses to safeguard the United States. Its statement on

mates by American experts agree that she will succeed in developing such bombs within three years at the utmost.

"At the same time, Russia is pillaging dependent territories and employing millions of captives under slave labor conditions to build up her military strength.

"These activities cannot be regarded as merely national defense measures. They obviously are preparations for offensive warfare.

"Against whom are these preparations directed? Is there any shadow of a doubt that the Stalin regime is pointing at the United States? Is any other nation capable of standing in Russia's way toward world domination?

"The virulent nature of her unceasing propaganda makes it evident that Russia is deliberately trying to make an enemy out of the United States. The Stalin forces are convinced that once the free American way of life is overthrown there will be no effective resistance to the complete Communist enslavement of the world.

"Intoxicated by their strength and dictatorial power, the Soviet leaders are still shrewd enough to realize that they cannot hope as yet to challenge the United States in open warfare. That is why they are waging a cold war and concentrating, for the time being, on capturing control of the remaining free nations of Europe. Each step in this direction is a step toward eventual war against the United States. That is what the Marshall Plan is designed to prevent. And that is why Russia is so desperately trying to undermine the European Recovery Program.

"In the light of this threatening but realistic situation, the American people are overwhelmingly supporting the Marshall Plan. But they must realize that even if the Marshall Plan is successful, it does not provide an adequate national defense. They must realize that the United Nations, as at present constituted, does not insure lasting peace

termination to fight against the Taft-Hartley Law until it is repealed and to defeat all those in Congress who voted for the measure. Pointing out that the present quiet period in labor-management disputes is due to the fact that many agreements were negotiated just prior to the effective date of the law, the Executive Council warned that "America is now experiencing a lull before the storm." It declared that "the most difficult period in the history of labor relations in this country threatens to ensue."

Urging the labor movement to intensify its struggle to ward off further legislative efforts to curb union activities, the Executive Council stated:

"We know that if the forces of reaction are returned to power next November, they will proceed at once to renew their war against labor by enacting a ban on nation-wide collective bargaining, by outlawing all health and welfare funds for workers and by making unions subject to anti-trust prosecution."

Summing up its attack on the Taft-Hartley Law, the Executive Council charged that "the basic policy of its sponsors is to stifle progress in America."

HIGH PRICES

The Executive Council called upon Congress to disavow the reactionary influence of the National Association of Manufacturers and arrest the upward price spiral in behalf of the American people now squeezed between high prices and the shrinking purchasing power of their wages.

"The enemies of democracy are confidently expecting the collapse of America's economy

HITLER—In March, 1939, occupied Prague and made Czechoslovakia a protectorate of the Third Reich.

STALIN—In February, 1948 the Communists made Czechoslovakia a province of the Soviet totalitarian empire by destroying her democratic institutions from within.

Executive Council. "We, who are committed to the free American way of life, dare not let it succumb. Yet we know that there are powerful forces in our country who are committing economic atrocities. . . . "

The Executive Council proposed a four-point "minimum program for immediate action," as follows:

1. A sweeping Congressional investigation into the vast and unjustified spread between the prices paid to farmers for their products and the retail prices consumers are forced to pay for food.
2. Enactment of an excess profits tax to discourage profiteering.
3. Authorization to the President to impose rationing and selective price controls on vital commodities in short supply.
4. Extension of rent controls.

Referring to the wage question, the Executive Council emphasized that "under existing conditions, wages cannot be stabilized until prices are controlled and stabilized."

NATIONAL DEFENSE

Lashing out at the expansionist tactics of Soviet Russia, the Executive Council urged a strengthening of national defenses to safeguard the United States. Its statement on this subject is as follows:

"Communism is a world movement. It does not respect—nor even recognize—national boundaries. International developments of the past two years point to the inescapable conclusion that the leaders of Soviet Russia will not stay put. Like Hitler's Nazism, the Stalin brand of Communism must spread or perish. It is under an inner compulsion to attain world dominion to escape extinction.

"These are facts which every American today must realize and face squarely. Even if the Marshall Plan succeeds, Soviet Russia will not consent to containment of her expansionist drive. The Soviet leadership is bound to reach out for more power and more territory—by internal revolution, if possible, and, if not, by external force of arms.

"Despite the Iron Curtain, there is abundant evidence that Russia has not taken a single step toward disarmament since the end of the war. In fact, all her economic and industrial resources are being feverishly mobilized for the forging of new military striking power. In particular, the Soviet government is concentrating on the manufacture of atomic bombs. The most optimistic estiviously are preparations for offensive warfare.

"Against whom are these preparations directed? Is there any shadow of a doubt that the Stalin regime is pointing at the United States? Is any other nation capable of standing in Russia's way toward world domination?

"The virulent nature of her unceasing propaganda makes it evident that Russia is deliberately trying to make an enemy out of the United States. The Stalin forces are convinced that once the free American way of life is overthrown there will be no effective resistance to the complete Communist enslavement of the world.

"Intoxicated by their strength and dictatorial power, the Soviet leaders are still shrewd enough to realize that they cannot hope as yet to challenge the United States in open warfare. That is why they are waging a cold war and concentrating, for the time being, on capturing control of the remaining free nations of Europe. Each step in this direction is a step toward eventual war against the United States. That is what the Marshall Plan is designed to prevent. And that is why Russia is so desperately trying to undermine the European Recovery Program.

"In the light of this threatening but realistic situation, the American people are overwhelmingly supporting the Marshall Plan. But they must realize that even if the Marshall Plan is successful, it does not provide an adequate national defense. They must realize that the United Nations, as at present constituted, does not insure lasting peace.

"The peace we enjoy today has no substance or security. The horrors of a new war—a war of annihilation—are being engineered behind the screen of peace and may break out at any point at any time.

"Cognizant of these real dangers, the Executive Council has come to the conclusion that America's normal peace policies will have to be revised in accordance with the requirements of common-sense national defense. Above all, our country and the free way of life for which it stands must be safeguarded against any eventuality."

HENRY WALLACE CANDIDACY

Branding the campaign claims of Henry Wallace as "false liberalism," the Executive Council unanimously went on record against his candidacy for President of the United States and expressed full confidence that American workers would not be "hoodwinked" into supporting his "so-called third-party organization."

The Executive Council declared:

"The only organization back of Mr. Wal-

(*Continued on page 3*)

INTERNATIONAL LABOR HIGHLIGHTS

FRANCE

The newly created C.G.T.-Force Ouvrière published a manifesto on January 22 which states:

"The C.G.T.-F.O. is in full swing. There is a general influx of workers and militants who refuse to sacrifice the interests of the French working class to political ends. . . .

"We are determined to work unrelentingly for the reorganization of all workers, regardless of their political or religious creed, in an independent movement which decides its policies by itself and exclusively in accordance with the interests of the working class which are bound to those of the entire nation. . . .

"The Republic and the working class are inseparable. The Republic cannot live unless it is backed by the working class. Measures of repression against the working class strike at the very core of democracy. We continue to condemn all discriminatory legislation and to demand its repeal.

"In endeavoring to establish social justice, we claim for the working class its fair share of the national income in order that it should, at last, obtain the conditions of welfare and security which are made possible by modern technical developments which form an essential factor toward increased production.

"Our economic program can be summarized in the following three principles: stabilization; increased production by modernization; equitable distribution of the national income.

"The stabilization of the purchasing power of the wage-earners and its increase by greater production remains our objective.

"The working class cannot guarantee its purchasing power merely by wage increases, which are always belated and therefore insufficient to compensate for rising prices. The working class would be deceived if it is asserted that the preservation of its purchasing power can be assured by the mere application of ingenious formulas for the periodical adjustment of wages.

"Two conditions must be fulfilled in order to protect and increase the purchasing power of the workers: price increases must be halted and the currency must be stabilized. . . .

"We demand efficient measures, especially in regard to the rationalization of the distribution system in order to guarantee the food supply for the people—and particularly the population of the large cities—at prices within reach of the workers, especially with regard to the meat supply in order that this commodity may cease to be an exclusive privilege of the wealthy and the black-market operators.

"A vigorous policy of this kind, concomitant with an increase in industrial production which has been made possible by our

"By its vigilance, the labor movement must assure that the best use is made of the goods and credits which are given or loaned in order that, within the duration of the Plan, the European nations effectively accomplish their reconstruction and modernization and rapidly recover their financial independence. . . .

"The employers should admit that an enlightened policy concerning wages is an indispensable condition for greater output through increased productivity. It is not only fair but an imperative necessity—lest grave economic disturbances take place—that the working class receive its fair share of the national income which is to be increased by the workers' productive effort.

"Since social peace requires that economic relations be based on liberty, equality and justice, the C.G.T.-F.O. will seek the recognition of these principles in the negotiations for nation-wide collective agreements whose most rapid conclusion it demands, in accordance with existing legislation."

RUSSIA

The role of the Soviet trade unions as a subordinate organ of the Communist Party and of the management of Soviet enterprises was again admitted—consciously or otherwise—by V. V. Kuznetsov, chairman of the Central Council of Trade Unions, in a report "On the Fulfillment of Collective Agreements in 1947 and on the Preparation of Collective Agreements for the Year 1948" delivered at the 17th plenary meeting of the Central Council on December 25, 1947, and published in *Trud* on January 9, 1948. Collective agreements in the Soviet Union omit all provisions regarding wages since these are fixed by the government. The purpose of the collective agreements is to make sure that the production goals set by the economic plans of the Soviet government are fulfilled and surpassed. Kuznetsov confirmed that this peculiar kind of "collective bargaining" results in the encouragement by and the participation of the trade unions in speed-up methods. Kuznetsov stated:

"The revision of the norms of per capita output in the enterprises of the machine-building industry and machine repair shops was a measure which contributed substantially to an increase in the productivity of labor in 1947. The existing norms were increased."

Since, according to the Soviet system of piece-work and incentive pay, the norm of per capita output is the basis for the calculation of wages, this means that the Soviet trade unions support methods by which the worker is required to put in more work in order to earn the same pay as before.

On the "collective agreements" to be concluded for 1948, Kuznetsov declared:

unions, held on February 5 in Dresden, Saxony, in the Russian Zone, was personally attended by Louis Saillant, general secretary of the W.F.T.U.

Shortly before the conference, on January 30, Saillant spoke at a meeting in Berlin organized by the Communist-controlled executive committee of the trade unions of that city. According to *Pravda* of February 3, 1948, Saillant complained "that the decisions of the W.F.T.U. have not been duly supported even by a certain number of German trade union leaders" and that "as a result, the convocation of a nation-wide German trade union congress has been delayed." Saillant demanded that such a meeting be called at a date which would permit the W.F.T.U. congress scheduled for September, 1948, to decide on the affiliation of the German trade unions with the W.F.T.U.

Saillant described "the attempts of certain leaders of the Belgian and Dutch trade unions to organize a trade union conference of the countries participating in the Marshall Plan as an attempt to split the W.F.T.U."

The *Pravda* report expressly mentions that Saillant "asked the German workers not to assume that the opinion of people like Schevenels is the opinion of the W.F.T.U." Since Schevenels is a secretary of the W.F.T.U., Saillant's remarks illustrate not only his peculiar conception of loyalty to his colleagues in the W.F.T.U. secretariat but also emphasize that, according to Saillant and his Russian bosses, the opinions of non-Communists do not count in the W.F.T.U.

As in all his recent pronouncements, Saillant directed his wrath principally at the A.F. of L. and issued the following "warning" to the German workers:

"For many months, the forces of international imperialism have been organizing in Germany widespread propaganda for splitting [the trade unions] with the support of the reactionary leaders of the American Federation of Labor. The main argument of this propaganda is canned food and CARE parcels. These people . . . treat the German workers like babies whereas the W.F.T.U. regards the German working people also as citizens."

Saillant is mistaken in viewing the German workers as fools and in assuming that their memory is as short as his. Since it suits current Soviet foreign policy, Saillant is anxious to secure the affiliation of the German trade unions with the W.F.T.U. and is trying hard to pose as a friend of the German workers. However, it was not long ago, when Soviet foreign policy was interested in stirring up racial hatred against the German people regardless as to whether they were Nazis or anti-Nazis, that the W.F.T.U. took the position that the German trade unions could not

of the national income in order that it should, at last, obtain the conditions of welfare and security which are made possible by modern technical developments which form an essential factor toward increased production.

"Our economic program can be summarized in the following three principles: stabilization; increased production by modernization; equitable distribution of the national income.

"The stabilization of the purchasing power of the wage-earners and its increase by greater production remains our objective.

"The working class cannot guarantee its purchasing power merely by wage increases, which are always belated and therefore insufficient to compensate for rising prices. The working class would be deceived if it is asserted that the preservation of its purchasing power can be assured by the mere application of ingenious formulas for the periodical adjustment of wages.

"Two conditions must be fulfilled in order to protect and increase the purchasing power of the workers: price increases must be halted and the currency must be stabilized. . . .

"We demand efficient measures, especially in regard to the rationalization of the distribution system in order to guarantee the food supply for the people—and particularly the population of the large cities—at prices within reach of the workers, especially with regard to the meat supply in order that this commodity may cease to be an exclusive privilege of the wealthy and the black-market operators.

"A vigorous policy of this kind, concomitant with an increase in industrial production which has been made possible by our improved coal supply and the prospect of a bumper crop, should render it possible to make the year 1948 the year of national recovery.

"However, this recovery requires imports of raw materials, of power resources and of food for which we are not able to pay by our exports lest national consumption be restricted even further. This situation determines our attitude towards the E.R.P., the so-called Marshall Plan. Incidentally, if this Plan is indispensable for us, it is equally necessary for the economy of the United States itself.

"But it must be said—because it is the truth—that without American aid, our factories would stop, unemployment would spread and we would risk being left without bread.

"Pure and simple opposition to the Marshall Plan is an erroneous attitude which does not take into account the interests of the French working class.

"Nationally and internationally, the labor movement has an essential role to play in the application of the Marshall Plan. The labor movement must guard against American aid being accompanied, directly or indirectly, by conditions unacceptable to the countries which are to benefit from it.

The role of the Soviet trade unions as a subordinate organ of the Communist Party and of the management of Soviet enterprises was again admitted—consciously or otherwise—by V. V. Kuznetsov, chairman of the Central Council of Trade Unions, in a report "On the Fulfillment of Collective Agreements in 1947 and on the Preparation of Collective Agreements for the Year 1948" delivered at the 17th plenary meeting of the Central Council on December 25, 1947, and published in *Trud* on January 9, 1948. Collective agreements in the Soviet Union omit all provisions regarding wages since these are fixed by the government. The purpose of the collective agreements is to make sure that the production goals set by the economic plans of the Soviet government are fulfilled and surpassed. Kuznetsov confirmed that this peculiar kind of "collective bargaining" results in the encouragement by and the participation of the trade unions in speed-up methods. Kuznetsov stated:

"The revision of the norms of per capita output in the enterprises of the machine-building industry and machine repair shops was a measure which contributed substantially to an increase in the productivity of labor in 1947. The existing norms were increased."

Since, according to the Soviet system of piece-work and incentive pay, the norm of per capita output is the basis for the calculation of wages, this means that the Soviet trade unions support methods by which the worker is required to put in more work in order to earn the same pay as before.

On the "collective agreements" to be concluded for 1948, Kuznetsov declared:

"The workers of the enterprises undertake to fulfill the Five-Year Plan in four years. In order to accomplish this task, it is necessary to include in the collective agreements for 1948 provisions requiring the widespread use of new forms of socialist competition and the greatest possible support for workers who pledge themselves to fulfill the Five-Year Plan at an earlier date. . . .

"There can be no doubt that the trade unions will carry out the conclusion of collective agreements for 1948 in a Bolshevist manner, that they will give an even larger impetus to socialist competition for the fulfillment of the Five-Year Plan in four years, and that they will honorably carry out the tasks imposed on us by the Central Committee of the Bolshevist Party and by our leader and teacher, the great Stalin."

Thus, there can be no doubt left as to whose interests the Soviet trade unions serve and from whom they take their orders.

GERMANY

In view of the growing dissension within the ranks of the W.F.T.U., the Communist-dominated leadership of that organization has redoubled its efforts to bring the German trade unions under its control. The last interzonal conference of the German trade

Saillant "asked the German workers not to assume that the opinion of people like Schevenels is the opinion of the W.F.T.U." Since Schevenels is a secretary of the W.F.T.U., Saillant's remarks illustrate not only his peculiar conception of loyalty to his colleagues in the W.F.T.U. secretariat but also emphasize that, according to Saillant and his Russian bosses, the opinions of non-Communists do not count in the W.F.T.U.

As in all his recent pronouncements, Saillant directed his wrath principally at the A.F. of L. and issued the following "warning" to the German workers:

"For many months, the forces of international imperialism have been organizing in Germany widespread propaganda for splitting [the trade unions] with the support of the reactionary leaders of the American Federation of Labor. The main argument of this propaganda is canned food and CARE parcels. These people . . . treat the German workers like babies whereas the W.F.T.U. regards the German working people also as citizens."

Saillant is mistaken in viewing the German workers as fools and in assuming that their memory is as short as his. Since it suits current Soviet foreign policy, Saillant is anxious to secure the affiliation of the German trade unions with the W.F.T.U. and is trying hard to pose as a friend of the German workers. However, it was not long ago, when Soviet foreign policy was interested in stirring up racial hatred against the German people regardless as to whether they were Nazis or anti-Nazis, that the W.F.T.U. took the position that the German trade unions could not be admitted into the international councils of labor until they had passed a probationary period. Saillant failed to tell his Berlin audience that the W.F.T.U. then viewed the German workers not as full citizens but as second-class citizens.

Of course, Saillant is right in pointing out that the pro-Communist W.F.T.U. leadership cannot be accused of any attempt to help the starving German workers by sending them food. He might even have added that his Russian friends and masters use a substantial portion of the food resources of the Eastern Zone to feed their large occupation army and police force. However, we are not interested in Saillant's opinion of the relief work by which the A. F. of L. demonstrates its solidarity with free German labor; it is strictly his own affair if he chooses deliberately to offend the starving German workers.

Although the German Communists have praised the Dresden Interzonal Conference as a great success for their policies and have particularly emphasized the "importance" of Saillant's presence, the actual results of the conference show that the trade union representatives of the British and American Zones are not prepared to accept blindly the "un-

(*Continued on next page*)

The A. F. of L. At Work

(*Continued from page* 1)

lace is the Communist Party. The Communists have now taken him in—lock, stock and barrel. He has become their front, their spokesman and their apologist.

"The strategy behind the Wallace campaign is devious but transparent. The Communists, of course, have no hope of electing him. Their purpose is to confuse the workers of America and split the liberal vote. The object of this strategy is to bring about the election of an arch-reactionary with isolationist leanings.

"This would play into the hands of Soviet Russia's expansionist policy. It would also bring about a state of affairs in this country which would promote the revolutionary aims of the Communists. Oppression and depression provide converts to their cause."

GOVERNMENT SALARIES

Salaries of government employees should immediately be increased by "not less than $800 per year," declared the Executive Council. Citing the estimate of the Bureau of Labor Statistics that overall living costs have risen more than 27 per cent in the past two years, the Executive Council said:

"Within the past year, most employers in private industry have recognized the economic facts of life and adjusted wages to make up, in part at least, for higher prices. But government employees, who cannot bargain collectively for wages or strike but must depend upon the mercies of Congress, have been callously ignored by our lawmakers. That is a sorry reward for loyal and devoted service.

"Government, in most instances, has always lagged in establishing equitable wage standards and model working conditions. The disparity between government standards and private industry standards has never been so extreme as now."

Farmer-Worker Solidarity

The 1,1000 members of the National Farm Labor Union, A.F. of L., on strike against the large Di Giorgio Farms Corporation at Bakersfield, California, are being solidly backed with gifts of food and clothing presented through a "Friendship Caravan" organized by the California State Federation of Labor. The gifts are supplied by trade unionists in all parts of the state.

H. L. Mitchell, president of the National Farm Labor Union, called the "Friendship Caravan" the "most significant demonstration of the unity of organized industrial workers with agricultural labor ever to occur in the United States."

The Di Giorgio workers struck after the firm refused to meet with union spokesmen for a discussion of workers' grievances. The strike, now over five months old, has developed into a showdown with the notorious Associated Farmers of California, a group determined to prevent trade unionism in industrialized agriculture.

Despite the use of strike-breakers, the 22,000-acre Di Giorgio ranch has been operating at less than one-third of its capacity since the strike began.

The strikers' demands include increased wages to offset rising living costs; establishment of a standard work-week, lunch hours, seniority in promotions and fair hiring-and-firing policies; pay on a weekly basis; overtime rates; cool water and sanitary facilities for workers in the fields and packing sheds; transportation provisions for workers moving from field to field.

Schumacher Greets A.F. of L.

Dr. Kurt Schumacher, chairman of the German Social Democratic Party, sent the following letter to William Green, president of the A. F. of L., on January 2, 1948:

"The report which we have given about the convention of the A.F. of L. at San Francisco and its furthering of German Social Democratic policy in behalf of democracy and free labor has met everywhere joyful agreement.

"The policy of the American Federation of Labor in favor of the Marshall Plan has become an essential part of Social Democratic policy in every country of Europe. The political line and the fight of the A.F. of L., particularly in this period, will be for Germany of the utmost importance. Our task must be to ward off the Russian attack aiming to exclude the whole of Germany from the Marshall Plan. The positive aim of German Social Democracy, in which it conforms with the attitude of the A.F. of L., is, however, to include the whole of Germany in the Marshall Plan. The success of this struggle will be of the utmost importance for the economic and political future of Europe.

"We wish the best success to the positive European policies of the A. F. of L. With you, we are of the opinion that the present W.F.T.U. constitutes a war-international which is the more unable to master the problems of peace since the political situation of the war alliances is no longer existent. One cannot, with an international of hatred and destruction, exercise functions of an international of reconciliation and construction..."

INTERNATIONAL LABOR HIGHLIGHTS

(*Continued from preceding page*)

ity" proposals which would put them under control of the Communist-dominated so-called trade unions of the Eastern Zone. (The representatives of the French Zone were prevented by the French Military Government from attending the Dresden conference.)

Although they continue to maintain relations with the trade unions of the Russian Zone, the trade unionists of the American and British Zones have indicated on other

POLAND

To the long list of veteran Polish labor leaders languishing in the prisons of the "new democracy" — Russian model — which has been established in that country the name of Antoni Szczerkowski has now been added.

Szczerkowski was born 67 years ago of peasant parents. As a young textile worker, he entered the underground Polish labor movement which fought Russian Czarism prior to the First World War. He was con-

Stalinists' "Hitlerian Methods"

The terroristic methods used by the Communist leaders of the C.G.T. and their agents last November to force the French workers to participate—against the will of their majority—in a political strike to serve the purposes of the Cominform are described in an article entitled "Split or Rebirth? For Trade Union Unity Within the Ranks of the C.G.T.-Force Ouvrière," published in

$800 per year," declared the Executive Council. Citing the estimate of the Bureau of Labor Statistics that overall living costs have risen more than 27 per cent in the past two years, the Executive Council said:

"Within the past year, most employers in private industry have recognized the economic facts of life and adjusted wages to make up, in part at least, for higher prices. But government employees, who cannot bargain collectively for wages or strike but must depend upon the mercies of Congress, have been callously ignored by our lawmakers. That is a sorry reward for loyal and devoted service.

"Government, in most instances, has always lagged in establishing equitable wage standards and model working conditions. The disparity between government standards and private industry standards has never been so extreme as now."

strike, now over five months old, has developed into a showdown with the notorious Associated Farmers of California, a group determined to prevent trade unionism in industrialized agriculture.

Despite the use of strike-breakers, the 22,000-acre Di Giorgio ranch has been operating at less than one-third of its capacity since the strike began.

The strikers' demands include increased wages to offset rising living costs; establishment of a standard work-week, lunch hours, seniority in promotions and fair hiring-and-firing policies; pay on a weekly basis; overtime rates; cool water and sanitary facilities for workers in the fields and packing sheds; transportation provisions for workers moving from field to field.

ing to exclude the whole of Germany from the Marshall Plan. The positive aim of German Social Democracy, in which it conforms with the attitude of the A.F. of L., is, however, to include the whole of Germany in the Marshall Plan. The success of this struggle will be of the utmost importance for the economic and political future of Europe.

"We wish the best success to the positive European policies of the A. F. of L. With you, we are of the opinion that the present W.F.T.U. constitutes a war-international which is the more unable to master the problems of peace since the political situation of the war alliances is no longer existent. One cannot, with an international of hatred and destruction, exercise functions of an international of reconciliation and construction..."

INTERNATIONAL LABOR HIGHLIGHTS

(*Continued from preceding page*)

ity" proposals which would put them under control of the Communist-dominated so-called trade unions of the Eastern Zone. (The representatives of the French Zone were prevented by the French Military Government from attending the Dresden conference.)

Although they continue to maintain relations with the trade unions of the Russian Zone, the trade unionists of the American and British Zones have indicated on other occasions that actual trade union unity can be achieved only on the basis of certain well-defined principles. It is in the light of this attitude that the decision of the Dresden conference to establish a Central Council of German Trade Unions is to be viewed. The Central Council is to prepare a draft declaration of principles of the German trade unions and to call a nation-wide trade union congress eventually.

The attitude of the trade unionists of the Western Zones toward the basic principles of trade unionism can be gathered from a draft declaration of trade union principles by Fritz Tarnow, veteran German trade union leader and secretary of the trade unions of the American Zone. This draft declaration, which was published in *Stimme der Arbeit*, organ of the Trade Union Federation of Hesse, emphasizes the independence of trade unions from the state, from private as well as public enterprise and from political parties. It stresses that the existence of trade unions can be secured only under a democratic regime, pointing out that there is no democracy under a one-party system which suppresses freedom of speech and establishes a police state by means of concentration and forced labor camps.

POLAND

To the long list of veteran Polish labor leaders languishing in the prisons of the "new democracy" — Russian model — which has been established in that country the name of Antoni Szczerkowski has now been added.

Szczerkowski was born 67 years ago of peasant parents. As a young textile worker, he entered the underground Polish labor movement which fought Russian Czarism prior to the First World War. He was constantly persecuted by the Czarist police and was jailed six times.

After the establishment of an independent Poland, he became a major leader of the free trade union movement. He was president of the Textile Workers' Union and one of the most prominent members of the Central Committee of Trade Unions, the national body of the free trade unions of Poland. He was widely known for his uncompromising attitude toward the Pilsudski military dictatorship and for his militant leadership in the trade union struggle.

When the Germans occupied Poland, he was arrested and sent to a concentration camp. The Nazis submitted him to terrible torture which undermined his physical health but could not break his indomitable spirit. His stalwart loyalty to the ideals of democracy and free labor was, in the eyes of the Polish N.K.V.D., a sufficient reason for jailing the old and sick man. The police of the Polish puppet regime were evidently eager to emulate both the Czarist Okhrana and the Nazi Gestapo. This unholy similarity is emphasized by the fact that Szczerkowski was arrested shortly after a spontaneous strike of the Lodz textile workers was brutally suppressed by the government.

Stalinists' "Hitlerian Methods"

The terroristic methods used by the Communist leaders of the C.G.T. and their agents last November to force the French workers to participate—against the will of their majority—in a political strike to serve the purposes of the Cominform are described in an article entitled "Split or Rebirth? For Trade Union Unity Within the Ranks of the C.G.T.-Force Ouvrière," published in the January, 1948, issue of *La Revolution Proletarienne*, an anti-Communist, syndicalist French monthly. The article states:

"What was perhaps the strongest factor in deciding the militants of the 'Force Ouvrière' to put an end to the deception of trade union unity was the treatment given to those trade unionists who, for very serious reasons, refused to participate in the [strike] movement. . . . The systematic persecution of all opponents was organized. The 'party of clubbers' went into action, showing no more respect for human dignity than the Nazi gangs did in the past. Cases have been reported of anti-Communist trade union officers who were beaten up and of active trade unionists who were paraded naked through the streets by an infuriated mob. Traditional trade unionists would never have treated even authentic scabs in this manner. It is not difficult to comprehend the refusal of the labor militants of 1947 to accept a revival of perfectly Hitlerian methods."

The same issue of *La Revolution Proletarienne* quotes a letter describing "how a miner, after he had finished his work, was kidnapped in the lavatory by a Stalinist gang and paraded naked . . . in a temperature of 14 degrees Fahrenheit."

The Rights of Workers As I

By MATTHEW WOLL, Chairman, A.F. of L. International Labor Relations Department

This is the text of a recent address by Matthew Woll in a radio program pr under the auspices of the United Nations and broadcast in 16 languages. Woll spok capacity as one of the American Federation of Labor's cosultants to the Econo Social Council of the United Nations.

THOUGH speaking for the strongest free trade union organization in the world, I do not propose to deal with the specific problems and rights of the laborer as a producer. I will consider the rights of the laborer as **a human being**—those human rights indispensable to the spiritual and material welfare and progress of the working man.

The A. F. of L. has always placed the struggle for human rights in the foreground of all its activities. This traditional humanitarian approach is reflected in the 70-odd years of life and labor of the founder and philosopher of America's free trade union movement—Samuel Gompers. In this spirit, which has animated the policies and practices of the A. F. of L., Gompers stressed:

> "I do not value the labor movement only for its ability to give higher wages, better clothes and better homes. Its ultimate goal is to be found in the progressively evolving life possibilities of those who work. . . . Devotion to trade unionism leads to interest in movements for freedom in all relations of life."

Moral Crisis of All Mankind

IN view of the critical times through which the world is now living, these inspiring words of Gompers take on even fuller meaning. The question of human rights for the millions of workers is today more than ever the paramount issue. The crisis now gripping the nations is primarily not one of fuel, transportation or balance of payments. It is, above all, a crisis involving fundamental human values—the very foundation of social morality and progress. In examining these vital rights and values, I will discuss the relations of the individual to the community and to the state, the role of constitutional provisions, and the tasks of translating into life legal guarantees for personal human rights. Let me, therefore, at the very outset, as simply and concretely as I can, place before you—and then discuss—those rights which the millions organized in the A. F. of L. consider inalienable to the very existence of workers as human beings. These are:

1. EVERY WORKING MAN AND WORKing woman—regardless of his or her national origin, color or creed, race or religion —must be assured the inviolable right of pursuing work and spiritual development in conditions of freedom and dignity.

2. FOR MANY CENTURIES, IT HAS been recognized that man is a social being. Therefore, freedom of expression and association is the first requirement for the preservation and expansion of the cultural and material welfare of the entire human race. I cannot insist too strongly that these rights must be as inviolate and sacred for those who oppose as well as for those who support any particular party or regime in power.

3. THE WORKER'S RIGHT OF FREEdom of opinion and expression must be accompanied by the untrammelled right of access to the opinion of others in his or her own country.

4. SIMILARLY, EVERY WORKER MUST be assured the right of free access to and exchange of opinion and information with workers of all other countries. There is no better way of assuring the most widespread knowledge and understanding among the nations.

5. AMERICAN LABOR CANNOT CONceive any society as really democratic unless it assures every one of its individual members freedom of religion and the right to religious worship.

6. THE A. F. of L. ATTACHES THE highest importance to every individual worker being guaranteed the right of migrating from or leaving temporarily or permanently any country.

7. EVERY AMERICAN WORKER CONsiders as a most precious and inalienable human right the freedom from arbitrary arrest, detention, search and seizure. For many centuries, the fight for human rights has begun with a fight for the rights of the individual against arbitrary arrest and detention. In the Bill of Rights which the A. F. of L. has presented to the United Nations Economic and Social Council, we underlined the indispensability of "proper judicial determination of arrest and charges; a fair public trial by jury or competent and unprejudiced court constituted in accordance with normal judicial procedure; right of habeas corpus and freedom from arbitrary imposition of penalties."

8. LAST, BUT NOT LEAST, THE A. F. L. considers slavery, forced labor, so-called directed labor or involuntary servitude in any shape, manner or form as utterly repugnant to all human values. Within our country and within all countries, human enslavement and repression—and all instruments and practices thereof—should be discontinued and categorically prohibited by law.

A.F. of L.'s Democratic Faith

TO the American working people these rights have not been mere abstractions. Loyalty to and defense of these rights have been the red corpuscles in the bloodstream of our labor movement and in the democratic way of life to which the American people are so deeply devoted. It is out of the revolutionary struggle for some of these human rights that the American Republic was born. We fought a bloody Civil War to preserve our national unity, to enhance the dignity of free labor and to uproot the last vestiges of slavery and forced labor in our land. In two world wars, hundred of thousands of our youth laid down their lives to preserve these human rights against the threat from Kaiser and Nazi-Fascist totalitarian tyranny. It is the unswerving devotion of American labor to these rights that has been the mainspring of America's phenomenal technical progress, great labor productivity, high standard of living and constantly improving conditions of life and work.

WE of free American labor co price too high to pay and n too great to make in order to d expand these human rights. That won't brook any one-party syste land. Nor would American worker erate or accept a fraudulent com puppet parties into a so-called pe which actually only serves as a hind which the human rights of are trampled in the dust. That of the free American labor move never for a moment accept co camps or forced labor establish long for the day when all nati world will stop discriminating punishing individuals because of tical opinion, religious faith, co or land of origin.

The American labor movement lieves that the resort to terror a tical dissidents and opponents an tenance of political police syste or open—do not give any countr form of democracy but make it possible for the people—especiall people, the working people of th exercise a single one of these hu

The American people are a pr ple. We are far from perfect. Bu and its working people have le experience that generalizations, and high-sounding words are in utterly worthless insofar as the and promotion of human right cerned. When we in the United I am sure this holds true for all tries as well—call upon worke against tyrannical acts by against the human rights of a we are not acting against the co placing any particular individu community. In fact, the fight fo rights of the individual is the of the community, because tyr ernment is the most dangerous c community.

Constitutions—and C

THE A. F. of L. holds that th the community only to the governs in such a manner as courage and enable the greate of the community to enjoy th human beings, as citizens and Hence, there is, in reality, no or conflict between the rights of the individual and the right of the community. Only to th the individuals constituting a c joy these rights can the commu inely democratic and prospero

This is the basic viewpoint o L. That is why we insist that n should, in one breath, eloquen citizens human rights and, in th

Workers As Human Beings

. of L. International Labor Relations Department

text of a recent address by Matthew Woll in a radio program presented ces of the United Nations and broadcast in 16 languages. Woll spoke in his of the American Federation of Labor's cosultants to the Economic and f the United Nations.

ion and information with her countries. There is no suring the most widespread understanding among the

LABOR CANNOT CON- as really democratic un- very one of its individual of religion and the right hip.

of L. ATTACHES THE e to every individual work- eed the right of migrating temporarily or permanently

ERICAN WORKER CON- t precious and inalienable freedom from arbitrary search and seizure. For the fight for human rights fight for the rights of the t arbitrary arrest and de- Bill of Rights which the A. esented to the United Na- and Social Council, we un- spensability of "proper ju- tion of arrest and charges; l by jury or competent and rt constituted in accordance dicial procedure; right of nd freedom from arbitrary nalties."

NOT LEAST, THE A. F. very, forced labor, so-called r involuntary servitude in ner or form as utterly re- human values. Within our hin all countries, human en- repression—and all instru- ices thereof—should be dis- categorically prohibited by

's Democratic Faith

ican working people these not been mere abstractions. defense of these rights have rpuscles in the bloodstream ovement and in the demo- life to which the American eply devoted. It is out of the truggle for some of these hat the American Republic ought a bloody Civil War to tional unity, to enhance the labor and to uproot the last very and forced labor in our orld wars, hundred of thou- youth laid down their lives e human rights against the aiser and Nazi-Fascist total- . It is the unswerving devo- an labor to these rights that ainspring of America's phe- al progress, great labor pro- standard of living and con- ing conditions of life and

WE of free American labor consider no price too high to pay and no sacrifice too great to make in order to defend and expand these human rights. That is why we won't brook any one-party system in our land. Nor would American workers ever tolerate or accept a fraudulent combination of puppet parties into a so-called people's bloc which actually only serves as a screen behind which the human rights of the nation are trampled in the dust. That is why we of the free American labor movement would never for a moment accept concentration camps or forced labor establishments. We long for the day when all nations of the world will stop discriminating against or punishing individuals because of their political opinion, religious faith, color of skin or land of origin.

The American labor movement firmly believes that the resort to terror against political dissidents and opponents and the maintenance of political police systems—secret or open—do not give any country a higher form of democracy but make it totally impossible for the people—especially the plain people, the working people of that land—to exercise a single one of these human rights.

The American people are a practical people. We are far from perfect. But our nation and its working people have learned from experience that generalizations, abstractions and high-sounding words are in themselves utterly worthless insofar as the protection and promotion of human rights are concerned. When we in the United States—and I am sure this holds true for all other countries as well—call upon workers to protest against tyrannical acts by government against the human rights of an individual, we are not acting against the community or placing any particular individual above the community. In fact, the fight for the human rights of the individual is the best defense of the community, because tyrannical government is the most dangerous enemy of the community.

Constitutions—and Conduct

THE A. F. of L. holds that the state serves the community only to the extent that it governs in such a manner as to allow, encourage and enable the greatest proportion of the community to enjoy their rights as human beings, as citizens and as producers, Hence, there is, in reality, no contradiction or conflict between the rights and welfare of the individual and the rights and welfare of the community. Only to the extent that the individuals constituting a community enjoy these rights can the community be genuinely democratic and prosperous.

This is the basic viewpoint of the A. F. of L. That is why we insist that no constitution should, in one breath, eloquently pledge its citizens human rights and, in the next breath, provide loopholes or permit government by decree to nullify and vitiate these rights. We can assure the people and toilers of all lands that we of the A. F. of L. will always vigorously oppose any attempts to institute in our country any penal codes which are written loosely and which use such dangerously sweeping terms as "etcetera" and "other means" or leave the definition of a crime or the penalty therefor to the whims or wishes of any particular person, without regard for concrete specification in law.

Totalitarianism and Terror

IN the same spirit, the A. F. of L. would resist as a flagrant violation of human rights any constitutional formulation which, in one article, assures civil rights but then, in another, nullifies such assurance by prohibiting or limiting in any shape, manner or form the enjoyment of these civil rights for the purpose of peacefully changing our political system. There would be no point in having nice constitutions guaranteeing on paper the human rights I have enumerated if the state machinery, police methods and legal system are such as to negate and vitiate those rights. Realizing this, the A. F. of L. has always opposed every form and expression of totalitarianism, every one-party system, every attempt at government by decree or injunction as against government by just law and principles. These systems can be maintained only by soul-crushing and head-cracking terror. And terror breeds and bulwarks poverty and imperialist aggression, slavery and war.

To the A. F. of L., human rights are just as sacred and inviolate for a minority as for the majority. Accordingly, the A.F. of L. is in full agreement with the great British historian and apostle of liberty, Lord Acton, who, in 1878, so aptly said:

> "The most certain test by which we judge whether a country is really free is the amount of security enjoyed by minorities. Liberty is not a means to a higher political end. It is itself the highest political end. . . . It is better to be the citizen of a humble commonwealth in the Alps than a subject of the superb autocracy that overshadows half of Asia and Europe."

THIS is the philosophy and practice of the A. F. of L. This is how our 8,000,000 members and millions of other workers organized in bona fide trade unions think and feel. We are counting on the United Nations to hasten the day when all nations and peoples—all mankind—will place the respect for human personality, dignity and welfare above all else. Towards this end of giving tangible support to human dignity, values and rights on a world-wide scale, the A. F. of L. is wholeheartedly and energetically cooperating with the Economic and Social Council and doing everything in its power to rally the American people for fullest reliance on and support of the United Nations.

Beings

ide loopholes or permit government by ee to nullify and vitiate these rights. We assure the people and toilers of all lands we of the A. F. of L. will always vigsly oppose any attempts to institute in country any penal codes which are writloosely and which use such dangerously eping terms as "etcetera" and "other ans" or leave the definition of a crime or penalty therefor to the whims or wishes ny particular person, without regard for crete specification in law.

Totalitarianism and Terror

the same spirit, the A. F. of L. would esist as a flagrant violation of human hts any constitutional formulation which, one article, assures civil rights but then, another, nullifies such assurance by proiting or limiting in any shape, manner form the enjoyment of these civil rights the purpose of peacefully changing our itical system. There would be no point having nice constitutions guaranteeing on er the human rights I have enumerated the state machinery, police methods and al system are such as to negate and vite those rights. Realizing this, the A. F. L. has always opposed every form and pression of totalitarianism, every onety system, every attempt at government decree or injunction as against governnt by just law and principles. These sysms can be maintained only by soul-crushand head-cracking terror. And terror eds and bulwarks poverty and imperialist gression, slavery and war.

To the A. F. of L., human rights are just sacred and inviolate for a minority as the majority. Accordingly, the A.F. of L. in full agreement with the great British torian and apostle of liberty, Lord Acton, o, in 1878, so aptly said:

"The most certain test by which we judge whether a country is really free is the amount of security enjoyed by minorities. Liberty is not a means to a higher political end. It is itself the highest political end. . . . It is better to be the citizen of a humble commonwealth in the Alps than a subject of the superb autocracy that overshadows half of Asia and Europe."

HIS is the philosophy and practice of the A. F. of L. This is how our 8,000,000 embers and millions of other workers ornized in bona fide trade unions think and el. We are counting on the United Nations hasten the day when all nations and peoes—all mankind—will place the respect for man personality, dignity and welfare ove all else. Towards this end of giving ngible support to human dignity, values d rights on a world-wide scale, the A. F. L. is wholeheartedly and energetically coerating with the Economic and Social ouncil and doing everything in its power to lly the American people for fullest reliance and support of the United Nations.

"Covenant on Human Rights"

By TONY SENDER

"No person shall be subjected to torture or to cruel or inhuman punishment or to cruel or inhuman indignity.

"No person shall be required to perform forced or compulsory labor in any form other than labor exacted as a punishment for crime of which the person concerned has been convicted by due process of law."

These are some of the articles drafted for an International Covenant on Human Rights that was worked out in December, 1947, in Geneva, by the Human Rights Commission of the United Nations. The American Federation of Labor was instrumental in securing the insertion of these and similar provisions aiming at protection of the rights of man in the proposed draft.

From the very first day that the United Nations' Economic and Social Council began its activities, the A.F. of L. consultants have concentrated on the protection of the basic rights of the human being that were so flagrantly violated by the Nazis and Fascists—and are still completely ignored by the Eastern totalitarians.

The consultants of the U.N. Economic and Social Council are representatives of the eight non-governmental groups within this international inter-governmental body, with the right to take part in the work of all the commissions and of the Economic and Social Council itself.

The A. F. of L. was the only one of the eight groups to participate in every phase of the protection of human rights. The A.F. of L. worked not only in the Economic and Social Council and in the Human Rights Commission meetings, but also in the drafting sub-commission which did the main work.

What the A.F. of L. consultants sought was to put teeth in the Proclamation of the Charter. The A.F. of L. representative in Geneva therefore stressed the necessity not only to have an International Declaration of Human Rights adopted there, which would represent a moral obligation, but also to work out and propose a Covenant on Human Rights. In other words, it aimed for a document which would have international legal binding power. In addition, the A.F. of L. used all its influence in the direction of an implementation of the Covenant by the creation of international machinery, including an International Court of Human Rights, in order to have those principles enforced in the everyday life of the nations.

Russia Remains Opposed

There is serious resistance to this endeavor. The Soviet Union and its satellites did not vote for any of the drafts adopted by the Commission. The working people of the democratic nations will have to exert all their influence in order to bring the drafts through the various stages in a form that will have meaning in terms of their protection. The next stage is the comment by the governments on the drafts. These comments should be made known to the people.

Not content with the working out of principles, the A.F. of L. used its right of initiative in having an item on the "Protection of Migrant and Immigrant Labor" put on the agenda of the Economic and Social Council. This step was based on the huge shifts of population as a result of the war and the great disproportion in the distribution of manpower, with critical shortages in some countries and an oversupply in others.

In addition, there is the large army of displaced persons. Many of these workers are uprooted from their homes; many are older than the average voluntary immigrant used to be; many have no country to go back to in case of failure or disappointment; many are without nationality or passport. Some of the countries of immigration might be those which are less developed, and the danger of exploitation of these war victims is great.

The A.F. of L. wants the International Labor Organization to revise its Convention on Migrant Labor, framed in pre-war days, and adapt it to the needs of the new situation. This large group of victims of war and totalitarianism has a right to count on those workers who still have homes, nationality and freedom to give them the necessary assistance in the defense of their human rights.

The A.F. of L. will not weaken in this fight in spite of the furious attacks which the Soviet delegate made in connection with its demands for help to such victims of war and totalitarianism.

A.F. of L. Fights Censorship

In the sub-commission on Freedom of Information and Press, the A. F. of L. consultants stressed the right of the ordinary citizen to full and true information whereas the delegates were primarily concerned with freedom of expression for the working journalist. While not neglecting the latter, the A.F. of L. representatives felt that the citizen cannot make a reasonable use of his democratic rights without being adequately informed—which means that there must be neither previous censorship of the printed word nor monopolistic control, whether of a private or governmental nature.

Certainly, the A.F. of L. wants to have the basic human rights safeguarded. But at the same time it wants to demonstrate its practical solidarity with the suffering masses of the world. It is for this reason that William Green, the president of the A.F. of L., recommended the participation of all A.F. of L. affiliates in the collection of a day's pay for the support of the International Childrens' Fund. This fund, sponsored by the United Nations, is to supplement the essential food and other supplies needed to alleviate malnutrition and disease among the children of the war-torn countries.

Tony Sender is assistant to the A.F. of L. consultants to the United Nations' Economic and Social Council. She served as A.F. of L. representative at the sessions of the U.N. Human Rights Commission in Geneva in January, 1948.

I. L. O.—What It Is and How It Works

THE International Labor Organization—the I.L.O.—has as its motto: "If you wish for peace, work for justice." An intergovernmental agency, it seeks by international action to improve labor conditions, raise living standards and promote economic and social stability.

In 1944, an I.L.O. conference adopted what came to be known as the "Declaration of Philadelphia," outlining the objectives of the I.L.O. It affirmed these principles: that labor is not a commodity; that freedom of expression and of association are essential to sustained progress; that poverty anywhere constitutes a danger to prosperity everywhere; and that the war against want requires to be carried on with unrelenting vigor within each nation.

The Declaration goes on to recognize that it is a solemn obligation of the I.L.O. to further among the nations of the world programs designed to achieve a series of ten social objectives, including those of full employment, raising of living standards, recognition of the right to collective bargaining, and extension of social security and welfare legislation.

The I.L.O. is at the disposal of the people of all lands in their efforts to better their conditions of life and work. It is democratically organized. The people, through their governments and through their labor and management organizations, determine its policies and decide upon programs to implement them.

But, like all democratic institutions, the I.L.O. can function with full effectiveness only if it enjoys sustained and informed popular support.

THE I.L.O. is 27 years old. It is a product of the peace settlement that followed the First World War and was established at the demand of labor for compensation for its wartime sacrifices and for assurance that working and living conditions would be improved. In the inter-war period the I.L.O. was an autonomous associate of the League of Nations.

In 1940, after the fall of France, the

UNDER the terms of agreement, the U.N. recognizes the I.L.O. as a specialized agency having responsibility in the field defined by its constitution which embraces labor conditions, industrial relations, employment organization, social security and other aspects of social policy. The agreement provides that the U.N. and the I.L.O. shall be represented at each other's meetings, and makes arrangements for consultation and cooperation between them in the interests of efficiency and economy.

The I.L.O. thus entered the post-war period as the first and oldest of the group of specialized agencies to complete arrangements for working with the U.N. in cooperation with the Economic and Social Council. It is the only international organization born of the First World War to take its place alongside the agencies that have grown out of the Second World War. Its membership includes 52 states.

THE basic task of the I.L.O. is to bring together representatives of labor, management and governments to set minimum labor standards for all member countries. This it does by approving International Labor Conventions (treaties), and Recommendations, by a two-thirds majority at International Labor Conferences. The Conventions, which are submitted to member countries for notification, cover a wide range of subjects, including hours of work, minimum age for employment, working conditions of women and young workers, workmen's compensation, social insurance, minimum wage-fixing machinery, social standards in non-self-governing territories, holidays with pay, industrial safety, statistics and subjects relating to migration. In June, 1946, an important precedent was set with the adoption of a Convention fixing an international minimum wage for seamen. This forms part of an International Maritime Code embodying 24 Conventions.

As of March 1, 1947, there were 80 Conventions and 80 Recommendations which had been adopted; 52 Conventions were currently in force; and a total of 923 individual ratifications had been registered.

three languages—English, French and Spanish.

Finally, the I.L.O. is a service agency to member governments, sending experts to various countries to aid in gathering information and drafting laws and regulations, upon request from the government concerned.

THE I.L.O. has three basic parts. These are the International Labor Conference, its highest authority, which, as a rule, meets annually; the Governing Body, its executive council, which usually meets four times a year; and the International Labor Office, its executive organ, which provides the secretariat of the Organization.

The Conference is composed of national delegations comprising two government delegates and one delegate each of management and labor, together with their advisers. Its principal function is the formulation of international social standards in the form of International Labor Conventions and Recommendations, as described above.

Under the obligations imposed by the constitution, the member countries are required to bring Conventions adopted by the Conference to the attention of their competent national authorities for possible ratification. If a country ratifies a Convention, it assumes an obligation to take measures to bring its legislation into line with the Convention's provisions, and to report annually on these measures. Machinery is available to enforce the application of the Convention thus ratified. Recommendations are not intended to be considered for possible ratification, but the member countries are under obligation to consider them with a view to giving effect to their provisions by legislation or other action.

AMONG the duties of the delegates to the Conference is the election at three-year intervals of the Governing Body, which comprises the representatives of sixteen governments, eight management members and eight labor members.

The Governing Body selects items for the agenda of the Conference; appoints the Di-

it is a solemn obligation of the I.L.O. to further among the nations of the world programs designed to achieve a series of ten social objectives, including those of full employment, raising of living standards, recognition of the right to collective bargaining, and extension of social security and welfare legislation.

The I.L.O. is at the disposal of the people of all lands in their efforts to better their conditions of life and work. It is democratically organized. The people, through their governments and through their labor and management organizations, determine its policies and decide upon programs to implement them.

But, like all democratic institutions, the I.L.O. can function with full effectiveness only if it enjoys sustained and informed popular support.

THE I.L.O. is 27 years old. It is a product of the peace settlement that followed the First World War and was established at the demand of labor for compensation for its wartime sacrifices and for assurance that working and living conditions would be improved. In the inter-war period the I.L.O. was an autonomous associate of the League of Nations.

In 1940, after the fall of France, the I.L.O. was in danger of being isolated in Geneva, so it transferred its working center to Montreal. Throughout the war years it devoted its energies to assisting the cause of the United Nations.

As early as the Philadelphia conference in April, 1944, the I.L.O. began to give thought to its post-war status, policy and program. At the same time, plans were laid to revise the constitution so that the I.L.O. would be better equipped to discharge its responsibilities in the new era of peace. This revision was effected in 1946.

A few months after the United Nations came into being, negotiations were started between the U.N. and the I.L.O. to define the future relationship of the two organizations. These discussions resulted in an agreement which was approved by the U.N. Economic and Social Council in June, 1946. This agreement came into effect with its approval by the Montreal conference of the I.L.O. in September and by the U.N. General Assembly in December, 1946.

alongside the agencies that have grown out of the Second World War. Its membership includes 52 states.

THE basic task of the I.L.O. is to bring together representatives of labor, management and governments to set minimum labor standards for all member countries. This it does by approving International Labor Conventions (treaties), and Recommendations, by a two-thirds majority at International Labor Conferences. The Conventions, which are submitted to member countries for notification, cover a wide range of subjects, including hours of work, minimum age for employment, working conditions of women and young workers, workmen's compensation, social insurance, minimum wage-fixing machinery, social standards in non-self-governing territories, holidays with pay, industrial safety, statistics and subjects relating to migration. In June, 1946, an important precedent was set with the adoption of a Convention fixing an international minimum wage for seamen. This forms part of an International Maritime Code embodying 24 Conventions.

As of March 1, 1947, there were 80 Conventions and 80 Recommendations which had been adopted; 52 Conventions were currently in force; and a total of 923 individual ratifications had been registered.

THE results of these Conventions, and of the I.L.O.'s Recommendations, have been felt in every corner of the world. The working mother in New Zealand who is guaranteed six week's holiday or leave with pay after her child is born; the worker in Latin America whose family is protected by social insurance covering sickness, accidents and unemployment; the European child who cannot be forced to leave school at an early age to work in the coal mines; the British or Norwegian merchant seaman who, in case of shipwreck, is guaranteed his salary, transportation home, pay for his gear and another job—these, and millions of other workers, can testify to the effectiveness of the I.L.O.'s work.

In addition, the I.L.O. maintains a research staff which is continuously collecting facts on the conditions of labor throughout the world. It also publishes several periodicals and reports. Most of these are published in

gates and one delegate each of management and labor, together with their advisers. Its principal function is the formulation of international social standards in the form of International Labor Conventions and Recommendations, as described above.

Under the obligations imposed by the constitution, the member countries are required to bring Conventions adopted by the Conference to the attention of their competent national authorities for possible ratification. If a country ratifies a Convention, it assumes an obligation to take measures to bring its legislation into line with the Convention's provisions, and to report annually on these measures. Machinery is available to enforce the application of the Convention thus ratified. Recommendations are not intended to be considered for possible ratification, but the member countries are under obligation to consider them with a view to giving effect to their provisions by legislation or other action.

AMONG the duties of the delegates to the Conference is the election at three-year intervals of the Governing Body, which comprises the representatives of sixteen governments, eight management members and eight labor members.

The Governing Body selects items for the agenda of the Conference; appoints the Director General of the International Labor Office; supervises the work of the Office and of the various Committees and Commissions which supplement the principal organs of the Organization; and drafts proposals for the budget of the Organization.

Governments holding non-elective seats on the Governing Body because of their industrial importance are Belgium, Canada, China, France, India, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom and the United States. Those holding elective seats are Australia, Brazil, Chile, Egypt, Mexico, Peru, Poland and Sweden.

THE third part of the machinery is the International Labor Office which provides the secretariat of the Conference and the Governing Body, prepares documents on the items of the agenda of the Conference, provides machinery to assist in insuring the effective application of Conventions, issues publications and assists member governments.

(*Continued on next page*)

C.I.A.T. Declaration of Principles

PREAMBLE

IN order to lay the foundation for constructive and fraternal cooperation between the various workers' organizations of the New World; to establish standards and procedures tending to unify the thoughts and action of the working masses and labor leaders of the Americas in the spirit of social justice; to build an organization which can express the unity and power of the organized labor movement of the New World for better, more discerning and more appropriate exercise of this power in the interest of labor and the advancement of the well-being and brotherly community of all the peoples of the Americas; to put an end to the unfortunate and fruitless struggles of workers against workers of democratic convictions; to bring about the moral and social conditions whereby the trade union labor movement may contribute effectively toward the maintenance of lasting world peace; to secure the gains achieved by labor in the past and to strive for new attainments in the future, the authorized delegates of the various countries of this hemisphere, represented in this Inter-American Conference of Workers, meeting in the city of Lima, Peru, agree to establish an inter-continental labor organization which shall be ruled by the following by-laws:

PRINCIPLES

THE Inter-American Confederation of Workers considers as its main purpose the organization and unification of the manual and intellectual workers of the Americas, without distinction of political or religious opinions, nationality, sex, color or age, for the struggle against exploitation of men by men, until final emancipation.

In the conflict between capital and labor, the Inter-American Confederation of Workers will guide its actions inspired by principles and methods of the working class and the democratic labor movement, independent of state tutelage and opposed to totalitarian practices.

The working class must be organized internationally.

As a first step toward such organization, the Inter-American Confederation of Workers will strive to strengthen the activities of the trade unions of the democratic labor

At its conference in Lima, Peru, last January, the Inter-American Confederation of Workers (C.I.A.T.) adopted a Declaration of Principles and By-Laws, of which the main portions are here published. This document is to become valid after the first congress of the C.I.A.T., which is to be held one year from the Lima meeting.

In the framework of these postulates, the Inter-American Confederation of Workers declares:

That it will unequivocally take part in all struggles of the working class for better conditions until it is freed from all oppression and exploitation. The right of labor union organization having been recognized by the International Labor Office and ratified by the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations as being an inalienable prerogative of the workers, its violation constitutes a threat to the labor union movement of all countries of the continent. Therefore, the joint action of the workers of the Americas for the defense of the right of unionization—whenever this right is violated under the guise of national sovereignty, wherever it may take place—does not represent intervention in the internal affairs of a country.

CONSTITUTION

Structure

THE Inter-American Confederation of Workers is formed by trade union central bodies, federations and national trade unions of the American nations, which accept its principles, tactics and objectives.

Any central labor body, federation or national trade union of each country may join, provided that the central labor bodies, federations and national trade unions which constitute the Inter-American Confederation consent to their admission.

In case of disagreement, the Executive Committee can decide on the admission by a vote of two-thirds of its members and, when the refusal of admission is maintained,

Objectives

THE Inter-American Confederation of Workers aims:

A. To contribute decisively to the organization and unification of the working masses in each of the American countries;

B. To fight for the organization and unification of the workers of the world;

C. To defend the interests and the gains attained by the trade union movements of the American countries;

D. To coordinate the efforts of the workers of the American nations intended to improve the international labor conventions issued from the International Labor Office and other international or inter-American bodies;

E. To strive for the incorporation in the political constitutions of the American nations of statutes guaranteeing freedom of trade unions, right of organization and assembly, right to strike, establishment of a legal working day, collective contracts, etc.;

F. To promote cooperation among the organized labor groups of the Western hemisphere, in order to raise the workers' standard of living;

G. To study the economic and social problems which require coordinated efforts on the part of the organized labor movement and proper means to attain the improvement of conditions;

H. To maintain an interchange of information, with the aim of obtaining for the workers of countries in which the labor movement is less advanced the advantages and results of the experience of the labor movements of the more advanced countries;

I. To strive for the admission of representatives of labor organizations to official bodies concerned with the well-being of the workers of the Western hemisphere, such as the Pan-American Union, the Inter-American Social and Economic Council, the United Nations, etc.;

J. To promote the creation of national and inter-American cultural labor bodies, in order to promote the technical and intellectual advancement of the working class.

Congresses

effectively toward the maintenance of lasting world peace; to secure the gains achieved by labor in the past and to strive for new attainments in the future, the authorized delegates of the various countries of this hemisphere, represented in this Inter-American Conference of Workers, meeting in the city of Lima, Peru, agree to establish an inter-continental labor organization which shall be ruled by the following by-laws:

PRINCIPLES

THE Inter-American Confederation of Workers considers as its main purpose the organization and unification of the manual and intellectual workers of the Americas, without distinction of political or religious opinions, nationality, sex, color or age, for the struggle against exploitation of men by men, until final emancipation.

In the conflict between capital and labor, the Inter-American Confederation of Workers will guide its actions inspired by principles and methods of the working class and the democratic labor movement, independent of state tutelage and opposed to totalitarian practices.

The working class must be organized internationally.

As a first step toward such organization, the Inter-American Confederation of Workers will strive to strengthen the activities of the trade unions of the democratic laboring masses of the American nations, and will maintain fraternal relations with all trade union organizations of identical principles in the rest of the world.

the International Labor Office and ratified by the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations as being an inalienable prerogative of the workers, its violation constitutes a threat to the labor union movement of all countries of the continent. Therefore, the joint action of the workers of the Americas for the defense of the right of unionization—whenever this right is violated under the guise of national sovereignty, wherever it may take place—does not represent intervention in the internal affairs of a country.

CONSTITUTION

Structure

THE Inter-American Confederation of Workers is formed by trade union central bodies, federations and national trade unions of the American nations, which accept its principles, tactics and objectives.

Any central labor body, federation or national trade union of each country may join, provided that the central labor bodies, federations and national trade unions which constitute the Inter-American Confederation consent to their admission.

In case of disagreement, the Executive Committee can decide on the admission by a vote of two-thirds of its members and, when the refusal of admission is maintained, the organization concerned may request the final decision at the next congress held by the Confederation.

The autonomy of the trade union movement of each country will be respected.

The I. L. O.—What It Is and How It Works

(*Continued from preceding page*)

Since 1945, seven Industrial Committees have been set up and have held meetings. These committees bring together two representatives each of labor, management and government from countries where a given industry is of some importance. They try to reach agreement on minimum labor standards in the industry concerned, and embody their agreements in resolutions which are reported to the various governments and to the I.L.O. itself. Industrial Committees are now organized for coal mining, textiles, construction, iron and steel production, metal trades, inland transport and petroleum production and refining.

In addition, the following commissions and committees exist to further the work of the I.L.O. in specific fields: The Joint Maritime Commission, the Committee on Accident Prevention, the Permanent Agricultural Committee, the Committee on Industrial Hygiene, the Committee on Women's Work, the Committee on Social Policy in Dependent Territories, the International Development Works Committee, the Permanent Migration Committee, the Committee of Statistical Experts and the Committee of Experts on the Application of Conventions.

tions of statutes guaranteeing [illegible] trade unions, right of organization and assembly, right to strike, establishment of a legal working day, collective contracts, etc.;

F. To promote cooperation among the organized labor groups of the Western hemisphere, in order to raise the workers' standard of living;

G. To study the economic and social problems which require coordinated efforts on the part of the organized labor movement and proper means to attain the improvement of conditions;

H. To maintain an interchange of information, with the aim of obtaining for the workers of countries in which the labor movement is less advanced the advantages and results of the experience of the labor movements of the more advanced countries;

I. To strive for the admission of representatives of labor organizations to official bodies concerned with the well-being of the workers of the Western hemisphere, such as the Pan-American Union, the Inter-American Social and Economic Council, the United Nations, etc.;

J. To promote the creation of national and inter-American cultural labor bodies, in order to promote the technical and intellectual advancement of the working class.

Congresses

THE Confederation will hold its regular congresses every two years. At these congresses the new Executive Committee will be elected and the headquarters determined.

The Executive Committee will establish, in its last ordinary or extraordinary meeting, the size of the representation corresponding to each organization, after previously ascertaining the number of union members, on the basis of one to the maximum of four votes.

Contributions

EVERY affiliated organization will pay an annual share in the national money of their countries, equivalent to half a cent of a United States dollar per each member.

The Executive Committee may, in exceptional cases, reduce the share of such affiliated organizations, whenever they are victims of adverse economic conditions.

T.U.C.'s Position on British Economic Situation

By ARTHUR DEAKIN

The Interim Report on the Economic Situation, recently released for publication by the Trades Union Congress, sets out a number of considerations of paramount importance to the trade union movement:

1. It lays down as particularly essential the principle for the maintenance of collective bargaining.

2. That the freezing of wages is neither possible nor desirable.

3. That to enable price stability to be maintained subsidies must be continued.

The T.U.C. Special Committee claims that:

"No one will deny to trade unions and to the T.U.C. a special and particular right to views upon the continuation of cost-of-living subsidies. Workpeople, at any rate, seldom make the mistake of thinking that trade unions should confine themselves to participation in the determination of weekly wages and actual working conditions. Particularly in periods of far-reaching economic developments and adjustments, the efforts of trade unions to maintain the standards of living of working people would completely fail if they were limited to attempts simply to adjust weekly wages to constantly increasing prices. The machinery of industrial negotiation and the negotiators function most effectively and well only in conditions of reasonable industrial and economic stability and in the absence of frequent and violent fluctuations in prices."

We here publish the main portions of an article by Arthur Deakin, general secretary of the British Transport and General Workers' Union, printed in the January, 1948, issue of its official organ.

The General Council of the British Trades Union Congress, at a meeting following publication of the report discussed in Deakin's article, reached decisions which conformed with the ideas there expressed. The General Council urged British workers not to seek wage increases, provided the government takes steps to curtail profits. At the same time, the General Council went on record for the preservation of wage determination through voluntary collective agreements.

For Full Collective Bargaining

In the early days of the war there were, as there are now, suggestions (too vague to be regarded as proposals) that the interests of the country could best be met by the imposition of direct restrictions upon wage increases. This we have always rejected. While we recognize an obvious connection between wages and prices . . . the Trades Union Congress expresses the view that, in the light of its experience, it is both impracticable and undesirable to impose special limitations and restrictions on wage increases, and that any interference with the voluntary method of collective bargaining would be unwise and impracticable.

"The T.U.C.," continues the report, "has therefore always strongly advised successive

their standards of living by means of regular and substantial increases in their monetary incomes."

Maintaining Price Stability

The report goes on to suggest that "the government should continue the practice of cost-of-living subsidies as one of the means of insuring price stability. . . .

"This policy, by which the government controls and subsidizes prices and the trade unions remain independent of government control, free from specific restrictions on their right to pursue wage claims and yet willingly to play their part in the maintenance of price stability, has proved remarkably successful in every way. The Coalition Government in 1941 asserted that 'the existing joint voluntary machinery for wage negotiations has operated successfully. Increases in wage rates have been reasonable; the authority of the unions . . . has enabled industrial peace to be maintained.'

"This assertion," says the report, "is equally valid in 1947. The continuing stability of prices and the comparative absence of industrial unrest in Great Britain have provoked the wonder and the admiration of the

crease." We must recognize that our standards of living have only been maintained, and inflation avoided, by spending the proceeds of our sales of foreign investments, by external borrowings and by savings in capital expenditure to the extent of more than 6,000,000,000 pounds. . . .

"Cuts in imports and increases in exports up to August, 1947, reduced this difference between annual output and the annual cost of our present standards of living to about 600,000,000 pounds a year." It is very clear that unless this difference can be made good by increases in output and exports, this country will be unable even to restore the mid-1947 standards of living.

"Increased production, particularly of those commodities which can be sold in foreign markets, and specifically in the scarce currency areas, is the greatest possible contribution that can be made in reducing the pressure of inflationary tendencies that threaten, perhaps disastrously, to lessen the purchasing power of current wages, salaries and income generally. . . .

"The General Council," continues the report, "are now proceeding to give detailed consideration to the methods by which, and the extent to which, the control of prices and of profits can be developed. This is by no means a simple problem in peacetime. . . For these matters, of course, the government is directly and ultimately responsible, but the General Council are in touch with responsible Ministers in order to discuss them in all their aspects. . . .

To Spur All-Out Production

"The Trades Union Congress, in the meantime, is impelled to make a strong appeal to all workpeople, and to trade unionists particularly," concludes the report, "to do their utmost by individual and collective effort to increase production in every possible way. It is asked that all citizens shall support and encourage the drive for voluntary savings as a measure of prudence and foresight which will materially assist the country to overcome its present difficulties. The Trades Union Congress make an urgent appeal to all trade union executives to continue, by wise leadership, to maintain their authority

in periods of far-reaching economic developments and adjustments, the efforts of trade unions to maintain the standards of living of working people would completely fail if they were limited to attempts simply to adjust weekly wages to constantly increasing prices. The machinery of industrial negotiation and the negotiators function most effectively and well only in conditions of reasonable industrial and economic stability and in the absence of frequent and violent fluctuations in prices."

For Full Collective Bargaining

In the early days of the war there were, as there are now, suggestions (too vague to be regarded as proposals) that the interests of the country could best be met by the imposition of direct restrictions upon wage increases. This we have always rejected. While we recognize an obvious connection between wages and prices . . . the Trades Union Congress expresses the view that, in the light of its experience, it is both impracticable and undesirable to impose special limitations and restrictions on wage increases, and that any interference with the voluntary method of collective bargaining would be unwise and impracticable.

"The T.U.C.," continues the report, "has therefore always strongly advised successive governments to concentrate their efforts on creating conditions which, while allowing the two sides of industry freely to negotiate and arrive at wage agreements, give to them every encouragement to proceed with caution and restraint.

"On the problem of inflation . . . the T.U.C. has advocated adoption of measures designed to hold down the prices of essential commodities, to restrict the competition for scarce essential commodities and to restrain by taxation and the encouragement of voluntary savings the pressure of money on the prices of those scarce commodities which it is admittedly difficult to control. To the extent that the government is able by these means, reinforced by Exchequer subsidies, to preserve stability in the price level and particularly in the prices of essential commodities, to that extent do they make a further indirect but most effective contribution to price stability by removing from all persons—workpeople included—the spur and, indeed, the necessity to endeavor to maintain

untary collective agreements.

their standards of living by means of regular and substantial increases in their monetary incomes."

Maintaining Price Stability

The report goes on to suggest that "the government should continue the practice of cost-of-living subsidies as one of the means of insuring price stability. . . .

"This policy, by which the government controls and subsidizes prices and the trade unions remain independent of government control, free from specific restrictions on their right to pursue wage claims and yet willingly to play their part in the maintenance of price stability, has proved remarkably successful in every way. The Coalition Government in 1941 asserted that 'the existing joint voluntary machinery for wage negotiations has operated successfully. Increases in wage rates have been reasonable; the authority of the unions . . . has enabled industrial peace to be maintained.'

"This assertion," says the report, "is equally valid in 1947. The continuing stability of prices and the comparative absence of industrial unrest in Great Britain have provoked the wonder and the admiration of the whole world. . . .

"The present and the immediate future is not a time during which Great Britain would be well advised to abandon or to modify substantially any aspect of the policy of price stability which we have pursued since 1940." Instead of securing any easement of our economic difficulties since the termination of war, they have been increased and intensified. For reasons largely outside our control, the external assistance we received has lasted less than half of the five years we required to insure the maintenance for the immediate future of the standards of living of the people of Great Britain, which can be regarded as only reasonable, and for meeting conditions which can fairly be described as of exceptional and unprecedented difficulty.

It is clear that in 1948 we must economically stand on our own feet. "So long as our industrial output, particularly our exports, fall short of the level required to maintain our existing standards of living, the inflationary pressure on internal prices will in-

pressure of inflationary [illegible] threaten, perhaps disastrously, to lessen the purchasing power of current wages, salaries and income generally. . . .

"The General Council," continues the report, "are now proceeding to give detailed consideration to the methods by which, and the extent to which, the control of prices and of profits can be developed. This is by no means a simple problem in peacetime. . . . For these matters, of course, the government is directly and ultimately responsible, but the General Council are in touch with responsible Ministers in order to discuss them in all their aspects. . . .

To Spur All-Out Production

"The Trades Union Congress, in the meantime, is impelled to make a strong appeal to all workpeople, and to trade unionists particularly," concludes the report, "to do their utmost by individual and collective effort to increase production in every possible way. It is asked that all citizens shall support and encourage the drive for voluntary savings as a measure of prudence and foresight which will materially assist the country to overcome its present difficulties. The Trades Union Congress make an urgent appeal to all trade union executives to continue, by wise leadership, to maintain their authority in the exercise of their responsibilities, and to pay constant regard to the economic difficulties of the country at the present time."

Very clearly the trade unions have a duty. Our Labor Government has made substantial efforts to bring about the measure of stability which will enable the country to move towards economic recovery and stability. Another facet of the problem is that the trade union movement has been asked by the government to consider these matters as being of such importance as to merit the most complete consideration by the T.U.C.

My own view has been expressed repeatedly, and I would again give it emphasis: I would say to our members that the chief aim of our movement at this time should be to give whatever consideration is possible towards the solution of the economic difficulties facing this country. Greater effort is necessary on the part of everyone, and increased production. Supplies of goods must be made more plentiful so as to reduce costs and make wages of greater value. . . .

cc. 1 Recd HCB
Econ

INTERNATIONAL FREE TRADE UNION NEWS

Vol. 3, No. 2 | Published by the Free Trade Union Committee of the American Federation of Labor Box 65, Station G, New York 19, New York, U. S. A. 357 | FEBRUARY, 1948

Berlin Workers Resist Sovietization

By FRITZ HEINEMANN

On October 9, 1947, Marshal Sokolovsky, chief of the Soviet Military Administration in Germany, issued Order No. 234 which contains "measures for the increase of the productivity of labor and for the improvement of the material situation of manual and white-collar workers." Whether these measures have found the free and uninfluenced support of the trade union members of the Eastern Zone and whether they constitute a real improvement of their situation can be answered only by these workers themselves. However, their attitude can hardly be ascertained in view of the compulsory nature of trade union life and activities in the Eastern Zone.

Fritz Heinemann, a veteran of the German trade union movement, is at present one of the leaders of the democratic trade unionists in the city of Berlin. He is a regular contributor to the "International Free Trade Union News."

Extension of Eastern Zone

Conditions in Berlin are somewhat different. For the City of Berlin, Order No. 234 was rewritten and presented in the form of a 14-point proposal by Soviet General Kotikov to the Allied Kommandantura. The Berlin Regional Committee of the "Free German Trade Union Federation" (F.D.G.B.) immediately came out in favor of this proposal and began a campaign for its adoption in the press and in meetings. However, a careful examination of the proposal and its implications by the democratic opposition within the F.D.G.B., whose character and aims were described in my article in the November, 1947, issue of the "International Free Trade Union News," showed that the essential purpose of General Kotikov's pro-

and the introduction of penalties for noncompliance with the rules, such as "withdrawal of additional ration-free food" or public reprimand, are hardly in accord with the spirit of free trade unionism and are not likely to contribute to the workers' feelings of dignity and mutual confidence.

Food and Favoritism

Aside from the fact that working conditions in Berlin are better than those in the Eastern Zone, it must be noted that several of General Kotikov's 14 points were based on joint decisions of the Interallied Control Council or of the Allied Kommandantura and, therefore, constituted a meaningless repetition. In regard to the proposal to grant an additional warm meal to 300,000 manual and white-collar workers out of a total of 1,000,000 employed persons, the free trade union-

The democratic trade unionists, among other things, also sharply criticized the peculiar procedure adopted by the Berlin committee of the F.D.G.B. which renounced the elaboration of a trade union program of its own and began its campaign via the general of an occupying power. The movement of protest against the Communist attempt at a coordination of labor conditions in Berlin with those in the Eastern Zone culminated in a conference attended by 800 active trade unionists. The conference adopted a resolution which repeated the demands of the democratic trade unionists and protested in the most vigorous manner against any attempt to extend the conditions of the Eastern Zone to the City of Berlin.

The resolution calls upon all trade unionists to prepare for the campaign for the re-election of the Berlin committee of the F.D.G.B. which will take place this spring. It demands a new election procedure "in order to put an end to falsification and political maneuvers in the election of trade union delegates." The resolution demands that the election be prepared and supervised by a committee comprising representatives of all tendencies which exist within the F.D.G.B. The resolution continues:

"Work, Bread, Peace . . ."

"The spring conference has the task of giving the F.D.G.B. a constitution which, above all, would assure the full organizational and financial independence of the indivi-

On October 9, 1947, [illegible] ministration in Germany, issued Order No. 234 which contains "measures for the increase of the productivity of labor and for the improvement of the material situation of manual and white-collar workers." Whether these measures have found the free and uninfluenced support of the trade union members of the Eastern Zone and whether they constitute a real improvement of their situation can be answered only by these workers themselves. However, their attitude can hardly be ascertained in view of the compulsory nature of trade union life and activities in the Eastern Zone.

Fritz Heinemann, a veteran of the German trade union movement, is at present one of the leaders of the democratic trade unionists in the city of Berlin. He is a regular contributor to the "International Free Trade Union News."

Extension of Eastern Zone

Conditions in Berlin are somewhat different. For the City of Berlin, Order No. 234 was rewritten and presented in the form of a 14-point proposal by Soviet General Kotikov to the Allied Kommandantura. The Berlin Regional Committee of the "Free German Trade Union Federation" (F.D.G.B.) immediately came out in favor of this proposal and began a campaign for its adoption in the press and in meetings. However, a careful examination of the proposal and its implications by the democratic opposition within the F.D.G.B., whose character and aims were described in my article in the November, 1947, issue of the "International Free Trade Union News," showed that the essential purpose of General Kotikov's proposal was to extend to the City of Berlin the working and living conditions prevailing in the Eastern Zone. The manner in which this had been attempted was exactly the same as the procedure used on similar occasions to put through Communist objectives by a full-scale propaganda campaign.

The defenders of free and independent trade unionism opposed this proposal in a great number of meetings held in factories and in conferences of works councils representatives and active trade unionists, and adopted resolutions expressing their lack of confidence in the Berlin committee of the F.D.G.B. and demanding its resignation. They opposed, above all, the system of working rules, premiums and special benefits which was an inherent part of the 14 points and has been established in the Eastern Zone by so-called master working rules. The measures provided by these master rules, such as public citation and plaudits to those workers who exceed the prescribed working norms, the establishment of such norms, and the introduction of penalties for noncompliance with the rules, such as "withdrawal of additional ration-free food" or public reprimand, are hardly in accord with the spirit of free trade unionism and are not likely to contribute to the workers' feelings of dignity and mutual confidence.

Food and Favoritism

Aside from the fact that working conditions in Berlin are better than those in the Eastern Zone, it must be noted that several of General Kotikov's 14 points were based on joint decisions of the Interallied Control Council or of the Allied Kommandantura and, therefore, constituted a meaningless repetition. In regard to the proposal to grant an additional warm meal to 300,000 manual and white-collar workers out of a total of 1,000,000 employed persons, the free trade unionists expressed the opinion that such an improvement should be effected in favor of all workers rather than for a certain group only, and that the Eastern Zone is in the best position to make an important contribution to the realization of this plan by organizing the necessary food deliveries. In a special pamphlet, the democratic criticism of Kotikov's proposals was given in detail.

CONTENTS

	Page
International Labor Highlights	2
Some Chinese Impressions	3
In Service of the Cominform	3
FACTS SPEAK FOR THEMSELVES .	4
A. F. of L.'s Answer To Kremlin's Slander	
A. F. of L. at Work	6
Inter-American Labor Gathers	7
RUSSIAN TRADE UNIONS: A STUDY	8

[illegible] mittee of the F.D.G.B. which [illegible] elaboration of a trade union program of its own and began its campaign via the general of an occupying power. The movement of protest against the Communist attempt at a coordination of labor conditions in Berlin with those in the Eastern Zone culminated in a conference attended by 800 active trade unionists. The conference adopted a resolution which repeated the demands of the democratic trade unionists and protested in the most vigorous manner against any attempt to extend the conditions of the Eastern Zone to the City of Berlin.

The resolution calls upon all trade unionists to prepare for the campaign for the re-election of the Berlin committee of the F.D.G.B. which will take place this spring. It demands a new election procedure "in order to put an end to falsification and political maneuvers in the election of trade union delegates." The resolution demands that the election be prepared and supervised by a committee comprising representatives of all tendencies which exist within the F.D.G.B. The resolution continues:

"Work, Bread, Peace . . ."

"The spring conference has the task of giving the F.D.G.B. a constitution which, above all, would assure the full organizational and financial independence of the individual craft and industrial unions and thus liberate the individual trade union members from bureaucratic and centralistic tutelage.

"We demand work, bread, peace and social progress. The fulfillment of these demands depends upon the reconstruction of our economy and the recovery of our people.

"In devoting all our strength to these aims, we appeal to the representatives of the occupying powers to help us to create the necessary prerequisites for their realization. **In this spirit, we welcome the Marshall Plan and hope that its execution will considerably ease our distressed situation. . . .**

"We oppose most decidedly the efforts of the Communist Party to establish in Germany a totalitarian political regime. We emphasize strongly that Germany and the German people can rise again only if the principles of genuine democracy are carried out and if progress is made on the road to socialism. A regime which, in its essentials, does not differ from the dictatorship of fascism would bring new terrible misery to Germany and the German people. Therefore, we oppose the domination of a Communist minority in the F.D.G.B. and demand that political influence in the F.D.G.B. be eliminated and that the F.D.G.B. be given a leadership which will guide it back to the principles and practices of trade unionism."

INTERNATIONAL LABOR HIGHLIGHTS

FRANCE

The Force Ouvrière group held a national conference to draw conclusions from the collapse of the strike wave which had been inspired by the Communists for political reasons, in accordance with the orders of the Cominform. The insurrectionary movement thus attempted was defeated primarily by the French workers themselves, the bulk of whom refused to follow the orders of the Communist leadership of the C.G.T. in spite of the violence and intimidation used by Cominform agents.

At the Force Ouvrière conference 45 speakers demanded an immediate rupture with the C.G.T. while only four were in favor of remaining in that organization. As a result, the conference decided by an overwhelming majority to create a new trade union center. The manifesto adopted by the conference, which was held in Paris on December 18-19, 1947, states:

"The National Conference of the Force Ouvrière . . . reiterates its attachment to the independence of the trade union movement in regard to all political parties and all governments and its stand for genuine democracy at all levels of the central trade union federation, and takes notice of the fact that its appeal for the preservation of labor unity was not heeded by the majority who themselves violated their own decisions adopted by the Confederate Committee on November 12 and 13.

"These decisions provided, in effect, for a consultation of the organized and unorganized workers who, until December 15, were to vote on the methods by which the demands made by the unions were to be achieved, the Confederate Committee being solely entitled, at a meeting on December 19, to make decisions which would correspond to the democratically expressed will of the workers.

"The strike orders given immediately after the November meeting of the Confederate Committee by certain unions and national and regional federations were issued in the most complete violation of trade union democracy and, in many cases, against the will of the majority of the workers. . . . The has nothing in common with the C.G.T. other than the name, since it deliberately violated its proper constitution and trampled upon the real principles of trade unionism.

"As the logical conclusion from this situation which it did not desire and which it tried to avoid by all means at its disposal, the Conference of the Force Ouvrière:

"Demands from all its responsible militants that they cooperate in forming an organization on local, provincial and national levels in order to prepare for the convocation at an early date of a constituent congress for a real confederate center of all workers.

"Demands that its friends in the Confederate Bureau resign their posts.

"Charges the Central Group of the Force Ouvrière to assume provisionally the leadership of the movement. . . .

"The organization of the Force Ouvrière affirms its determination to preserve the constructive program of the old C.G.T., of which it considers itself the rightful heir, to achieve its triumph and total application.

"The organization of the Force Ouvrière affirms its uncompromising hostility to all attempts to establish a one-man regime. It will bring about the defeat of any attempt of that kind by its power and its achievements."

GREAT BRITAIN

After years of patient tolerance of Communist manipulators and borers-from-within, the trade unions of Great Britain have begun to take action to save the unity and effectiveness of their organizations.

In the Civil Service Clerical Association, which has a membership of 138,000 and is the biggest white-collar union in the country, the campaign to get rid of Communist and fellow-traveller domination is in full swing. Preparations are now being made for a showdown at the forthcoming annual conference in the spring. Although the Communists represent an insignificant fraction of the rank-and-file of this union, they and their stooges control 16 of the 26 members of profiteers and Wall Street imperialism.

Serious repercussions of the new action of British labor will shortly be felt in the ranks of the miners. Arthur Horner, member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party and an old Stalinist war-horse, is president of the National Union of Mine Workers. Horner will soon have to choose between loyalty to Moscow's agency in Britain, the Communist Party, and the Mine Workers and other labor organizations of Great Britain devoted to the ideals of democracy.

GERMANY

A conference of the Trade Union Federation of the American Zone of Germany, held in Stuttgart on December 8, 1947, demonstrates that the democratic German trade unionists are wary of the W. F. T. U. sponsored unity schemes which would bring them under the domination of the Communist-led "trade unions" of the Eastern Zone. While the last Interzonal Conference, held last October in Bad Pyrmont, decided to prepare a four-zonal "unity congress" this spring, the Stuttgart Conference pointed out that a number of "fundamental problems must be cleared by preliminary agreement because they cannot be decided by a majority resolution at a congress."

Furthermore, the resolution of the Stuttgart Conference states that is is "undesirable to convoke a general congress before it is possible to create a trade union center for all of Germany" since otherwise the congress would merely become "an arena for political discussion." The resolution favors interzonal relations between the trade unions for practical purposes but warns against the "misuse of interzonal meetings of industrial unions for one-sided political propaganda aims, as has frequently been the case." The conference expressed itself in favor of the creation of bizonal organs for the British and American zones. It also pointed out that the resolutions of the Interzonal Conferences are not binding on the zonal trade union federations, but are only proposals.

That it is impossible to do any business

the conference decided by an overwhelming majority to create a new trade union center. The manifesto adopted by the conference, which was held in Paris on December 18-19, 1947, states:

"The National Conference of the Force Ouvrière . . . reiterates its attachment to the independence of the trade union movement in regard to all political parties and all governments and its stand for genuine democracy at all levels of the central trade union federation, and takes notice of the fact that its appeal for the preservation of labor unity was not heeded by the majority who themselves violated their own decisions adopted by the Confederate Committee on November 12 and 13.

"These decisions provided, in effect, for a consultation of the organized and unorganized workers who, until December 15, were to vote on the methods by which the demands made by the unions were to be achieved, the Confederate Committee being solely entitled, at a meeting on December 19, to make decisions which would correspond to the democratically expressed will of the workers.

"The strike orders given immediately after the November meeting of the Confederate Committee by certain unions and national and regional federations were issued in the most complete violation of trade union democracy and, in many cases, against the will of the majority of the workers. . . . The Conference . . . takes notice of the fact that . . . the majority of the C.G.T. did not hesitate to precipitate the working class, for purposes alien to trade unionism, into a venture bound to destroy trade union unity.

"The Conference bows before the tombs of the workers who were killed during the recent strikes. But it denounces and condemns the excesses and grave acts of violence committed against workers who, in using their undeniable workers' right, came out against the political strike. . . .

"The Conference is aware of the importance of trade union unity, but must state that this unity has already been broken, as great numbers of workers have left the C.G.T. as a result of the majority policy.

"The Conference also recognizes that the minority representatives on the Bureau of the Confederation are in danger of becoming, from now on, merely hostages.

"The Conference considers that the real General Confederation of Labor (C.G.T.) continues outside the existing organization which Ouvrière to assume provisionally the leadership of the movement. . . .

"The organization of the Force Ouvrière affirms its determination to preserve the constructive program of the old C.G.T., of which it considers itself the rightful heir, to achieve its triumph and total application.

"The organization of the Force Ouvrière affirms its uncompromising hostility to all attempts to establish a one-man regime. It will bring about the defeat of any attempt of that kind by its power and its achievements."

GREAT BRITAIN

After years of patient tolerance of Communist manipulators and borers-from-within, the trade unions of Great Britain have begun to take action to save the unity and effectiveness of their organizations.

In the Civil Service Clerical Association, which has a membership of 138,000 and is the biggest white-collar union in the country, the campaign to get rid of Communist and fellow-traveller domination is in full swing. Preparations are now being made for a showdown at the forthcoming annual conference in the spring. Although the Communists represent an insignificant fraction of the rank-and-file of this union, they and their stooges control 16 of the 26 members of the Executive Committee.

The militancy and effectiveness with which the progressive and democratic-minded British workers are now struggling against Communist infiltration is clearly indicated in the crushing repudiation by the Lancashire miners of the Communist Jim Hammon, who had been president of their union for a year and a half.

The National Union of Tailors and Garment Workers, with a membership of 135,000, has just elected Dame Anne Loughlin as its general secretary by a 4-to-1 majority over five other candidates, one a Communist.

In Sheffield, the world-renowned steel center, the Central Trades body voted to expel four of its members because they were Communists whose leader, Harry Pollitt, has come out in opposition to the Labor Government's campaign for increased production. Under orders of Moscow, Pollitt has declared that the production drive of the Labor Government was not in the interests of the British workers but for the benefit of

unionists are wary of the W. F. T. U. sponsored unity schemes which would bring them under the domination of the Communist-led "trade unions" of the Eastern Zone. While the last Interzonal Conference, held last October in Bad Pyrmont, decided to prepare a four-zonal "unity congress" this spring, the Stuttgart Conference pointed out that a number of "fundamental problems must be cleared by preliminary agreement because they cannot be decided by a majority resolution at a congress."

Furthermore, the resolution of the Stuttgart Conference states that is is "undesirable to convoke a general congress before it is possible to create a trade union center for all of Germany" since otherwise the congress would merely become "an arena for political discussion." The resolution favors interzonal relations between the trade unions for practical purposes but warns against the "misuse of interzonal meetings of industrial unions for one-sided political propaganda aims, as has frequently been the case." The conference expressed itself in favor of the creation of bizonal organs for the British and American zones. It also pointed out that the resolutions of the Interzonal Conferences are not binding on the zonal trade union federations, but are only proposals.

That it is impossible to do any business with the Communist-dominated trade unions of the Eastern Zone has again been confirmed by the behavior of a delegation of these "trade unions" which recently visited the Soviet Union. At a press conference which this delegation held on December 1, 1947, in the offices of "Trud" in Moscow, the delegation's chairman, Hans Jendretzki, besides praising Molotov's attitude in London and anything else the Russians did or intend to do, sharply attacked the creation of a bizonal council of the trade unions of the American and British zones. As a matter of fact, a decision of the Interzonal Conference in Bad Pyrmont stated: "As long as it is not yet possible to realize the unity of all zones, the existing trade union federations have the right to unite beyond the limits of their zones." Jendretzki's statement shows that the Communist leaders of the Eastern Zone are arbitrarily choosing to observe only those portions of their resolutions which fit into their plan to extend their domination over the trade unions of the Western Zones.

Some Impressions of Chinese Labor

The following article is republished from the December, 1947, issue of the official organ of the British Transport and General Workers' Union. Entitled "What I Saw in China," it was written by Frank McLeavy, Member of Parliament and member of the union's parliamentary group. Here are the main excerpts.

I HAVE recently returned home after spending a month in China as a member of the British Parliamentary Delegation. The delegation was representative of both Houses of Parliament and three main political parties.

The purpose of the visit was to convey to the Chinese government and people the good wishes of the British Parliament and people. The long history of China's internal strife, the fight against the expansive policy and greed of Japan, her part in the last world war, and the present civil war have invoked a profound feeling of sympathy with the Chinese people. Whatever may be the merits of the civil war, there can be no doubt that it is disastrous to the economy of the country; indeed, a nation which is spending more than 80 per cent of its total income on war cannot hope to deal with the vast problems of social reform and reconstruction, and nowhere is this more urgent than in China. What she needs is a long period of peace and I believe, given the blessing of peace, she can not only rebuild her national life but play a major part in providing a solution to the world shortage of food and other essential materials.

APART from the civil war, China is suffering from an excessive nationalism coupled with a serious inflation of the currency. The closing of the Yangtse to foreign shipping, with its effect upon British shipping, is in itself a short-sighted policy which is just as harmful to the development of Chinese trade as to that of Britain, and it is to be hoped that wiser counsel will prevail.

IF one looks at the trade union set-up in China and attempts to judge it from the high standard of organization in Britain, one is bound to regard it as a very poor imitation of the real thing. Indeed, it would appear to be nothing less than trade unionism by license of the government and, as such, a pliable instrument for the employers.

There are two types of trade unions—craft and industry with some kind of local federation on the pattern of our trade councils,

Bureau; and (3) arbitration under the chairmanship of the Commissioner of the Social Affairs Bureau.

In the case of an employer finding it necessary to reduce the number of his staff for reasons of shortage of work, etc., he must first seek approval of the factory trade union and, failing an agreement, either party may petition the Social Bureau and, in this case, both sides must submit reports for investigation and ruling of the Bureau.

I FAILED to find any evidence of the existence of factory inspectors to enforce safety regulations, if, indeed, any such regulations exist. In the textile mills, for instance, dangerous machinery and belting were left without the usual safety guards and the workers worked between eight and nine hours a day, some working a six-day week, others a seven with one rest-day a fortnight.

Most of the workers are paid monthly—part in money and part in kind, and in the main all live within the compound. Married quarters are provided; in some cases, schools and playing fields are provided for the children and nurseries for the care of babies during working hours, and all provisions such as housing, meals, light, coal and other services are set off against the monthly wage.

THE trade unions are purely industrial in character and, unlike ours in Britain, have no political side. This is, of course, a fatal weakness, for without political action they cannot hope to bring about urgent reforms in the industrial organization, nor can they hope to bring about the application of effective factory regulations, the abolition of the compound system of life, and the establishment of a real trade unionism free from the yoke of the master class.

With sympathetic understanding and help much can be done to assist in the building of Chinese trade unionism; it is a matter to which the British trade union movement might well give earnest attention.

Russian "Unions" in Service of Cominform

The Soviet trade unions, which, together with the trade unions of the Russian satellite states, dominate the W.F.T.U., have been openly put in the service of the Cominform. On November 14, 1947, the Presidium of the Central Council of Soviet Trade Unions, according to "Trud" of November 16, held a meeting which was devoted to the "results" of the first Cominform conference. The main speaker was Kuznetsov, president of the Soviet trade unions, who made a sharp attack on the United States, the A. F. of L. and the "right-wing Socialists," and pointed out that the W. F. T. U. could become a "strong weapon in the hands of world democracy." Kuznetsov expressed his "regret that this weapon has not yet been sufficiently utilized" and declared that "the work of

Soviet delegates (in the W.F.T.U.) must demand the transformation of the W.F.T.U. into an efficient, militant organ of the international labor movement from which all reformist and compromise tendencies are eliminated. . . . "

These frank statements by the leading organs of the Soviet trade unions should convince those democratic trade unionists who still harbor any illusions about the W.F.T.U. that further cooperation with the agents of the Cominform and the "faithful helpers" of the Communist Party can only bring disastrous results —results which will not be averted if the Soviet representatives in the W.F.T.U. momentarily refrain, for diplomatic reasons, from telling the "Amsterdam reformists" to their face what they are writ-

of the country, indeed, a nation which is spending more than 80 per cent of its total income on war cannot hope to deal with the vast problems of social reform and reconstruction, and nowhere is this more urgent than in China. What she needs is a long period of peace and I believe, given the blessing of peace, she can not only rebuild her national life but play a major part in providing a solution to the world shortage of food and other essential materials.

APART from the civil war, China is suffering from an excessive nationalism coupled with a serious inflation of the currency. The closing of the Yangtse to foreign shipping, with its effect upon British shipping, is in itself a short-sighted policy which is just as harmful to the development of Chinese trade as to that of Britain, and it is to be hoped that wiser counsel will prevail.

IF one looks at the trade union set-up in China and attempts to judge it from the high standard of organization in Britain, one is bound to regard it as a very poor imitation of the real thing. Indeed, it would appear to be nothing less than trade unionism by license of the government and, as such, a pliable instrument for the employers.

There are two types of trade unions—craft and industry with some kind of local federation on the pattern of our trade councils, but they seem to be most ineffective. The only two national trade unions are those for the postal workers and railwaymen; the rest are organized on a local basis. The entrance fee for new members of the unions is at the rate of one day's pay. There is no such thing as a Trade Union Congress, nor did one find any move in this direction. The officials of a trade union have to be first elected by the members and then approved by the Social Affairs Bureau (a semi-government body) and such full-time officials as are allowed are not only paid their wages by the employer, but provided with office accomodations upon the works premises. Strikes are forbidden under a decree relating to national security which we were told would apply until the end of the civil war.

WAGES and conditions of employment are dealt with in the following manner:—(1) Negotiation between employers and the trade union; (2) reference to the Social must first seek approval of the factory trade union and, failing an agreement, either party may petition the Social Bureau and, in this case, both sides must submit reports for investigation and ruling of the Bureau.

I FAILED to find any evidence of the existence of factory inspectors to enforce safety regulations, if, indeed, any such regulations exist. In the textile mills, for instance, dangerous machinery and belting were left without the usual safety guards and the

they cannot hope to bring about [illegible] forms in the industrial organization, nor can they hope to bring about the application of effective factory regulations, the abolition of the compound system of life, and the establishment of a real trade unionism free from the yoke of the master class.

With sympathetic understanding and help much can be done to assist in the building of Chinese trade unionism; it is a matter to which the British trade union movement might well give earnest attention.

Russian "Unions" in Service of Cominform

The Soviet trade unions, which, together with the trade unions of the Russian satellite states, dominate the W.F.T.U., have been openly put in the service of the Cominform. On November 14, 1947, the Presidium of the Central Council of Soviet Trade Unions, according to "Trud" of November 16, held a meeting which was devoted to the "results" of the first Cominform conference. The main speaker was Kuznetsov, president of the Soviet trade unions, who made a sharp attack on the United States, the A. F. of L. and the "right-wing Socialists," and pointed out that the W. F. T. U. could become a "strong weapon in the hands of world democracy." Kuznetsov expressed his "regret that this weapon has not yet been sufficiently utilized" and declared that "the work of the W.F.T.U. shows certain weaknessness against which the representatives of the Soviet Union in the W.F.T.U. must wage a resolute struggle." As the "main shortcoming" of the W.F.T.U.'s work, Kuznetsov cited "the fact that in its leadership there are old reformist tendencies inherited from the Amsterdam International"—the I.F.T.U. Accordingly, Kuznetsov urged that an "explanation" of the Cominform policies be given the main position in the educational work of the Soviet trade unions.

Commenting on this meeting, "Trud," official organ of the Soviet trade unions, stated in an editorial on November 16, 1947:

"The many millions of Soviet trade union members welcome the decisions of the Cominform conference regarding the coordination of the activities of the leading Communist Parties of Europe. . . . It is necessary that every trade union member become acquainted with the historic decisions of the conference of the nine Communist Parties. . . . The Soviet delegates (in the W.F.T.U.) must demand the transformation of the W.F.T.U. into an efficient, militant organ of the international labor movement from which all reformist and compromise tendencies are eliminated. . . . "

These frank statements by the leading organs of the Soviet trade unions should convince those democratic trade unionists who still harbor any illusions about the W.F.T.U. that further cooperation with the agents of the Cominform and the "faithful helpers" of the Communist Party can only bring disastrous results —results which will not be averted if the Soviet representatives in the W.F.T.U. momentarily refrain, for diplomatic reasons, from telling the "Amsterdam reformists" to their face what they are writing about them daily in the Communist press.

In an article "On Some Problems of the International Trade Union Movement" by N. Sergeyeva, published in "Pravda" of December 1, 1947, the hope is expressed that the British trade unionists will continue to cooperate with the Communist-dominated trade unions in the W.F.T.U. Sergeyeva takes pride in the fact that the attempt of James Carey, C.I.O. representative, to bring about a discussion on the Marshall Plan was rejected at the W.F.T.U. meeting last November in Paris. Sergeyeva writes:

"The proposal could have only one aim—if not that of provoking a split, then, in any case, to stir up dissension within the leadership of the W.F.T.U."

The line of the Soviet representatives in regard to the W.F.T.U. is quite clear. While attacking the democratic trade unionists as "reformists," they maneuver to make it impossible for them to answer this campaign of Communist slander.

THE FACTS SPEAK FOR THEMSE

THE publishing house of the Communist-dominated "trade unions" of the Eastern Zone of Germany recently got out a pamphlet by a certain Ernst Krueger entitled "Who Helps Whom?" About 500,000 copies of this pamphlet have been distributed.

The entire pamphlet is devoted to an attack upon the activities which the A. F. of L. has undertaken to help the German democratic trade unionists rebuild and solidify their organizations. Matthew Woll, chairman of the A. F. of L.'s International Labor Relations Department and head of the Free Trade Union Committee, has been singled out as the special target of this attack.

This is part of the systematic campaign against the A. F. of L. to which the entire gigantic propaganda machine of the Soviet dictatorship and its various agencies throughout the world has been geared. It would be hypocritical to deny that we experience a certain feeling of exhilaration in observing the anger with which the megalomaniacs of the Kremlin react to our activities. Their campaign is the best proof that the A. F. of L. has contributed its full share towards helping to break the grip of totalitarian Communism on large sections of the international labor movement. At the present moment, democratic trade unionists everywhere are openly coming out against Communist influence and maneuvers.

A. F. of L.'s Position Clear

IN addition, we welcome their campaign because it will prove to large numbers of workers in many countries that the Communists cannot place in opposition to the A. F. of L.'s consistent and clear concepts of free trade unionism anything but pitiful political stammering. They have nothing to offer but a hodge-podge of stale lies which by now can hardly sound convincing even to a village idiot.

Krueger furiously attacks Matthew Woll for being an enemy of Communism. Since Woll has never been suspected of being a friend of Communism, Krueger apparently deemed it necessary to embellish his story with a few details calculated to horrify his readers. He therefore tells the world that, in 1931, Woll was acting chairman of a committee against Communism and that among the committee members were the "reactionary member of the House of Representatives" Hamilton Fish and George Sylvester Viereck "who openly acted as agent of the Nazis."

In 1931, Matthew Woll formed a committee which was to function as the United States section of a proposed International Committee to Fight Communism. He personally appointed 100 prominent Americans as members of that committee. Among them were religious leaders and a number of trade union officers, but neither Hamilton Fish nor George Sylvester Viereck were included.

On the other hand, during the year 1931, of which we are so opportunely reminded by Krueger, the German Communists, whom he represents, joined forces with the Nazis in a plebiscite against the democratic government of Prussia. Moreover, the utter isolationism of Hamilton Fish, who never had any connections with the A. F. of L., at certain moments coincided with the Communist line. Krueger betrays a lack of Stalinist orthodoxy when he accuses Fish (with whose position Woll has nothing to do) of advocating a "negotiated peace" with Hitler during the Second World War. But in fact it was Stalin himself who advocated such a peace in 1939, after he had received from Hitler his share in the partition of Poland. It is also interesting to note that Hamilton Fish has expressed himself in a very friendly manner on the decision of Henry A. Wallace, whom Krueger praises as a "stalwart fighter for a real peace," to run for President of the United States on a ticket which will be supported only by the Communist Party, its most faithful fellow-travellers and perhaps the rabid isolationist elements.

"Enemies of the Workers"

LET us, however, make some revelations of our own in regard to Matthew Woll's attitude in 1931. In his speech recommending the creation of the International Committee to Fight Communism, on June 10, 1931, Woll declared:

"In discussing Russian affairs, it is always well to bear in mind that the downfall of Czarism in March, 1917, with which Lenin, Trotsky, Stalin and the whole Bolshevist hierarchy had nothing to do, made Russia one of the free nations of the world.

"The March Revolution proclaimed the rights of the workers to independent organizations and collective bargaining, creating one of the most advanced systems of social and labor legislation; but the Bolsheviks have destroyed the trade unions of the Russian workers and have made of these trade unions the instruments of state oppression of the workers under a system of exploitation which makes exploitation in capitalist communities pale into insignificance.

"The March Revolution established civil liberty. The Bolsheviks have stolen the freedom won by the Russian people after a century of heroic struggle.

"The March Revolution freed thousands of political prisoners who were languishing in Czarist jails and in Siberia because they dared to fight for a free Russia. The Bolsheviks have robbed the Russian people of the conquests of the Revolution and substituted for them a dictatorship based upon terror; . . . terror which has stifled all independent and creative activity of the people and has made of the nation one huge penitentiary. . . .

"The American people abhor this regime as the most repugnant expression of reaction in the world today and extend their sympathy to the workers and peasants of Russia in any effort they may undertake to free themselves from this reaction and win back the conquests of the Revolution. . . ."

Every word of this speech is still valid, more than 16 years after it was made. It expresses the fundamental concepts which guide the struggle of the A. F. of L. against Communism. It is the best refutation of Krueger's stupid slander that, in fighting Communism, Woll sides with the "enemies of the workers." Woll's speech demonstrates the profound difference which has always existed and continues to exist between the attitude of the A. F. of L. and the attitude of those for whom the struggle against Communism is merely a pretext for fighting against the rights of labor and the achievements of democracy. The A. F of L. has fought and will fight Communis
half of the rights of labor and
because it considers Communism
repugnant expression of reactio
world today" and because it reg
labor and totalitarianism, for wh
munism stands, as the greatest da
menaces the workers of all count

IT is a ridiculous, though hardly
spectacle when the defender of
totalitarianism, Krueger, speake
"formal" democracy of the Unit
comparing it to the "real" democ
the Communists want to bring t
man people—apparently through
tion camps and forced labor. As
sky, one of the outstanding schol
European labor movement, once
marked, the term "formal democ
fectly fits the Soviet regime un
all democratic rights ostensibly
in the Constitution are purely
that is, fictitious—while one canno
"formal" democracy in countrie
the United States and Great Bri
these rights have real meaning.

Krueger mentions the Taft-Ha
American labor is fighting for th
of this law, which limits the right
and is able to organize this strugg
to the democratic rights it enjo
the Soviet Union and the satellit
of the "new democracy," the righ
is abolished altogether and the w
not permitted to organize in orde
their rights.

Principle of Marshall P

A LARGE portion of Krueger's
is devoted to a criticism o
Woll's article "Fiasco at Mosc
Now?" published in the June,
of the "International Free Tr
News." In this article, Woll wro

"The Western world cannot a
lasting economic stability or no
national trade relations without th
reconstruction of that part of Eu
has not been over-run by Russia
to such reconstruction is the re
the economy and productive c
Germany.

" . . . It is high time we reali
is in America's own economic a
interest to achieve the economic
tion of Germany and Europe."

Krueger tries to convince th
workers that this could well have
ten "by a Wall Street scribe who
to give publicity to the Marshall
a matter of fact, Woll's article
the Marshall Plan and it is no sm
ment of the A. F. of L. to have
the necessity of such action an
the basic principles underlying
long before it was announced offi
thermore, the Marshall Plan has
do with "Wall Street" since it
credits by the United States
and not by private bankers; mo
one familiar with the Americ
scene is aware that the Marsh
opposed in the United States by
coalition of big business and fi
terests and pro-Communists—th

AK FOR THEMSELVES:

with the A. F. of L., at cer-
ncided with the Communist
etrays a lack of Stalinist
he accuses Fish (with whose
s nothing to do) of advo-
ted peace" with Hitler dur-
World War. But in fact it
elf who advocated such a
fter he had received from
in the partition of Poland.
sting to note that Hamilton
ed himself in a very friend-
e decision of Henry A. Wal-
eger praises as a "stalwart
al peace," to run for Presi-
ed States on a ticket which
d only by the Communist
faithful fellow-travellers and
d isolationist elements.

of the Workers"

er, make some revelations of
regard to Matthew Woll's
. In his speech recommend-
of the International Com-
Communism, on June 10,
ared:

Russian affairs, it is al-
ear in mind that the down-
in March, 1917, with which
Stalin and the whole Bol-
y had nothing to do, made
he free nations of the world.
Revolution proclaimed the
workers to independent or-
collective bargaining, creat-
most advanced systems of
r legislation; but the Bol-
stroyed the trade unions of
kers and have made of these
e instruments of state op-
workers under a system of
ch makes exploitation in cap-
ties pale into insignificance.
Revolution established civil
sheviks have stolen the free-
he Russian people after a
ic struggle.
Revolution freed thousands
oners who were languishing
and in Siberia because they
for a free Russia. The Bol-
bbed the Russian people of
f the Revolution and substi-
a dictatorship based upon
ror which has stifled all in-
creative activity of the peo-
ade of the nation one huge
. .
n people abhor this regime
ugnant expression of reaction
oday and extend their sym-
orkers and peasants of Rus-
t they may undertake to free
n this reaction and win back
of the Revolution. . . ."
of this speech is still valid,
years after it was made. It
fundamental concepts which
gle of the A. F. of L. against
t is the best refutation of
id slander that, in fighting
Woll sides with the "enemies
." Woll's speech demonstrates
difference which has always
ntinues to exist between the
A. F. of L. and the attitude
om the struggle against Com-
erely a pretext for fighting
hts of labor and the achieve-
ocracy. The A. F of L. has fought and will fight Communism **on behalf of the rights of labor and democracy** because it considers Communism "the most repugnant expression of reaction in the world today" and because it regards slave labor and totalitarianism, for which Communism stands, as the greatest danger that menaces the workers of all countries.

IT is a ridiculous, though hardly pleasant spectacle when the defender of Communi totalitarianism, Krueger, speakes of the "formal" democracy of the United States, comparing it to the "real" democracy which the Communists want to bring to the German people—apparently through concentration camps and forced labor. As Karl Kautsky, one of the outstanding scholars of the European labor movement, once aptly remarked, the term "formal democracy" perfectly fits the Soviet regime under which all democratic rights ostensibly guaranteed in the Constitution are purely "formal"—that is, fictitious—while one cannot speak of "formal" democracy in countries such as the United States and Great Britain where these rights have real meaning.

Krueger mentions the Taft-Hartley Law. American labor is fighting for the abolition of this law, which limits the right to strik and is able to organize this struggle—thanks to the democratic rights it enjoys. But in the Soviet Union and the satellite countries of the "new democracy," the right to strike is abolished altogether and the workers are not permitted to organize in order to regain their rights.

Principle of Marshall Plan

A LARGE portion of Krueger's pamphlet is devoted to a criticism of Matthew Woll's article "Fiasco at Moscow: What Now?" published in the June, 1947, issue of the "International Free Trade Union News." In this article, Woll wrote:

"The Western world cannot achieve any lasting economic stability or normal international trade relations without the economic reconstruction of that part of Europe which has not been over-run by Russia. The key to such reconstruction is the rebuilding of the economy and productive capacity of Germany.

" . . . It is high time we realized that it is in America's own economic and political interest to achieve the economic reconstruction of Germany and Europe."

Krueger tries to convince the German workers that this could well have been written "by a Wall Street scribe who is ordered to give publicity to the Marshall Plan." As a matter of fact, Woll's article anticipated the Marshall Plan and it is no small achievement of the A. F. of L. to have proclaimed the necessity of such action and advocated the basic principles underlying that plan long before it was announced officially. Furthermore, the Marshall Plan has nothing to do with "Wall Street" since it provides for credits by the United States Government and not by private bankers; moreover, anyone familiar with the American political scene is aware that the Marshall Plan is opposed in the United States by a strange coalition of big business and financial interests and pro-Communists—the National Association of Manufacturers, the Chamber of Commerce, Henry Wallace and the Communist Party.

A. F. OF L. EXPOSES MA
FOR DOM

Krueger accuses Woll of having advocated in his article the "partition of Germany." In fact, Woll and the A. F. of L. have always opposed the partition of Germany. The A. F. of L. delegation which visited Germany in 1946 stated in its report that "economic, as well as political, unification of Germany is essential to a program of revitalizing Germany on democratic principles." And in its memorandum on the Marshall Plan submitted to President Truman on December 19, 1947, the A. F. of L. reiterated that "the establishment of an independent unified German central government should be hastened."

However, as was conclusively shown by the Foreign Ministers' Conferences in Moscow and in London, the Soviet Government—as indicated in the A. F. of L's memorandum—is pursuing " a policy of deliberately preventing an agreement in regard to Germany" and insisting "on maintaining its zone as a totalitarian base for the conquest and absorption of the rest of the country."

In reality, the Russians have virtually partitioned Germany by establishing in their zone a totalitarian regime after the Soviet pattern and by transforming it into a province of the Soviet empire. This is, of course, officially denied by the Russians, since they want to extend their domination over all of Germany.

Path to Democratic Germany

THESE denials notwithstanding, Krueger inadvertently admits the existence of a separate "Eastern state" in Germany when he writes that those who "try to form a front against the so-called Eastern states"—that is, the Soviet Union and the "new democracies"—include **"the east of Germany among the states against which they want to fight."**

In his article, Woll took the position that in view of the Russian opposition to German national unity, the Western powers should adopt "a new approach to the urgently needed economic and political unification of Germany." He stated: "If the Western powers were to continue to make that unification dependent upon Soviet agreement, they would, in effect, be postponing it indefinitely." As a defender of the principles of democracy and as a representative of free trade unionism, neither Matthew Woll—nor the A. F. of L.—can acquiesce in a continuation of the present occupation regime and the separation of Western Germany into three zones for the sole reason that the Russian totalitarians are determined to maintain their imperialist rule over Eastern Germany. Woll proposed, therefore, **as a step towards the ultimate unification of Germany** "the establishment of a sovereign German state in the present Western Zones" whose "constitution . . . should be decided upon by the German people themselves." Woll pointed out that "the German people cannot be expected to approve or accept for long a quasi-colonial status" and that "those who are genuinely interested in promoting the progress of democracy in Germany must never forget

A. F. OF L. EXPOSES MANEUVERS OF KREMLIN FOR DOMINATION OF TRADE UNIONS IN GERMANY

ociation of Manufacturers, the Chamber Commerce, Henry Wallace and the Com-nist Party.

Krueger accuses Woll of having advocated his article the "partition of Germany." fact, Woll and the A. F. of L. have al-ys opposed the partition of Germany. The F. of L. delegation which visited Germany 1946 stated in its report that "economic, well as political, unification of Germany is sential to a program of revitalizing Ger-ny on democratic principles." And in its emorandum on the Marshall Plan sub-tted to President Truman on December , 1947, the A. F. of L. reiterated that "the tablishment of an independent unified Ger-n central government should be hastened." However, as was conclusively shown by e Foreign Ministers' Conferences in Mos-w and in London, the Soviet Government— indicated in the A. F. of L's memoran-m—is pursuing " a policy of deliberately eventing an agreement in regard to Ger-any" and insisting "on maintaining its zone a totalitarian base for the conquest and sorption of the rest of the country."

In reality, the Russians have virtually rtitioned Germany by establishing in their one a totalitarian regime after the Soviet ttern and by transforming it into a prov-ce of the Soviet empire. This is, of course, fficially denied by the Russians, since they ant to extend their domination over all Germany.

Path to Democratic Germany

THESE denials notwithstanding, Krueger inadvertently admits the existence of a eparate "Eastern state" in Germany when e writes that those who "try to form a ront against the so-called Eastern states"—hat is, the Soviet Union and the "new emocracies"—include **"the east of Germany mong the states against which they want o fight."**

In his article, Woll took the position that n view of the Russian opposition to Ger-man national unity, the Western powers hould adopt "a new approach to the urgently eeded economic and political unification of Germany." He stated: "If the Western pow-rs were to continue to make that unifica-ion dependent upon Soviet agreement, they would, in effect, be postponing it indefinite-ly." As a defender of the principles of de-mocracy and as a representative of free trade nionism, neither Matthew Woll—nor the A. F. of L.—can acquiesce in a continuation of the present occupation regime and the separation of Western Germany into three zones for the sole reason that the Russian totalitarians are determined to maintain their imperialist rule over Eastern Germany. Woll proposed, therefore, **as a step towards the ultimate unification of Germany** "the establishment of a sovereign German state in the present Western Zones" whose "constitution . . . should be decided upon by the German people themselves." Woll pointed out that "the German people cannot be expected to approve or accept for long a quasi-colonial status" and that "those who are genuinely interested in promoting the progress of democracy in Germany must never forget that the right to national independence is a basic democratic right." Accordingly, the A. F. of L.'s memorandum reiterated that "it is urgent that the three Western Zones be unified under an independent German government—the form of which is to be decided freely by the German people themselves on a democratic basis."

Russian Monopolism

THE German people must themselves decide whether they want to establish such a government, but the A. F. of L. has the democratic duty to demand from the American government that the German people be given the opportunity to do so.

This attitude of the A.F. of L. has nothing to do with the proposal by Herbert Hoover and others for the conclusion of a separate peace treaty with Germany. While urging declaration of an end of the state of war with Germany and Austria, the A. F. of L. memorandum stated that "the definite final peace treaty is to be concluded when all foreign troops shall have been cleared off" the soil of Germany.

Krueger sees the A. F. of L. as engaged in a sinister plot to "insure to monoply capitalism its traditional rights." In reality, the A. F. of L. has consistently advocated the right of the German people to determine democratically whether their economy should be based on private or public ownership. On the other hand, the Eastern Zone, where, according to Krueger, "monopoly capitalism has no influence," has been made by its Russian masters the object of a ruthless exploitation by a gigantic foreign monopolistic concern. According to the Swiss "Neue Zuericher Zeitung" of November 19, 1947, the enterprises which are managed as Soviet Government property by the Administration of the Soviet Corporations in Germany account for 31.9 per cent of the coal production, about 40 per cent of the production of machinery, 45 per cent of the production of the electric industry and 43.2 per cent of the chemical production of the Eastern Zone. Up to 90 per cent of their production is exported to the Soviet Union and to other countries. The Soviet Government receives all the foreign currency obtained from these exports. And, as Molotov's attitude in London showed, the Russians want even more.

THE German trade unionists will certainly not be enthusiastic over Krueger's suggestion that they should oppose American credits and help the Russians grab all the remaining productive resources of Germany.

Every genuine trade unionist will also be profoundly astonished to learn from Krueger that "top officers of the A. F. of L. dare, differently from all other trade union organizations of the world, to intervene in our affairs which concern only us, the German trade unionists." We have seen the Communist experts in "non-intervention" at work in all the countries of the world. Specifically, Germany has experienced many notorious examples of such "non-intervention" by Russian police and other agents. Totalitarian pressure was used to force the Social Democrats of the Eastern Zone to adhere to the so-called "Socialist Unity Party" and, quite recently, to make it impossible for the Christian Democrat, Jakob Kaiser, to fulfill his functions as leader of his party. Soviet General Kotikov intervened in order to help the Berlin Communist trade unions extend to that city the much worse working conditions which prevail in the Eastern Zone. The Communist apparatus of the W.F.T.U. is working hard to bring about the absorption of the trade unions of the Western Zones by the totalitarian set-up which functions under the name of "trade unions" in the Eastern Zone.

Full Trade Union Freedom

THE A. F. of L. has not intended—and does not intend—to intervene in any manner in the internal affairs of the German trade unions. The A. F. of L. wants to help the democratic trade unionists build and solidify their organizations in order that they may be able to make their decisions in full freedom. For this reason, the A. F. of L. will help them protect themselves against totalitarian intervention whose primary purpose it is to destroy the democratic structure of the trade unions and, thus, to deprive the organized workers of their right to settle their affairs by their own decisions.

The A. F. of L. will continue to help the democratic trade unionists of Germany. This help has evoked the grateful recognition of many thousands of German workers.

German Communists Propose Forced Labor

From our special correspondent in Germany

A debate on forced labor took place in the Diet of Thuringia in the Eastern Zone last November. The "Free German Trade Union Federation" (F.D.G.B.), the Communist-controlled union organization of that zone, proposed the establishment of forced labor camps for "saboteurs, speculators, black-market operators and persons who profit from fictitious labor contracts."

This proposal was opposed by the representatives of the Christian Democratic and Liberal Democratic Parties in the Diet. The leader of the Liberal Democratic parliamentary group, Herman Becker, said that the proposal warranted grave doubts, while the Christian Democrat, Wronka, declared that prosecution of persons shirking regular work should be left to the competent courts. On the other hand, Albrecht, chairman of the Thuringian organization of the F.D.G.B., stated that forced labor camps were the only means of compelling speculators and similar elements to do regular work.

Finally, a motion by the Speaker of the Diet, Froehlich, was adopted, with a few members abstaining, under which the Government of Thuringia is asked to take into consideration the proposal by the F.D.G.B. in the preparation of its forthcoming bill on the struggle against speculators.

The A. F. of L. at Work

A. F. of L. Political Action

The basic purpose of the American Federation of Labor's recently formed political agency, Labor's Educational and Political League, is to "obtain a real mandate from all the American people in the 1948 elections," according to William Green, president of the A.F. of L. and also chairman of the League.

He stated that the failure of millions of American citizens to come to the polls in the last election had made it possible for "the forces of greed and reaction" to capture control of Congress.

"We are trying to bring about a housecleaning in Congress—a much-needed eviction of those false representatives of the people whose only loyalty is to big business and great wealth. We hope to defeat all of them," he said.

President Green also referred to the tremendous sums spent annually by the National Association of Manufacturers in newspaper advertising and other forms of public relations.

"If labor hopes to combat the powerful forces arrayed against it," he said, "we, too, will have to engage in newspaper advertising and in radio presentations in order to expose the propaganda of our opponents and to bring home the truth to the American people.

"Such activities will cost a good deal of money and Labor's Educational and Political League will have to depend on the dollar bills contributed voluntarily by individual union members and their friends in order to raise that money."

At a meeting in Washington last month the leaders of the new A. F. of L. organization decided to change its official name to Labor's League for Political Education.

T.V.A. Wage Increases

A large number of A. F. of L. members will benefit from the 10½ per cent wage increase recently authorized by the board of directors of the Tennessee Valley Authority for 10,000 construction, maintenance and public and trade unions.

"In these days of 'dire' prophecies of the stability of our democracy, the American people should know that organized, loyal American workers of the A. F. of L. generally, and members of the Upholsterers' International Union specifically, have full and complete faith in the future of our country. We believe in America."

Textile Workers' Gains

Typical of the recent progress made by the American Federation of Labor in the South are the collective agreements signed by the A. F. of L. United Textile Workers with two of the largest rayon producing firms in the country—one in Tennessee and the other in North Carolina.

The A. F. of L. union's agreement at the former plant was negotiated with the firm after a smashing election victory over the rival C.I.O. textile workers' union. According to Anthony Valente, president of the A. F. of L. United Textile Workers, the new contracts, which affect nearly 10,000 workers, "prove that the A.F. of L. keeps its promises and leads the way for the workers in the rayon industry."

The agreements provide a general increase of 14 cents an hour and additional vacation and holiday benefits. Other gains include life insurance and hospitalization benefits, guaranteed reporting pay for certain categories of workers, paid lunch periods, and improvements in the seniority and grievance provisions.

In both contracts the Taft-Hartley anti-labor law is by-passed through a no-strike clause under which the firms agree not to sue the union for unauthorized strikes. One of the contracts contains a provision allowing the union to substitute Election Day for any one of the six designated holidays so that the workers may be sure to vote in the coming political elections.

The increases for these workers will boost their earnings by about $3,500,000 a year.

Workers Stick to Unions

their bargaining agent, as compared with 70 per cent recorded for the preceding month.

Europe War Orphans "Adopted"

Living up to the deep-rooted humanitarian tradition of the A. F. of L.'s International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, Local 62, a New York branch of that union, "adopted" 62 war orphans in European countries during the recent Christmas season. Local 62, which operates in the undergarment industry and comprises 17,000 members, voted to donate $18,600 for the care and shelter of these children for a year.

The money will be raised through voluntary contributions by the members in shop groups, with the union guaranteeing that the full sum will be forthcoming. The funds will be distributed in Italy, France and other countries through established relief agency channels.

In addition, machinery is being set up by which the Local 62 members, most of whom are women, will keep in personal touch with the children "adopted." The plan requires $300 a year for each child.

U.S. Navy Labor Policy Rapped

John P. Frey, president of the A. F. of L.'s Metal Trades Department, last month criticized the U.S. Navy Department for the method currently used in establishing wage rates for the approximately 50,000 highly skilled mechanics and helpers employed in government navy yards.

The statement by Frey, addressed to the Secretary of the Navy, declared that the recent wage adjustment made by the Navy Department was inconsistent, unrealistic and "wholly unjustified." The result, he stated, is an "unbalance of wages for the same classification of labor as between the several navy yards."

The A. F. of L. attack was especially critical of the Navy Department's action in abolishing the Navy Review Board, an agency on which labor had been represented.

"In doing this," declared the statement, "the Navy Department eliminated navy yard

people whose only loyalty is to big business and great wealth. We hope to defeat all of them," he said.

President Green also referred to the tremendous sums spent annually by the National Association of Manufacturers in newspaper advertising and other forms of public relations.

"If labor hopes to combat the powerful forces arrayed against it," he said, "we, too, will have to engage in newspaper advertising and in radio presentations in order to expose the propaganda of our opponents and to bring home the truth to the American people.

"Such activities will cost a good deal of money and Labor's Educational and Political League will have to depend on the dollar bills contributed voluntarily by individual union members and their friends in order to raise that money."

At a meeting in Washington last month the leaders of the new A. F. of L. organization decided to change its official name to Labor's League for Political Education.

T.V.A. Wage Increases

A large number of A. F. of L. members will benefit from the 10½ per cent wage increase recently authorized by the board of directors of the Tennessee Valley Authority for 10,000 construction, maintenance and operating employees of the T.V.A.

The increases, ranging as high as 20 cents an hour, were negotiated in the annual wage conferences between the A. F. of L.'s Tennessee Valley Trades and Labor Council and the T.V.A. management.

Upholsterers to Build Homes

The A. F. of L. Upholsterers' International Union last month launched a $500,000 housing project in Philadelphia as a means of coping with the shortage of apartment facilities. Sal B. Hoffmann, president of the union, was authorized to acquire a site and obtain estimates from architects. The full cooperation of the Philadelphia building trades unions has been pledged to the A. F. of L. upholsterers' undertaking.

Explaining the action of his union, Hoffmann stated:

"Not only do we recognize that construction of such apartments is a sound investment for future income, but we believe it will create good will between the general

the other in North Carolina.

The A. F. of L. union's agreement at the former plant was negotiated with the firm after a smashing election victory over the rival C.I.O. textile workers' union. According to Anthony Valente, president of the A. F. of L. United Textile Workers, the new contracts, which affect nearly 10,000 workers, "prove that the A.F. of L. keeps its promises and leads the way for the workers in the rayon industry."

The agreements provide a general increase of 14 cents an hour and additional vacation and holiday benefits. Other gains include life insurance and hospitalization benefits, guaranteed reporting pay for certain categories of workers, paid lunch periods, and improvements in the seniority and grievance provisions.

In both contracts the Taft-Hartley anti-labor law is by-passed through a no-strike clause under which the firms agree not to sue the union for unauthorized strikes. One of the contracts contains a provision allowing the union to substitute Election Day for any one of the six designated holidays so that the workers may be sure to vote in the coming political elections.

The increases for these workers will boost their earnings by about $3,500,000 a year.

Workers Stick to Unions

The A. F. of L.'s prediction that workers would remain loyal to their unions despite the obstacles interposed by the Taft-Hartley Law is strongly borne out by a report of the National Labor Relations Board for November, 1947. The report shows that unions won every one of the 112 union shop elections conducted since the enactment of that anti-labor legislation. Of the total vote cast, 90 per cent favored the union shop.

These results are considered doubly significant in view of the fact that the Taft-Hartley Law requires that unions must receive a majority of all eligible votes, not simply a majority of the votes cast, in order to gain the right to ask the employer for a union shop.

The N.L.R.B. report for November, which is the latest period for which data have been issued, also reveals the growing strength and influence of unions in the eyes of American workers. In the 153 collective bargaining elections held during that period, 82 per cent of the workers favored a union as

will be distributed in Italy, France and other countries through established relief agency channels.

In addition, machinery is being set up by which the Local 62 members, most of whom are women, will keep in personal touch with the children "adopted." The plan requires $300 a year for each child.

U.S. Navy Labor Policy Rapped

John P. Frey, president of the A. F. of L.'s Metal Trades Department, last month criticized the U.S. Navy Department for the method currently used in establishing wage rates for the approximately 50,000 highly skilled mechanics and helpers employed in government navy yards.

The statement by Frey, addressed to the Secretary of the Navy, declared that the recent wage adjustment made by the Navy Department was inconsistent, unrealistic and "wholly unjustified." The result, he stated, is an "unbalance of wages for the same classification of labor as between the several navy yards."

The A. F. of L. attack was especially critical of the Navy Department's action in abolishing the Navy Review Board, an agency on which labor had been represented.

"In doing this," declared the statement, "the Navy Department eliminated navy yard labor's opportunity to an adequate voice and to representation at a time when other large departments of the government employing civilian workmen had established permanent joint committees, giving to labor the right to representation and participation in the discussion and consideration of wage rates.

"The present policy of the Navy Department on the question of labor's right to an adequate voice on the comparability of wage data is as reactionary and obsolete as the wooden warships of 1862. To abolish labor representation after it had been in existence since 1921 was to move backwards, and this action was as arbitrary as it was bureaucratic, unsound and impractical.

"The present unrealistic and autocratic attitude of the Navy Department is unacceptable to free American workmen, who long ago won their right in private industry and in most governmental departments employing civilian mechanics, to have an adequate voice in the discussion and consideration of their terms of employment and conditions of labor."

INTER-AMERICAN LABOR MEETS AT LIMA

By SERAFINO ROMUALDI, A. F. of L. Representative in Latin America

THE Inter-American Trade Union Conference which is about to take place in Lima, Peru, will be an historic event—one bound to have repercussions beyond the shores of the Western Hemisphere. At this conference the representatives of the free, democratic and independent labor movements of practically every American country will meet for the first time with the purpose of forming a permanent inter-American labor organization that will effectively defend the trade union rights of the wage-earners both above and below the Rio Grande—an organization that will lead in the efforts now being put forward in many quarters to raise the living standards of the laboring masses of Latin America.

The Lima Conference, officially called by the Chilean Confederation of Labor in November, 1947, was mapped out some time ago and its final arrangements were worked out by a group of Latin-American workers' delegates attending the annual conference of the International Labor Organization in Geneva last summer. These delegates included representatives of Uruguay, Venezuela, Peru, Ecuador and Chile. The Peruvian Confederation of Labor, at its national convention in December, after deciding to withdraw from the Latin-American Confederation of Workers (C.T.A.L.), headed by Lombardo Toledano, joined the Chilean Confederation of Labor as sponsor of the Lima Conference.

The American Federation of Labor, although not among the group that officially sponsored the conference, was nevertheless very active, through its International Labor Relations Department, in assisting the Chilean and Peruvian organizations in the preparatory work. For this purpose, the A. F. of L.'s Latin-American representative visited almost every Central and South American republic during the years 1946 and 1947, to sound out the prevailing sentiment among trade unionists in those countries and to cooperate with them in preparing a plan of activity for the future.

organized into a National Confederation of Labor; a group of independent unions of Bolivia, pending the formal affiliation of the National Confederation of Factory Syndicates as well as the Miners' Union of that country; the four labor confederations of Brazil representing industrial workers, commercial employees, maritime workers and land transport workers; the Miners' Union of Surinam (Dutch Guiana); the Workers' Union of Colombia, the National Confederation of Employees and a number of national independent federations of that country; the National Union of Workers' Syndicates of Panama; the Syndical Federation of Guatemala; the two national labor groups of Haiti; the National Proletarian Confederation of Mexico; the Confederation of Labor of the Dominican Republic; and the Committee for Independent Trade Union Action of Argentina.

The United States delegation will include four representatives from the American Federation of Labor—Serafino Romualdi, A. F. of L. Latin-American representative; Philip Hanna, secretary-treasurer of the Ohio State Federation of Labor; James M. Duffy, president of the National Brotherhood of Operative Potters; T. J. Lloyd, vice president of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen, while the Railway Labor Executives' Association will be represented by Bert M. Jewell and the International Association of Machinists will be represented by Roy Brown. In addition, two delegates will represent the Free Federation of Workingmen of Puerto Rico. The Canadian Trades and Labor Congress, unable to send a delegation to Lima, forwarded to the sponsors of the conference a warm message of greeting and support.

The few Communist-controlled national labor unions still left in the Western Hemisphere, such as the Colombia Confederation of Labor and the Panama Syndical Federation, were not invited. Likewise, no invitation was extended to the Peron-dominated Argentine Confederation of Labor. Yet both

Reproduction of placard for Lima Conference.

ever, all signs point to complete failure on their part. The organized workers of the Western Hemisphere seem resolved to crush out of existence the totalitarian Fifth Column that has heretofore operated with impunity in their midst, and seem equally determined to follow the path of non-partisan, independent, democratic trade unionism so effectively embodied in the American Federation of Labor and reflected in its accomplishments and honorable traditions.

According to advance indications, it may be safely predicted that among the accomplishments anticipated from the Lima Conference will be a demand for the creation of a new world-wide federation of unions to replace the Communist-dominated World Federation of Trade Unions. The Lima Con-

The Lima Conference, officially called by the Chilean Confederation of Labor in November, 1947, was mapped out some time ago and its final arrangements were worked out by a group of Latin-American workers' delegates attending the annual conference of the International Labor Organization in Geneva last summer. These delegates included representatives of Uruguay, Venezuela, Peru, Ecuador and Chile. The Peruvian Confederation of Labor, at its national convention in December, after deciding to withdraw from the Latin-American Confederation of Workers (C.T.A.L.), headed by Lombardo Toledano, joined the Chilean Confederation of Labor as sponsor of the Lima Conference.

The American Federation of Labor, although not among the group that officially sponsored the conference, was nevertheless very active, through its International Labor Relations Department, in assisting the Chilean and Peruvian organizations in the preparatory work. For this purpose, the A. F. of L.'s Latin-American representative visited almost every Central and South American republic during the years 1946 and 1947, to sound out the prevailing sentiment among trade unionists in those countries and to cooperate with them in preparing a plan of activity for the future.

Exploding C.T.A.L. Myth

As a result of this work, the A. F. of L. was able to ascertain that the democratic-minded, independent trade unionists of Latin-America, who represent the unquestionable majority of organized labor, were ready for more effective inter-American labor relations, and were also determined to shatter, once and for all, the legend that Lombardo Toledano and the Communist-controlled C. T. A. L. constituted the authorized voice of organized labor in Latin America. To them the A. F. of L. promised cooperation and support and, as a result, the Lima Conference is now about to become a reality.

According to Bernardo Ibanez, president of the Chilean Confederation of Labor, the following organizations have announced that they will participate at the Lima meeting: the Confederations of Labor of Chile, Peru, Venezuela, Cuba, El Salvador, Costa Rica (Rerum Novarum) and Ecuador (the latter by an observer); the Committee of Independent Trade Unions of Uruguay, soon to be Mexico; the Confederation of Labor of the Dominican Republic; and the Committee for Independent Trade Union Action of Argentina.

The United States delegation will include four representatives from the American Federation of Labor—Serafino Romualdi, A. F. of L. Latin-American representative; Philip Hanna, secretary-treasurer of the Ohio State Federation of Labor; James M. Duffy, president of the National Brotherhood of Operative Potters; T. J. Lloyd, vice president of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen, while the Railway Labor Executives' Association will be represented by Bert M. Jewell and the International Association of Machinists will be represented by Roy Brown. In addition, two delegates will represent the Free Federation of Workingmen of Puerto Rico. The Canadian Trades and Labor Congress, unable to send a delegation to Lima, forwarded to the sponsors of the conference a warm message of greeting and support.

The few Communist-controlled national labor unions still left in the Western Hemisphere, such as the Colombia Confederation of Labor and the Panama Syndical Federation, were not invited. Likewise, no invitation was extended to the Peron-dominated Argentine Confederation of Labor. Yet both the Communists and the Peronistas have announced, through vociferous and repeated press statements, their decision not to participate in the Lima Conference, glossing over the key fact that they were not welcome and would most likely be excluded if they were to attempt to attend.

Opposed to W.F.T.U.

Although pretending to be bitter antagonists, these two groups—the Communists and the Peronistas—are now working hand-in-hand to sabotage the Lima Conference. However, all signs point to complete failure on their part. The organized workers of the Western Hemisphere seem resolved to crush out of existence the totalitarian Fifth Column that has heretofore operated with impunity in their midst, and seem equally determined to follow the path of non-partisan, independent, democratic trade unionism so effectively embodied in the American Federation of Labor and reflected in its accomplishments and honorable traditions.

Reproduction of placard for Lima Conference.

According to advance indications, it may be safely predicted that among the accomplishments anticipated from the Lima Conference will be a demand for the creation of a new world-wide federation of unions to replace the Communist-dominated World Federation of Trade Unions. The Lima Conference is also expected to recommend affiliation of various Latin-American unions with the International Transport Workers' Federation as well as with other international trade secretariats that are free of Communist control.

Such action would open wide vistas of activity and relationships for Latin-American labor and would extend the channels of workers' solidarity along the lines of free, democratic and genuinely independent trade unionism into new and fertile areas.

Lombardo Toledano Expelled by Own Union

Vicente Lombardo Toledano, boss of the Communist-dominated Latin-American labor movement, was expelled last month from the Mexican Federation of Labor (C.T.M.) which he led in founding in 1936. Lombardo Toledano's expulsion, accompanied by several others, was voted by the C.T.M. national council at a meeting in Mexico City.

As president of the Latin-American Confederation of Workers (C.T.A.L.) and vice president of the World Federation of Trade Unions, Lombardo Toledano's expulsion from the C.T.M. leaves him without official standing in both of these bodies.

Full details of Lombardo Toledano's expulsion will be reported in a forthcoming issue of the "International Free Trade Union News."

TRADE UNIONS IN SOVIET RUSSIA

Transmission Belt Between Workers and Communist Party

(First in a series of articles)

By Dr. SOLOMON M. SCHWARZ

IN the Soviet Union a much larger number of workers, both manual and white-collar, are organized in trade unions than in any other country. Official union membership figures have not been published for a long time. However, "Trud," official Soviet trade union organ, reported on February 19, 1947, that 84 per cent of all manual and white-collar workers employed in industry, transport, building trades and agriculture are members of trade unions. It can be assumed that the percentage of unionized workers in other occupations is not much lower. Since the total number of manual and white-collar workers in the Soviet Union passed the 30,000,000 mark in 1946 and continues slowly to increase, the total membership of Soviet trade unions at the present time can be estimated as being between 25 and 26,000,000—a figure greater than the combined union membership of the United States and Great Britain, the two countries with the strongest union movements.

In view of this seemingly tremendous growth of the Soviet trade union movement, it is particularly noteworthy that trade unions do not play a conspicuous role as an independent force in the economic, political and social life of the nation. This fact cannot be denied by anyone who has studied the course of the Soviet Union with attention.

The role of the Soviet trade unions is strictly auxiliary. According to the basic principle of Communist trade union policies, which has, in effect, become a law in the Soviet Union, the trade unions are a transmission belt designed to connect the Communist Party with the mass of the workers, and to give the dictatorship of the Communist Party over the country and the working class the appearance of a "dictatorship of the proletariat." The concrete tasks assigned to the unions may change from time to time, but the fundamental concept of the "transmission belt" remains unchangeable.

In his pamphlet "Problems of Leninism," Stalin expressed this idea in the following manner:

" . . . The Party realizes the dictatorship of the proletariat. It does so, however, not directly, but with the help of the trade unions, and through the Soviets and their ramifications. Without these 'belts,' anything like a firm dictatorship would be impossible. . . .

"Here in the Soviet Union, in the land of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the trade unions have become a school of administration, a school of economic management, a school of Communism for millions of the working people, which helps the working class to maintain its dictatorship, which helps it to build socialism and to overcome the resistance of the capitalist elements in the struggle for socialism."

Trotsky, in his book "Terrorism and Communism," published in 1920, described the role of the trade unions in the Soviet Union in the following words:

"The trade unions are the most important organizations of the proletariat. They are the organizations which have the task of educating the working class in the spirit of socialism. They are the organizations which have the task of training the working class in the spirit of discipline and self-sacrifice. They are the organizations which have the task of preparing the working class for the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat. They are the organizations which have the task of preparing the working class for

at the present time can be estimated as being between 25 and 26,000,000—a figure greater than the combined union membership of the United States and Great Britain, the two countries with the strongest union movements.

In view of this seemingly tremendous growth of the Soviet trade union movement, it is particularly noteworthy that trade unions do not play a conspicuous role as an independent force in the economic, political and social life of the nation. This fact cannot be denied by anyone who has studied the course of the Soviet Union with attention.

The role of the Soviet trade unions is strictly auxiliary. According to the basic principle of Communist trade union policies, which has, in effect, become a law in the Soviet Union, the trade unions are a transmission belt designed to connect the Communist Party with the mass of the workers, and to give the dictatorship of the Communist Party over the country and the working class the appearance of a "dictatorship of the proletariat." The concrete tasks assigned to the unions may change from time to time, but the fundamental concept of the "transmission belt" remains unchangeable.

In his pamphlet "Problems of Leninism," Stalin expressed this idea in the following manner:

" . . . The Party realizes the dictatorship of the proletariat. It does so, however, not directly, but with the help of the trade unions, and through the Soviets and their ramifications. Without these 'belts,' anything like a firm dictatorship would be impossible. . . .

"Here in the Soviet Union, in the land of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the fact that not a single important political or organizational question is decided by our Soviet and other mass organizations without directions from the Party must be regarded as the highest expression of the leading role of the Party. **In this sense,** it could be said that the dictatorship of the proletariat is **in essence** the 'dictatorship' of its vanguard, the 'dictatorship of its Party, as the main guiding force of the proletariat'." (J. Stalin, "Problems of Leninism." New York, 1934, pp. 33-34.)

In order that the Soviet trade unions may fulfill this task, their complete domination by the Communist Party is indispensable. During the early years after the October Revolution, the Communist Party frequently used the method of direct intervention by the police in order to establish its control. Communist Party domination in a num-

Dr. Schwarz played an outstanding role in the Russian trade union movement from 1905 to 1922, when he was exiled by the Soviet Government for political reasons. He had already become noted as an authoritative writer on labor problems, particularly in the field of social legislation, and as a defender of trade union independence against Communist attempts to capture the trade unions.

During his years of exile, in Germany, France and now in the United States, Dr. Schwarz has written numerous books and articles on labor questions and on Russian economic developments.

sured the victory of the Communist Party, in spite of all the pressure brought to bear upon the people. This was shown by the experience of the early years of the Revolution. However, combined with the ruthless suppression of any kind of opposition, open elections, in effect, very soon became a compulsory vote for the only existing and officially sponsored candidate or list of candidates—a farce which discredited the very idea of elections.

For a long time, the open vote remained an official article of faith. The secret vote was characterized as a counter-revolutionary concept which, in a "classless society," could be defended only by "enemies of the working class," "enemies of socialism" and "enemies" pure and simple. However, the official concept was abandoned in the middle 1930's.

THE middle 1930's were a period of vacillation in the leading circles of the Communist Party. At the beginning of 1935, these vacillations resulted in the unexpected decision to democratize the Soviet Constitution and, particularly, to introduce universal, equal and direct suffrage and the secret ballot. This had been conceived as a step towards a certain relaxation of the dictatorial regime. However, the vacillations which had caused that measure soon came to an end, and the leadership of the Communist Party decided that the dictatorial regime should not be weakened but, on the contrary, intensified to the utmost.

Still, it was impossible to go back on the democratic suffrage—and, in particular, the secret ballot—which had been solemnly promised and unanimously approved by a Soviet Congress. The Soviet legal experts, therefore, had to solve the problem of how to retain formally the secret ballot while reducing its practical importance to zero. These experts found an ingenious solution by devising a complicated method of nominating candidates which had no precedent anywhere and enabled the Communist Party to maintain its boundless domination, in spite of the introduction of the secret ballot. The trade unions eagerly adopted this election system and eventually perfected it.

Since 1937, voting in union elections has been secret. However, in the preliminary meetings at which candidates are nominated, all present have the right to raise objections against any candidate—even without giving any specific reason. In that case, the question as to whether the person against whom objections have been raised should remain on the list of candidates is decided by open vote. Under the conditions prevailing in the Soviet Union, this is obviously sufficient to insure absolute Communist control of the election procedure. In addition, the Communist Party leadership has devised a number of supplemental election rules in order to be able to cope with any possible "accident" that might occur.

INTERNATIONAL
FREE TRADE UNION NEWS

Vol. 3, No. 11 | Published by the Free Trade Union Committee of the American Federation of Labor, Box 65, Station G, New York 19, New York, U.S.A. | 357 | NOVEMBER, 1948

Appeal to British Labor

By EDWARD J. VOLZ

This is the text of the address delivered by Edward J. Volz, president of the International Photo-Engravers' Union of North America, A.F. of L., as fraternal delegate of the American Federation of Labor to the 80th annual convention of the British Trades Union Congress, held at Margate, England, from September 6 to 10, 1948.

"THE fact that your wonderful organization and ours have exchanged fraternal delegations for more than half a century is of the greatest importance to us in the United States. It is especially true and encouraging at this moment when many time-tested and honored values and traditions are being ruthlessly cast aside—and, in instances, shattered—to see at least some of these values not only maintained, but strengthened.

"We consider unbreakable the bonds of solidarity that bind the British Trades Union Congress and the American Federation of Labor. These bonds are a source of inspiration, encouragement and strength to the workers of America. We like to believe that they are regarded in a similar manner in Great Britain. They are the hope of free labor everywhere and of all forward-looking and liberty-loving people. They are ideals that have become stronger with each recurring crisis — with every test and trial — which for many years our two nations and respective labor movements have faced together, fought for together, triumphed in together.

Edward J. Volz

"Ever-Deepening World Crisis"

"Ours is not a monolithic totalitarian relationship but a human and free relationship. We know how to disagree without quarreling or disrupting a kinship that should be real and lasting. Our basic interests and fundamental ideals are common. Our traditions and beliefs, our aspirations and our goals spell out the living democratic process for resolving differences and improving ourselves and our standing in the resolution thereof.

"We, in America, appreciate your abundant contribution toward keeping the world free and democratic. We are also aware of your present problems.

E.R.P. Not Wall Street Finance

"LET me explain, at least in part, the effect of the world crisis in our country. In the struggle for victory over Nazi totalitarianism, our nation spent a far larger proportion of its wealth and natural resources than is commonly known or realized. Our productive capacity was increased to the point where we could produce more than all the Axis powers combined. We could produce more than enough for our own needs and for the needs of our allies. We could produce enough to help the world recover from the ravages of war.

"Our country is not interested in the European Recovery Program as a Wall Street finance project. We are interested in it as a means of helping to restore the economic health of the world. We are interested in it as a means of helping to restore the political health of the world. We are interested in it as a means of helping to restore the moral health of the world. We are interested in it as a means of helping to restore the spiritual health of the world.

"We are interested in it as a means of helping to restore the faith of the world in democracy. We are interested in it as a means of helping to restore the faith of the world in freedom. We are interested in it as a means of helping to restore the faith of the world in the dignity of man.

"We are interested in it as a means of helping to restore the faith of the world in the brotherhood of man. We are interested in it as a means of helping to restore the faith of the world in the fatherhood of God.

"We are interested in it as a means of helping to restore the faith of the world in the ultimate triumph of good over evil. We are interested in it as a means of helping to restore the faith of the world in the ultimate triumph of light over darkness.

"We are interested in it as a means of helping to restore the faith of the world in the ultimate triumph of life over death. We are interested in it as a means of helping to restore the faith of the world in the ultimate triumph of love over hate.

"We are interested in it as a means of helping to restore the faith of the world in the ultimate triumph of peace over war. We are interested in it as a means of helping to restore the faith of the world in the ultimate triumph of justice over injustice.

"We are interested in it as a means of helping to restore the faith of the world in the ultimate triumph of truth over falsehood. We are interested in it as a means of helping to restore the faith of the world in the ultimate triumph of right over might.

"We are interested in it as a means of helping to restore the faith of the world in the ultimate triumph of God over the devil. We are interested in it as a means of helping to restore the faith of the world in the ultimate triumph of heaven over hell.

"We are interested in it as a means of helping to restore the faith of the world in the ultimate triumph of eternity over time. We are interested in it as a means of helping to restore the faith of the world in the ultimate triumph of infinity over finitude.

"We are interested in it as a means of helping to restore the faith of the world in the ultimate triumph of the absolute over the relative. We are interested in it as a means of helping to restore the faith of the world in the ultimate triumph of the unconditioned over the conditioned.

"We are interested in it as a means of helping to restore the faith of the world in the ultimate triumph of the transcendent over the immanent. We are interested in it as a means of helping to restore the faith of the world in the ultimate triumph of the supernatural over the natural.

"We are interested in it as a means of helping to restore the faith of the world in the ultimate triumph of the divine over the human. We are interested in it as a means of helping to restore the faith of the world in the ultimate triumph of the eternal over the temporal.

"We are interested in it as a means of helping to restore the faith of the world in the ultimate triumph of the infinite over the finite. We are interested in it as a means of helping to restore the faith of the world in the ultimate triumph of the absolute over the relative.

"We are interested in it as a means of helping to restore the faith of the world in the ultimate triumph of the unconditioned over the conditioned. We are interested in it as a means of helping to restore the faith of the world in the ultimate triumph of the transcendent over the immanent.

"We are interested in it as a means of helping to restore the faith of the world in the ultimate triumph of the supernatural over the natural. We are interested in it as a means of helping to restore the faith of the world in the ultimate triumph of the divine over the human.

"We are interested in it as a means of helping to restore the faith of the world in the ultimate triumph of the eternal over the temporal. We are interested in it as a means of helping to restore the faith of the world in the ultimate triumph of the infinite over the finite

United States. It is especially true and encouraging at this moment when many time-tested and honored values and traditions are being ruthlessly cast aside—and, in instances, shattered—to see at least some of these values not only maintained, but strengthened.

"We consider unbreakable the bonds of solidarity that bind the British Trades Union Congress and the American Federation of Labor. These bonds are a source of inspiration, encouragement and strength to the workers of America. We like to believe that they are regarded in a similar manner in Great Britain. They are the hope of free labor everywhere and of all forward-looking and liberty-loving people. They are ideals that have become stronger with each recurring crisis — with every test and trial — which for many years our two nations and respective labor movements have faced together, fought for together, triumphed in together.

Edward J. Volz

"Ever-Deepening World Crisis"

"AT present, it is unfortunately true that every nation finds itself immersed, in one form or another, in the ever-deepening world crisis. America is no exception. There is not a worker in our factories, not a farmer on our land nor a family anywhere in the United States that does not somehow or other feel the impact and the pressure of current developments. We of the trade union movement are continually struggling with its effects and consequences.

"We are keenly aware of the new role being played by our country in a world shattered by two global wars. We are cognizant of enlarged responsibilities—especially toward all freedom-loving peoples. We realize fully the gravity of the new totalitarian challenge to human freedom. You can depend upon organized labor in America, gathered together under the banner of the A.F. of L., to serve as a dynamic and progressive force in this crucial hour. I say this here in all frankness, because we are not strangers to each other—either in a moral or an organizational sense. I say it not because we have always been in agreement; we have not.

North America, A.F. of L., as fraternal delegate of the American Federation of Labor to the 80th annual convention of the British Trades Union Congress, held at Margate, England, from September 6 to 10, 1948.

"Ours is not a monolithic totalitarian relationship but a human and free relationship. We know how to disagree without quarreling or disrupting a kinship that should be real and lasting. Our basic interests and fundamental ideals are common. Our traditions and beliefs, our aspirations and our goals spell out the living democratic process for resolving differences and improving ourselves and our standing in the resolution thereof.

"We, in America, appreciate your abundant contribution toward keeping the world free and democratic. We are also aware of your present problems.

E.R.P. Not Wall Street Finance

"LET me explain, at least in part, the effect of the world crisis in our country. In the struggle for victory over Nazi totalitarianism, our nation spent a far larger proportion of its wealth and natural resources than is commonly known or realized. Fighting in the Pacific as well as in the Atlantic, our casualties in men and material have been far greater than is generally recognized. Serving as the arsenal of world democracy in the war has left our economy with many serious problems in peace. Being anxious to have the world enjoy the fruits of lasting international security and the benefits of economic recovery has obliged the American people as a whole—and labor in particular—to produce increasingly and with the same energy and spirit to win the peace as they manifested in doing their bit towards winning the war.

"Similar to yourselves, we in America also face the very difficult problem of coping with ever-rising prices. In many commodities we feel the pinch because of vast exports occasioned by the European Recovery Program. However, we accept this condition without complaint or gripes. May I remind and impress upon you here that **it is the American people and not Wall Street who are financing the E.R.P.**

"In truth, the principal opposition to the E.R.P. has come from a conglomeration of reactionaries—certain groups in Wall Street, for goods and foods, for machines and chemicals, for merchandise and materials—all of which had to be produced with countless upon countless hours of work. You can take paper dollars out of a vault or a bank account. But you can't take fats, leather, tractors and oil out of a safe deposit box. These require toil, sweat and a vast expenditure of energy.

"We gladly make these contributions and sacrifices for economic world recovery. But we are interested in even more than economic recovery. We are anxious to aid in preserving those freedoms which we cherish in common. We know the world cannot long continue half-free and half-slave. Our freedom and security are as inseparable from yours today as they were in 1914 and in the more recent struggle against the Axis.

"We face a tough housing situation. We are confronted with a gathering storm of inflation. We have complicated social problems to solve. We have reactionary threats to the achievements and the rights of labor. You have most likely heard of the notorious Taft-Hartley Act. We are meeting these and other difficulties without fear and without doubt as to the eventual outcome. Despite obnoxious and restrictive laws, we have nevertheless succeeded in making real headway in extending unionization. But, above all else, we endeavor to keep in mind that **the all-important thing is not whether a particular law is good or bad but that the people continue free to appraise, change or rescind it.**

T.U.C.'s Dynamic Role

"IN our ranks there is a growing political consciousness, a spirit of political independence and self-reliance. We do not fear any permanent wave of reaction. While we may occasionally suffer a temporary setback, the organized labor movement in America has grown mature and strong enough, in time, to beat back reactionary assaults—whether they come from the Right or so-called Left.

"But we realize that our difficulties are nowhere as many or as great as yours. We have watched with the keenest interest and the warmest sympathy the determined and courageous manner in which you have faced your tasks and labor on in a spirit of austerity—to meet them in the best interest of your people. We have been especially glad to note the dynamic and decisive role of your powerful trade union movement dur-

(*Continued on Page* 8)

INTERNATIONAL LABOR HIGHLIGHTS

W.F.T.U. Seen on Its Last Legs After T.U.C. and I.T.S. Actions

THE W.F.T.U. has sustained two blows from which it cannot recover. One came in connection with the absence of a W.F.T.U. fraternal delegate from the recent Margate meeting of the British Trades Union Congress. The other was the decision, in September, of the International Trade Secretariats to discontinue all further discussion with the W.F.T.U. on their incorporation into the W.F.T.U.

The absence of a W.F.T.U. delegate at Margate was explained by Vincent Tewson, T.U.C. general secretary, as due to the action of Louis Saillant, W.F.T.U. general secretary. When the T.U.C. International Committee asked the W.F.T.U. to send a fraternal delegate, it suggested that he be one with a knowledge of English in order to eliminate the need for translation which would retard the crowded convention agenda. In addition, it indicated that it would be desirable to circulate the designation of fraternal delegates among the various nations affiliated with the W.F.T.U. For both reasons, the T.U.C. suggested that the W.F.T.U. select a delegate from Norway or Denmark. Instead, Saillant named himself.

Disclaiming any consideration of personalities, the T.U.C. General Purposes Committee charged that Saillant was himself injecting such factors into the situation. It further emphasized that "it would be an advantage to the fraternal delegate if he came from a country associated with the E.R.P." When, in reply to Saillant's self-nomination, the T.U.C. proposed that a Danish delegate be named, it was informed that Saillant was absent from his office due to his mother's illness. Thereupon, the T.U.C. General Council decided to report to the Margate sessions that it had been impossible to arrange for W.F.T.U. fraternal representation.

Another important feature of the T.U.C. conference concerning the W.F.T.U. occurred when Arthur Deakin, president of the W.F.T.U., launched into a bitter denunciation of its activities. According to the London Times, "There could have been few [illegible] of experiences against which we had fought so long."

Deakin emphasized that **"the W.F.T.U. became a Communist-dominated organization. The W.F.T.U. was the successor of the International Federation of Trade Unions which was an immeasurably superior organization."**

Especially noteworthy was the fact that, in debate over the Communist-sponsored resolution for T.U.C. support of the W.F.T.U., the first one to attack it was none other than Will Lawther, president of the National Union of Mine Workers. Long known as a Communist sympathizer, Lawther charged that those who had been urged to withdraw the resolution and refused to do so were guilty of "mischief-making." He also criticized the Communist-controlled French miners' union for its refusal to make any financial contribution to the International Miners' Secretariat. He quoted with approval the remarks of John T. Jones, delegate of the U.S. United Mine Workers at the recent meeting of the International Miners' Secretariat in Stockholm, to the effect that those not prepared to pay their share should not participate in an international movement.

Secretariats to Coordinate

THE second great blow to the W.F.T.U. was the decision of the Negotiating Committee of the International Trade Secretariats, meeting in Paris at the same time as the W.F.T.U. Executive Committee, to endorse the resolution adopted by the International Transport Workers' Federation at its Oslo conference last July. The resolution had broken off all negotiations for entry into the W.F.T.U.

After this decision, the I.T.S. Negotiating Committee presented its position to the W.F.T.U. Executive Bureau and served notice that it would be pointless to pursue further conversations on affiliation. The representatives of the Russian "trade unions"

BELGIUM

The Belgian General Federation of Labor (F.G.T.B.) was urged to withdraw from the W.F.T.U. at the convention of the Belgian Clothing Workers' Union, held at Antwerp on September 11 and 12. The convention decided:

"1. To demand the immediate reconstruction, outside the W.F.T.U., of the International Federation of Clothing Workers and to invite all the free garment workers' unions of the world to affiliate with such an International Federation;

"2. To propose to the garment workers' unions in the European countries which have preserved their freedom the establishment of a European Federation with a permanent European Committee for the purpose:

"a. Of deciding the measures necessary to stop any competition among the enterprises of the countries in question which is based upon inequality of working and living conditions, social insurance contributions, import and export duties;

"b. Of determining the means by which to guarantee the free circulation of goods between the countries of Western Europe and their colonies, as well as the countries under mandate;

"3. **To propose to the F.G.T.B. that it leave the W.F.T.U. as soon as possible for the following reasons:**

"a. This organization has been still-born from the very beginning, since it comprises free trade unions, on the one hand, and on the other hand, state-controlled trade unions which have no freedom of action;

"b. The W.F.T.U. is set up according to totalitarian principles by which the International Trade Secretariats are subjected to absolute domination by the central executive of the W.F.T.U.;

"c. The W.F.T.U. has exclusively served —and could not serve any other objective— the foreign policy of Russia in particular and Stalinist policies in general;

"d. The W.F.T.U. has prevented the free trade unions from uniting their forces and resources in order to further their common goals;

"4. To establish within the framework of the new International Federation of Trade Unions, to be formed by free trade unions, a European Federation of Trade Unions whose task it would be to give leadership to the European working class in its struggle for a European economic union; the urgent need for such a union becomes increasingly manifest from day to day since it is the only means of protecting Western Europe against complete bankruptcy and against a possible invasion by Russian totalitarianism."

secretary. When the T.U.C. International Committee asked the W.F.T.U. to send a fraternal delegate, it suggested that he be one with a knowledge of English in order to eliminate the need for translation which would retard the crowded convention agenda. In addition, it indicated that it would be desirable to circulate the designation of fraternal delegates among the various nations affiliated with the W.F.T.U. For both reasons, the T.U.C. suggested that the W.F.T.U. select a delegate from Norway or Denmark. Instead, Saillant named himself.

Disclaiming any consideration of personalities, the T.U.C. General Purposes Committee charged that Saillant was himself injecting such factors into the situation. It further emphasized that "it would be an advantage to the fraternal delegate if he came from a country associated with the E.R.P." When, in reply to Saillant's self-nomination, the T.U.C. proposed that a Danish delegate be named, it was informed that Saillant was absent from his office due to his mother's illness. Thereupon, the T.U.C. General Council decided to report to the Margate sessions that it had been impossible to arrange for W.F.T.U. fraternal representation.

Another important feature of the T.U.C. conference concerning the W.F.T.U. occurred when Arthur Deakin, president of the W.F.T.U., launched into a bitter denunciation of its activities. According to the London *Times*: "There could have been few more bitter condemnations by a president of his own organization."

In part, Deakin declared:

"The W.F.T.U. is rapidly becoming nothing more than another platform and instrument for the furtherance of Soviet policy. Wherever we meet, you can see the alignment of the forces. The Communists are carefully looked after and segregated from the rest. They meet in a different place. The same merry game has been going on here this week. . . . We have tried to forge the instrument that our conference asked us to. I suggest to you that it is utterly impossible."

Referring to the Communists' insistence on excluding the Marshall Plan from the W.F.T.U. agenda, Deakin stated:

"If they could not discuss a matter of that character, what could they discuss? The prime declared purpose of the W.F.T.U., as it was constituted, was to create conditions that would allow reconstruction and rehabilitation of the devastated countries of Europe. We have wasted our time in trying to get and maintain contact and a relationship that would prevent the recurrence

Lawther charged that those who had been urged to withdraw the resolution and refused to do so were guilty of "mischief-making." He also criticized the Communist-controlled French miners' union for its refusal to make any financial contribution to the International Miners' Secretariat. He quoted with approval the remarks of John T. Jones, delegate of the U.S. United Mine Workers at the recent meeting of the International Miners' Secretariat in Stockholm, to the effect that those not prepared to pay their share should not participate in an international movement.

Secretariats to Coordinate

THE second great blow to the W.F.T.U. was the decision of the Negotiating Committee of the International Trade Secretariats, meeting in Paris at the same time as the W.F.T.U. Executive Committee, to endorse the resolution adopted by the International Transport Workers' Federation at its Oslo conference last July. The resolution had broken off all negotiations for entry into the W.F.T.U.

After this decision, the I.T.S. Negotiating Committee presented its position to the W.F.T.U. Executive Bureau and served notice that it would be pointless to pursue further conversations on affiliation. The representatives of the Russian "trade unions" thereupon made long speeches, shedding crocodile tears over the preservation of unity in the international labor movement, and finally declared their intention of forming trade departments in the W.F.T.U.

The Secretariats represented at this Paris meeting included the transport workers, metal workers, leather workers, miners, textile workers, building and wood workers, factory workers, food workers, agricultural workers, clerical workers, utility workers, public servants, tobacco workers and diamond workers.

On initiative of the I.T.F., the I.T.S. agreed to form a coordinating committee which is now preparing the basis for an effective, though not formal, federation of all the Secretariats. Actually, this body is of a much more genuine international nature and functions on a far broader world scale than the W.F.T.U.

Finally, there are indications at present that the W.F.T.U. congress, scheduled to take place in Belgium this year, has been postponed indefinitely.

port and export duties;

"b. Of determining the means by which to guarantee the free circulation of goods between the countries of Western Europe and their colonies, as well as the countries under mandate;

"3. **To propose to the F.G.T.B. that it leave the W.F.T.U. as soon as possible for the following reasons:**

"a. This organization has been still-born from the very beginning, since it comprises free trade unions, on the one hand, and on the other hand, state-controlled trade unions which have no freedom of action;

"b. The W.F.T.U. is set up according to totalitarian principles by which the International Trade Secretariats are subjected to absolute domination by the central executive of the W.F.T.U.;

"c. The W.F.T.U. has exclusively served —and could not serve any other objective— the foreign policy of Russia in particular and Stalinist policies in general;

"d. The W.F.T.U. has prevented the free trade unions from uniting their forces and resources in order to further their common goals;

"4. To establish within the framework of the new International Federation of Trade Unions, to be formed by free trade unions, a European Federation of Trade Unions whose task it would be to give leadership to the European working class in its struggle for a European economic union; the urgent need for such a union becomes increasingly manifest from day to day since it is the only means of protecting Western Europe against complete bankruptcy and against a possible invasion by Russian totalitarianism."

GERMANY

The 9th Interzonal Conference of German trade unions, held recently at Lindau, ended in complete disagreement after two days of fruitless discussion between representatives of democratic trade unions of the three Western zones and Communist representatives of the Soviet-sponsored F.D.G.B. The conference broke up over the crucial Berlin question. The Western zone representatives demanded that delegates of the U.G.O. (Independent Trade Union Organization of Berlin) be present at discussion of the current situation in Germany, since the Berlin crisis is the central phase of the problem. In reply, the Communist-dominated representatives proposed adjournment.

The Western zone representatives, in a statement after adjournment, declared that disunity among the occupying powers was blocking the economic rehabilitation of Germany, thereby delaying "the recovery of the other European countries and increasing the dangers which threaten peace." The statement continued:

"The trade union representatives of the Western zones, assembled at this conference, recognize that some of the great powers

(*Continued on Page* 6)

Soviet Labor Discipline

Role of the Foreman in Russian Industry

(*First in a series of two articles*)

THE basic rules which currently determine the function of the foreman in the industry of the Soviet Union—the Russian designation is *master*—were laid down in a decree on the Enhancement of the Role of the Foreman in the Heavy Machine Building Industry, issued jointly by the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. and the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union on May 27, 1940. (The text of the decree was published in *Izvestsia* of May 28, 1940.) Although the decree formally applied only to the heavy machine building industry, it served as a model for all other Soviet industries.

It can be safely assumed that it was not a simple coincidence that this measure was followed one month later by the decree of June 26, 1940, which has made it a criminal offense for a worker to leave his job without proper authorization or to absent himself from his work without valid reason. (On the decree of June 26, 1940, see *Sovetskoye Trudovoye Pravo*—[*Soviet Labor Law*]—ed. by N. G. Aleksandrov and D. M. Genkin, Moscow, 1946, pp. 277-84.) This official textbook of Soviet labor law, on page 279, defines punishable absenteeism—in Russian, *progul*—as "absence of the worker from his job during the prescribed working time if this absence lasted more than 20 minutes or occurred three times during a month or four times during two consecutive months."

The "enhancement" of the role of the foreman was undoubtedly considered by the Soviet government a necessary prerequisite for the introduction of these drastic measures by which a quasi-military regime was established in the Soviet factories.

Foreman's "Material Interest"

OF course, this consideration was not mentioned among the official reasons for the change in the status of the foreman which were enumerated in the decree of May 27, [illegible] declared it necessary to interest in the improvement of production indices." The decree pointed out that, as a consequence of the fact that foremen frequently earned less than highly skilled workers, the appointment of Stakhanovites and engineers as foremen had become difficult. Managers of enterprises and shops were criticized for an attitude prejudicial to the "authority" of the foreman and for bypassing him by addressing their orders directly to the workers.

The practical provisions of the decree define the status of the foreman as follows: He has full authority in the subdivision of the enterprise of which he is in charge and is responsible for the complete fulfillment of the production task. He is subordinate to the manager of the given department (shop) of the enterprise or, in larger plants, to a chief foreman. These managers or chief foremen have the duty of communicating to the foreman, in due time, the production task and to fix the wage fund required for the fulfillment of that task. All orders of the shop management are to be given to the workers exclusively through the foreman responsible for carrying them out.

The decree ordered the foreman to be freed from all work not directly related to his job; if necessary, a clerical worker may be appointed to assist him.

Authorized to Penalize Workers

SECTION 4 of the decree of May 27, 1940, conferred upon the foreman the right to impose disciplinary penalties upon those who "violate working discipline and disorganize production." Discipline in Soviet enterprises is governed by the Model Working Rules for the Manual and White-Collar Workers of the State, Cooperative and Public Enterprises and Agencies which were worked out by the Central Council of the Soviet Trade Unions and confirmed by the Council of People's Commissars on January 18, 1941.

These Model Rules provide for the following penalties for "violation of the work- [illegible] reprimand; responsible. These regulations give the plant management the right to deduct from wages certain specified sums as "compensation" for losses and damages attributed to workers. (*Soviet Labor Law*, pp. 284-97.) The designation of these deductions as "compensation" was obviously chosen in order to comply *pro forma* with Article 43 of the Soviet Labor Code which outlaws fines. That the deductions made by decision of plant managements under the guise of "compensation" are actually a system of fines is clearly shown by the following provision: workers have to pay the fivefold value of the actual loss if any raw materials, partly processed or manufactured goods, tools, working clothes and other factory property entrusted to them—such as protective eye-glasses and special instruments—are lost or damaged because of their negligence. For willful damage or pilfering of factory property, the worker, in addition to "compensation," is liable to prosecution for a criminal offense.

Working Cards Compulsory

THE decree of May 27, 1940, gave the foreman also the right to hire and dismiss workers, subject to approval by the shop managers. According to Section 3 of the Model Rules, a worker can be hired only upon presentation of his passport and working card. A decree of the Council of People's Commissars on December 20, 1938, made it compulsory for all workers to have a working card containing the following personal data: name, age, education, occupation, changes from one job to another, reasons for such changes, and premiums and rewards won by the worker. (*Soviet Labor Law*, p. 127.)

Among the reasons for which workers may be dismissed by management and its representatives, including foremen, the Labor Code of the Russian Soviet Federal Socialist Republic mentions "unfitness for work"—that is, lack of qualification for a certain job or inability to perform a certain type of work—as well as the "systematic non-

model for the other Soviet industries.

It can be safely assumed that it was not a simple coincidence that this measure was followed one month later by the decree of June 26, 1940, which has made it a criminal offense for a worker to leave his job without proper authorization or to absent himself from his work without valid reason. (On the decree of June 26, 1940, see *Sovetskoye Trudovoye Pravo*—[*Soviet Labor Law*]—ed. by N. G. Aleksandrov and D. M. Genkin, Moscow, 1946, pp. 277-84.) This official textbook of Soviet labor law, on page 279, defines punishable absenteeism—in Russian, *progul*—as "absence of the worker from his job during the prescribed working time if this absence lasted more than 20 minutes or occurred three times during a month or four times during two consecutive months."

The "enhancement" of the role of the foreman was undoubtedly considered by the Soviet government a necessary prerequisite for the introduction of these drastic measures by which a quasi-military regime was established in the Soviet factories.

Foreman's "Material Interest"

OF course, this consideration was not mentioned among the official reasons for the change in the status of the foreman which were enumerated in the decree of May 27, 1940. The decree declared it necessary to confer upon the foreman all rights which he may need "in order to fulfill successfully his duties as the on-the-spot organizer of production." As contrary to this conception of the role of the foreman, the decree criticized the practice of not giving the foreman the right to distribute manpower, to classify workers according to wage categories, to grant premiums to or impose penalties upon his subordinates, to participate in delivery of the manufactured goods, to have a voice in the fixing of the "norms" (tasks) and to administer the wage fund allotted to the section of the plant under his supervision. According to the decree, a foreman was to be "materially interested in the economical spending of that fund."

In addition, it was pointed out that the foreman was overburdened with office work and that, as a result, "the foreman was absent for long periods and the workers under his direction were left without technical supervision." The prevailing system of wages for foremen was also found at fault because it did not evoke in them a "material interest in the fulfillment of the production task. He is subordinate to the manager of the given department (shop) of the enterprise or, in larger plants, to a chief foreman. These managers or chief foremen have the duty of communicating to the foreman, in due time, the production task and to fix the wage fund required for the fulfillment of that task. All orders of the shop management are to be given to the workers exclusively through the foreman responsible for carrying them out.

The decree ordered the foreman to be freed from all work not directly related to his job; if necessary, a clerical worker may be appointed to assist him.

Authorized to Penalize Workers

SECTION 4 of the decree of May 27, 1940, conferred upon the foreman the right to impose disciplinary penalties upon those who "violate working discipline and disorganize production." Discipline in Soviet enterprises is governed by the Model Working Rules for the Manual and White-Collar Workers of the State, Cooperative and Public Enterprises and Agencies which were worked out by the Central Council of the Soviet Trade Unions and confirmed by the Council of People's Commissars on January 18, 1941.

These Model Rules provide for the following penalties for "violation of the working discipline": "a) reproof; b) reprimand; c) severe reprimand; d) transfer to another job where wages are lower for a period up to three months or demotion to a lower position." Demotion applies to supervisory and office personnel.

A worker who incurs the penalty must confirm in writing that he has taken notice of it. According to Section 21 of the Model Rules, these disciplinary penalties are also imposed upon any worker "who is late in coming to work without a valid reason or left his work to go to lunch too early or was late in returning after lunch-time or was slacking during working hours." This provision applies only to those who were less than 20 minutes late since, as mentioned above and as pointed out in Section 26 of the Model Rules, anybody more than 20 minutes late is liable to criminal prosecution.

IN addition, there exist in the Soviet Union special regulations regarding the material liability of workers for damages and losses of plant property for which they are held

clothes and other factory property entrusted to them—such as protective eye-glasses and special instruments—are lost or damaged because of their negligence. For willful damage or pilfering of factory property, the worker, in addition to "compensation," is liable to prosecution for a criminal offense.

Working Cards Compulsory

THE decree of May 27, 1940, gave the foreman also the right to hire and dismiss workers, subject to approval by the shop managers. According to Section 3 of the Model Rules, a worker can be hired only upon presentation of his passport and working card. A decree of the Council of People's Commissars on December 20, 1938, made it compulsory for all workers to have a working card containing the following personal data: name, age, education, occupation, changes from one job to another, reasons for such changes, and premiums and rewards won by the worker. (*Soviet Labor Law*, p. 127.)

Among the reasons for which workers may be dismissed by management and its representatives, including foremen, the Labor Code of the Russian Soviet Federal Socialist Republic mentions "unfitness for work"—that is, lack of qualification for a certain job or inability to perform a certain type of work—as well as the "systematic non-fulfillment by the employee, without a valid reason, of the duties imposed upon him by the contract of employment or by the working rules."

However, the power to dismiss workers became largely theoretical after the decree of June 26, 1940, which makes it illegal for workers to change their jobs unless properly authorized to do so. Soviet authorities have become reluctant to dismiss workers for "systematic non-fulfillment" of their duties. A decision of the plenary session of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R. on December 25, 1941, stated:

"If the violation of the working rules was committed by the employee in order to obtain his dismissal in this manner, such acts must be regarded as a peculiar kind of unauthorized abandonment of the job concomitant with an attempt to avoid criminal prosecution; in view of this, in such cases the employee is liable to criminal prosecution according to Section 1 of Article 5 of the Decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R. of June 26, 1940." (*Soviet Labor Law*, p. 297.)

Rumania

By EFTIMIE GHERMAN

THE Rumanian trade union movement, which, before the Second World War, had been Social Democratic from top to bottom, was outlawed under the Antonescu dictatorship. After the end of the war, a new course of action was forced upon the Rumanian trade unions—with most unfortunate results. Although numerically weak and practically non-existent in most localities, the Communists demanded an equal share in the leadership of the Rumanian trade unions. They gained this demand because they were supported by the Soviet army of occupation and because they could cite the United Front pact they had concluded with the Social Democrats during the wartime resistance movement.

Because of their small numbers at the outset, the Communists, in their trade union work, frequently employed elements alien to the labor movement, including even notorious ex-fascists who had turned Communist to whitewash themselves.

With unlimited funds at their disposal, the Communists soon enlisted a special category of "activists" for the task of "organizing" trade union work. These activists exercised virtual control over every enterprise and monopolized all trade union work, with the result that all propaganda and organizational or representational functions of the unions—including the appointment of delegates to conventions—were soon exclusively in Communist hands. These Communist activists employed any means to further their ends, not even shrinking from the use of Nazi phraseology.

Communists Financed by Business

THE salaries of the activists were paid from a huge fund which had been raised by Rumanian businessmen who, despite their hatred of the Communists, financed the party in the hope of winning its favor. In return, these businessmen were permitted to engage in undertakings which, though illegal, were all the more profitable, while those who had refused to make donations were subjected to various vexations and excessive taxes and were harrassed by the government's economic and financial control agencies. The result was to stimulate competition among Rumanian capitalists for greater contributions to the Communist Party treasury.

Through the efforts of the activists, the Rumanian Communist Party succeeded in recruiting more members than any other organization in the nation. In Bucharest, Communists were even able to win the leadership of the Office Employees' Union by democratic methods—for the simple reason that the majority of its members held Communist Party membership cards.

One of the first measures of the activists was to obtain exemption for Communist workers from attending to their jobs and thus allowed to devote their entire time to "activism," though they continued to be paid by the enterprises in which they were employed. It was these activists, remaining on the payroll of their employers, who helped to wipe out the last lingering traces of trade union democracy.

Thereafter, delegates to trade union conventions were, in most cases, no longer elected by the local unions but appointed by the Communist Party. The conventions of these local unions were held simultaneously with the general trade union convention which took place in the capital, decorated for the occasion in Soviet style, with portraits of Communist leaders everywhere. At these conventions, the Communists no longer paid any attention whatsoever to the United Front pact with the Social Democrats. The Communists grabbed the leadership of the national unions and of the Rumanian General Confederation of Labor.

The trade union organizations have been the principal instruments of the Communist Party ever since. From that time on, all Communist demonstrations were organized and directed through the trade unions. The Communists even proceeded to prevent publication of opposition newspapers by getting the Printers' Union to order its members to cease work in the printing plants of such papers on one flimsy pretext or another.

The Rumanian workers soon realized that the new union leaders were merely agents of the Communist Party. In many cases, the workers refused to participate in the Communist-organized street demonstrations, and demanded that conventions be called for election of a new trade union leadership. For two years, the Communists—who had no illusions about the workers' real feelings—resorted to all machinations to prevent the calling of such conventions. "Obstinate" workers were deprived of the right to buy food in the canteens of the enterprises in which they were employed, while those who refused to take part in the constant demonstrations lost their jobs. These rigorous methods were partly successful; on the other hand, the Communist parades have lost so much vigor that they now resemble funeral processions.

Wages at Starvation Level

DURING this time, the material situation of the Rumanian workers deteriorated daily. They could hardly live for eight days on their monthly wages. Starvation was averted solely because they received a minimum of necessary food at reduced prices in the canteens of the enterprises in which they were employed.

Conditions had become unbearable in the spring of 1947. In several localities, especially the coal mines of Anina, the workers went on strike—which, under a Communist regime, is regarded as the worst of crimes. Accordingly, several hundred union members were arrested in the middle of the night, brought to the offices of the union and severely beaten. They were then forced to return to work and forbidden, under threat of a death penalty, to divulge what had happened to them.

In the face of such terror, the workers had no choice but to yield. However, when they returned to work in the mines, 50 of them were discharged, together with press prohibition against their emp in any other jobs. Although these appealed to the courts, their co were thrown out.

Another example of workers' s occurred in the gold mines of Tran where the workers, in spite of o the Communist leaders of their u contrary to the directives of the Confederation of Labor, held a ge sembly and, by secret ballot, electe trade union executive from which nists were excluded. The General C tion of Labor immediately sent i sentatives to impose new elections. miners categorically rejected this m General Confederation of Labor d that the police arrest a substantial of rebellious workers. But the latter to be intimidated. To overcome the spirit, as well as to revenge thems such a humiliating defeat, the Co ordered the Mica Corporation to ha tions and dismiss its 3,000 worker the company resumed operations with those workers who, under t starvation, had signed a declaration mission; no "rebels" were reinstated

Social Democrats Terroriz

IT was around this period that th nian workers began to recognize ger represented by the destructive nist domination of the unions. A trend of opposition to the transform the unions into auxiliaries of a pa pletely controlled by Russia swept t try. The workers, must of whom yet regimented politically, joined t Democratic Party in great numbe result, tension between Communists cial Democrats reached its climax. of the existence of a United Worker the Communist forces terrorized a Democratic workers, securing their from jobs and, very often, their ar obvious intention was to counteract pathies which public opinion manif ward the Social Democratic Party.

The Social Democratic members government were likewise terrorized prived of any opportunity for acti ever, these officials felt that, in the treachery and trickery of the nists, the masses of Rumanian should confront the opposition parti semblance of unity, as well as to spectacle to that effect to foreign But the Communists, increasingly by the unusual growth of a "broth which was becoming a powerful party, redoubled their terror tactics to force the workers to leave th

Eftimie Gherman helped to found the Rumanian Miners' Union and formerly served as its general secretary.

What Happ Behi

"WHAT HAPPENED T

An Account of Trade U

Copies

Free Tr

Box

What Happened to Trade Unionism Behind the Iron Curtain

By K

hich they were
vists, remaining
yers, who helped
traces of trade

rade union con-
no longer elec-
t appointed by
conventions of
simultaneously
ion convention
al, decorated for
with portraits
where. At these
no longer paid
he United Front
rats. The Com-
ship of the na-
manian General

tions have been
the Communist
t time on, all
were organized
ade unions. The
to prevent pub-
pers by getting
its members to
plants of such
t or another.

on realized that
e merely agents
many cases, the
ate in the Com-
onstrations, and
e called for elec-
leadership. For
—who had no il-
real feelings—
s to prevent the
ns. "Obstinate"
he right to buy
e enterprises in
while those who
e constant dem-
These rigorous
cessful; on the
parades have lost
resemble funeral

ion Level

material situation
ers deteriorated
e for eight days
Starvation was
received a min-
reduced prices in
prises in which

nbearable in the
localities, espe-
ina, the workers
er a Communist
worst of crimes.
d union members
le of the night,
the union and
then forced to
en, under threat
e what had hap-

ror, the workers
However, when
he mines, 50 of

them were discharged, together with an express prohibition against their employment in any other jobs. Although these workers appealed to the courts, their complaints were thrown out.

Another example of workers' solidarity occurred in the gold mines of Transylvania where the workers, in spite of orders of the Communist leaders of their union and contrary to the directives of the General Confederation of Labor, held a general assembly and, by secret ballot, elected a new trade union executive from which Communists were excluded. The General Confederation of Labor immediately sent its representatives to impose new elections. When the miners categorically rejected this move, the General Confederation of Labor demanded that the police arrest a substantial number of rebellious workers. But the latter refused to be intimidated. To overcome the workers' spirit, as well as to revenge themselves for such a humiliating defeat, the Communists ordered the Mica Corporation to halt operations and dismiss its 3,000 workers. Later, the company resumed operations but only with those workers who, under threat of starvation, had signed a declaration of submission; no "rebels" were reinstated.

Social Democrats Terrorized

IT was around this period that the Rumanian workers began to recognize the danger represented by the destructive Communist domination of the unions. A powerful trend of opposition to the transformation of the unions into auxiliaries of a party completely controlled by Russia swept the country. The workers, must of whom were not yet regimented politically, joined the Social Democratic Party in great numbers. As a result, tension between Communists and Social Democrats reached its climax. In spite of the existence of a United Workers' Front, the Communist forces terrorized all Social Democratic workers, securing their dismissal from jobs and, very often, their arrest. The obvious intention was to counteract the sympathies which public opinion manifested toward the Social Democratic Party.

The Social Democratic members of the government were likewise terrorized and deprived of any opportunity for action. However, these officials felt that, in spite of the treachery and trickery of the Communists, the masses of Rumanian workers should confront the opposition parties with a semblance of unity, as well as to present a spectacle to that effect to foreign countries. But the Communists, increasingly worried by the unusual growth of a "brother" party which was becoming a powerful workers' party, redoubled their terror tactics in order to force the workers to leave the Social Democratic ranks.

To that end, they employed their abundant means of pressure to eliminate all Social Democrats from factory councils and leading posts in the trade unions. General assemblies of the trade unions, convoked for this special purpose and attended by Communist "shock" troops, were forced to vote in secret session and by a show of hands—without discussion. That is how the committees proposed by the Communist cells won the elections, which the Communists then proclaimed as great successes in the newspapers they subsidized. Nevertheless, it is universally known that all their fraud and terror would not have sufficed the Rumanian Communists if they had not enjoyed the backing of the Soviet army of occupation.

Workers' Gains Wiped Out

WITH complete Communist domination of the Rumanian trade unions, working conditions have become much worse than in the past. Piecework has replaced hourly work everywhere, and the gains achieved by labor under former bourgeois regimes have been abolished. Under the present "Socialist" regime, for example, the time necessary to descend into the pit and return to the surface is no longer included in the miners' eight-hour working day. The miners' success in winning a portal-to-portal arrangement of their working hours, after long struggle, has disappeared.

Prior to the currency stabilization in August, 1947, the Rumanian workers had money, but a shortage of products prevailed. Today, there is a larger supply of goods on the market, but the workers do not have money. Their wages vary between 80 and 300 lei a day or 2,000 and 3,000 lei a month. White bread costs 100 lei a kilogram (2.205 pounds); a pair of men's shoes costs 4,800 lei; a meter (39.37 inches) of material for shirts costs 290 lei.

In the light of these developments, it can be seen that the Rumanian "trade unions" have definitely abandoned their natural mission—defense of the workers' interests. Instead, they have become state institutions and instruments of compulsion against the workers themselves. In the new "popular democracy" of Rumania, freedom for trade unions no longer exists. Nor are workers free to decide whether or not to join a union. They are made union members by official decision and dues are deducted from their earnings like taxes.

Organizations without democracy, bodies without life, the Rumanian 'trade unions" have become prisons behind whose walls are being crushed the impulses and endeavors of the workers toward the construction of a world of freedom and social justice.

Now in Preparation

"WHAT HAPPENED TO TRADE UNIONISM BEHIND THE IRON CURTAIN"

An Account of Trade Union Activity in Russia and Each of the Satellite Nations

Copies at 50 cents each may be ordered from the

Free Trade Union Committee, A.F. of L.

Box 65, Station G, New York 19, New York.

THE creation
unions was th
tion process whi
quarter of the 19
there was practic
ing conditions.
from 10 to 12 h
There was no ins
accidents.

During that pe
local unions. The
mainly devoted to
and they had pr
shaping the wor
these local unions
al trade unions
very active. In 19
in the metal indu
participating in th

The aim of the
tain collective agr
ing conditions, th
of the Typographi
a collective agree
dustry. Although
to attain this obj
tries, they were su
introduction of th
tem and similar co

In 1907, a law
insurance against
addition, the tra
well-developed ins
employment, sickn

The Hungarian
a hard struggle f
rights. Arrests,
orders to leave ce
methods used ag

During the Fir
garian factories
control. The brut
commanders of th
the insufficient fo
merous bitter st
clashes between

Rapid Me

AFTER the milit
Hungarian mo
unions entered a
Their membership
1,000,000. (At that
lation of 18,000,0
regime of Bela
months, the trad
tion to that gove
brought new clash

After the brea
Soviet Governmen
the trade unions.
cuted the labor
changed only in 1
cratic Party was
won 24 seats in
trade unions were
the Social Democr
liance since there
suring the defens

Inside and out
Democratic Party
gary led an impr
legislation and i
standards, and co

e Unionism urtain

ocratic ranks.
that end, they employed their abundant ns of pressure to eliminate all Social ocrats from factory councils and lead- posts in the trade unions. General as- blies of the trade unions, convoked for special purpose and attended by Com- ist "shock" troops, were forced to vote ecret session and by a show of hands— out discussion. That is how the com- ees proposed by the Communist cells won elections, which the Communists then laimed as great successes in the news- ers they subsidized. Nevertheless, it is ersally known that all their fraud and or would not have sufficed the Ruma- Communists if they had not enjoyed the king of the Soviet army of occupation.

Workers' Gains Wiped Out

ITH complete Communist domination of the Rumanian trade unions, working ditions have become much worse than the past. Piecework has replaced hourly k everywhere, and the gains achieved by r under former bourgeois regimes have n abolished. Under the present "Socialist" ime, for example, the time necessary to cend into the pit and return to the sur- e is no longer included in the miners' ht-hour working day. The miners' success winning a portal-to-portal arrangement their working hours, after long struggle, disappeared.

Prior to the currency stabilization in Aug- , 1947, the Rumanian workers had money, t a shortage of products prevailed. Today, re is a larger supply of goods on the rket, but the workers do not have money. eir wages vary between 80 and 300 lei day or 2,000 and 3,000 lei a month. White ead costs 100 lei a kilogram (2.205 unds); a pair of men's shoes costs 4,800 ; a meter (39.37 inches) of material for irts costs 290 lei.

In the light of these developments, it can seen that the Rumanian "trade unions" ve definitely abandoned their natural mis- n—defense of the workers' interests. In- ead, they have become state institutions d instruments of compulsion against the orkers themselves. In the new "popular de- ocracy" of Rumania, freedom for trade un- ns no longer exists. Nor are workers free decide whether or not to join a union. ey are made union members by official cision and dues are deducted from their rnings like taxes.

Organizations without democracy, bodies ithout life, the Rumanian 'trade unions" ave become prisons behind whose walls are eing crushed the impulses and endeavors of e workers toward the construction of a orld of freedom and social justice.

EHIND THE IRON CURTAIN"
d Each of the Satellite Nations
rdered from the
ee, A.F. of L.
9, New York.

Hungary

By KARL PEYER

Karl Peyer, a founder of the Hungarian Metal Workers' Union, was for many years general secretary of the Hungarian Central Trade Union Council. He also served as Minister of Labor.

THE creation of the Hungarian trade unions was the result of the industrialization process which began during the last quarter of the 19th century. At that time, there was practically no regulation of working conditions. The working day ranged from 10 to 12 hours in the large plants. There was no insurance against sickness or accidents.

During that period, the workers founded local unions. Their activities, however, were mainly devoted to mutual benefit operations, and they had practically no influence in shaping the working conditions. In 1903, these local unions combined to form national trade unions which immediately became very active. In 1905, a huge strike was called in the metal industry, with 30,000 workers participating in this struggle.

The aim of the trade unions was to obtain collective agreements regulating working conditions, thus following the example of the Typographical Union which had secured a collective agreement in the printing industry. Although trade unions were not able to attain this objective in the other industries, they were successful in preventing the introduction of the Taylor "speed-up" system and similar conditions.

In 1907, a law was enacted establishing insurance against sickness and accidents. In addition, the trade unions had their own well-developed insurance funds against unemployment, sickness, death, etc.

The Hungarian trade unions had to wage a hard struggle for the recognition of their rights. Arrests, employers' black lists and orders to leave certain cities were the usual methods used against active unionists.

During the First World War, the Hungarian factories were put under military control. The brutal methods of the military commanders of the industrial enterprises and the insufficient food supply precipitated numerous bitter struggles, including direct clashes between workers and police.

Rapid Membership Growth

AFTER the military collapse of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, the Hungarian trade unions entered a period of rapid growth. Their membership went up from 40,000 to 1,000,000. (At that time, Hungary had a population of 18,000,000.) During the Bolshevik regime of Bela Kun, which lasted four months, the trade unions were in opposition to that government—a situation which brought new clashes and struggles.

After the breakdown of the Hungarian Soviet Government, difficult times began for the trade unions. The Horthy regime persecuted the labor movement. The situation changed only in 1922, when the Social Democratic Party was victorious at the polls and won 24 seats in parliament. The Hungarian trade unions were collectively affiliated with the Social Democratic Party—a necessary alliance since there was no other way of assuring the defense of the rights of labor.

Inside and outside parliament, the Social Democratic Party and trade unions of Hungary led an impressive struggle for social legislation and improved workers' living standards, and considerable successes were won. Daily working hours were limited to eight, a system of old age, disability, widows' and orphans' pensions was introduced; a special children's bonus was paid to families with at least two children; a workers' vacation law was enacted as well as provisions for protection in dismissal cases.

Such was the condition of Hungarian labor on the eve of the Second World War. Thanks to the resistance of the workers, the attempts to create Nazi "labor front" organizations —mostly among the German-speaking population of Hungary—failed.

After Hungary entered the war on the side of Hitler, the factories were again put under military control. When Hungary was occupied by German troops, all trade union activities were prohibited and trade union officers were thrown into concentration camps.

In Harness to Soviets

WITH the Russian occupation of Hungary, the trade unions hoped they would be able to resume their former activities. These hopes were soon smashed. Under the protection of the Russian authorities, the Communists placed their nominees in the leading posts of the Hungarian trade union movement—just as they did with all public offices. As a consequence, the close connection between the Social Democratic Party and the trade unions came to an end. (In the meantime, on March 8, 1948, the Social Democratic Party merged with the Communist Party and thus went out of existence.)

A new role was now assigned the Hungarian trade unions, making them mere administrative organs of the government. In order to increase production, a Three-Year Plan has been prepared, with all modern propaganda methods used to publicize it. For each occupation, a so-called production "norm" has been established, and the worker cannot obtain the full amount of his wages unless he fulfills that norm. If he falls short, his wages are cut; if he surpasses it, he is paid a bonus. However, the norms are usually set so high that only in rare cases is the worker able to achieve an output beyond them.

Genuine collective bargaining no longer exists in Hungary. Since all enterprises which employ 100 workers or more are nationalized, 70 per cent of the employees work in enterprises owned and managed by the state. The wages of these workers are determined by "collective contracts" which are drafted by the "trade union" leaders and require the approval of the State Planning Office. The workers concerned are excluded from any participation in negotiations.

Any worker who participates in a strike, calls for a strike or enters an enterprise in which he is not employed may be sentenced to a term of up to five years at hard labor; a worker whose performance is considered unsatisfactory may be arrested and sentenced as a "saboteur," even if it cannot be proved that the faulty work was done in-

(*Continued on Page* 8)

Notes on the American Labor Scene

A.F. of L. Greets Japan Labor

The A.F. of L. sent its greetings to the Japanese National Government Workers' Union on the occasion of its recent convention in Tokyo. Addressed to Chairman Etsuo Kato and signed by Matthew Woll as head of the A.F. of L.'s International Labor Relations Department, the cable read:

"Heartiest congratulations and best wishes for a most successful convention. Our decades of experience and lessons from other countries convince us that, by developing a powerful, genuine, free trade union movement, Japanese labor will build the best bulwark of democracy against all forms of totalitarianism.

"Without democracy, free trade unionism is impossible. Without free trade unionism, democracy is impossible. Therefore, full collective bargaining rights are indispensable to democracy and free trade unionism. Japanese labor's hope and strength rest in developing trade unions free from control by any political parties, government agencies or employers' associations.

"You can count on fullest A.F. of L. solidarity in your struggle for advancing democratic rights, improving living standards and building the trade union movement as guarantor of human freedom and peaceful social progress."

U.S. Union Members: 15,600,000

One out of every four workers in the labor force of the United States—or one out of every six persons aged 21 or over—is a union member. These figures are revealed in a recent study of union membership data by the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the U.S. Department of Labor. The study lists a total of 197 national and international unions and 89 state or territorial labor organizations, with 15,600,000 members.

Of the national and international unions, 37 have more than 100,000 members each, while six have more than 500,000. At the opposite end of the scale there are 16 un-

A.F. of L. on Housing Shortage

In a sharp criticism of the recent special session of the U.S. Congress, the A.F. of L. Executive Council charged that it had neglected the needs of the nation when it enacted inadequate housing legislation.

The A.F. of L. declared:

"The 1948 Housing Act contains a number of aids to private builders and home-owners which may lead to additional housing for families in the upper and middle-income brackets. It cannot and will not result in any additional housing for the average worker and his family or the average veteran and his family.

"Only a housing program which includes public housing, slum clearance and rural housing can meet the needs of the American people.

"Congress failed the nation when it adopted the present inadequate housing law. The Executive Council particularly condemns the refusal of the House Rules Committee to permit the House of Representatives to vote on the effective Wagner-Ellender-Taft bill which had been adopted by the Senate.

"A survey made by the A.F. of L. discloses the acute housing shortages that still exist in this country. . . . A summary of the survey's findings follows:

"Extent of the housing shortage:

"1. 20 per cent of all urban families are either doubling up, living in overcrowded conditions, or in rooming houses, trailers and even in tents.

"2. In urban areas, more than 5,000,000 to 6,000,000 dwellings are substandard.

"3. Less than 1 per cent of all houses are vacant; at least 4 per cent is normal.

"4. We need 10,000,000 more homes to meet the current shortage, or a total of 15,000,000 before 1958.

"Current housing construction:

"1. Only 950,000 houses are being built this year, most of them for sale at high prices. What we need mainly is new houses

Miners' Fund Solving Silicosis

Under a grant of $575,000 from the Anthracite Health and Welfare Fund of the United Mine Workers of America, a first-year report on a five-year project for research and treatment of silicosis promises an eventual cure for this disease.

The project is being carried out by a medical college. The U.M.W.'s health and welfare fund received $5,500,000 in the last 12 months from payments by mine owners of 10 cents on each ton of coal. By terms of a new contract, these payments are to increase to 20 cents a ton.

Relief has already been given to 500 sufferers from "miners' asthma" in the Pennsylvania anthracite region who had served as "guinea pigs" for the project.

Silicosis accounts for 20 to 25 per cent of the "natural" deaths of anthracite miners. In the eight anthracite counties of Pennsylvania alone, it is estimated that 10,000 miners are afflicted with silicosis in various stages, with the number increasing at the rate of 1,000 a year.

The project revealed that X-rays, heretofore the only means of determining existence of silicosis, did not always give a true picture; thus "hundreds of . . . silicotic miners were unable to prove . . . that they should receive occupational disease benefits."

A report on the U.M.W. undertaking stated:

"The importance of the research now in progress lies not only in the benefits to anthracite coal miners but also in future benefits anticipated for the workers of other great industries—iron, lead, zinc, granite, etc.—where silicosis is a major problem."

Occupational Wage Differences

A recent study of occupational wage differentials conducted by the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the U.S. Department of Labor reveals that percentage differences in rates of pay of skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled

is impossible. Without free trade unionism, democracy is impossible. Therefore, full collective bargaining rights are indispensable to democracy and free trade unionism. Japanese labor's hope and strength rest in developing trade unions free from control by any political parties, government agencies or employers' associations.

"You can count on fullest A.F. of L. solidarity in your struggle for advancing democratic rights, improving living standards and building the trade union movement as guarantor of human freedom and peaceful social progress."

U.S. Union Members: 15,600,000

One out of every four workers in the labor force of the United States—or one out of every six persons aged 21 or over—is a union member. These figures are revealed in a recent study of union membership data by the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the U.S. Department of Labor. The study lists a total of 197 national and international unions and 89 state or territorial labor organizations, with 15,600,000 members.

Of the national and international unions, 37 have more than 100,000 members each, while six have more than 500,000. At the opposite end of the scale there are 16 unions with less than 1,000 members each.

GERMANY

(*Continued from Page* 2)

have come to realize these dangers and have made serious efforts to create, by constructive measures, the conditions for the economic and social recovery of Germany.

"Unfortunately, these efforts are not supported by all occupying powers; on the contrary, a certain party has tried by countermeasures to bring about their failure.

"The conflict among the former allies . . . has now reached its dangerous climax in Berlin. Without the slightest provocation on the part of the more than 2,000,000 inhabitants of the Western sectors of Berlin, a blockade has been established to starve them, and measures have been taken to throttle the city's economic life. This action is a violation of the most elementary commandments of humanity.

"The trade union representatives of the Western zones consider it their duty, as trade unionists, to express their warmest sympathy with the population of Berlin and, particularly, its organized workers. They appeal to the peoples and governments of the entire world to take action to terminate this shameful situation at the earliest possible date."

public housing, slum clearance and rural housing can meet the needs of the American people.

"Congress failed the nation when it adopted the present inadequate housing law. The Executive Council particularly condemns the refusal of the House Rules Committee to permit the House of Representatives to vote on the effective Wagner-Ellender-Taft bill which had been adopted by the Senate.

"A survey made by the A.F. of L. discloses the acute housing shortages that still exist in this country. . . . A summary of the survey's findings follows:

"Extent of the housing shortage:

"1. 20 per cent of all urban families are either doubling up, living in overcrowded conditions, or in rooming houses, trailers and even in tents.

"2. In urban areas, more than 5,000,000 to 6,000,000 dwellings are substandard.

"3. Less than 1 per cent of all houses are vacant; at least 4 per cent is normal.

"4. We need 10,000,000 more homes to meet the current shortage, or a total of 15,000,000 before 1958.

"Current housing construction:

"1. Only 950,000 houses are being built this year, most of them for sale at high prices. What we need mainly is new houses to rent within means of average workers.

"2. The average family can afford to pay $55 a month rent or buy a $5,500 house. Houses are now selling for $7,500 and up. Apartments and new houses are renting for $80 or more.

"3. At least half of all non-residential construction is not essential. Men and materials are being used to build new filling stations, store fronts and amusement places that could be used in the construction of new homes."

Seafarers Granted Ship Libraries

The A.F. of L. Seafarers' International Union established a unique innovation recently when it persuaded nine maritime companies to provide bulletin boards and book racks for union literature on all ships which they operate.

According to the union, this concession is "something no employer, maritime or shoreside, has agreed to before—to construct and place aboard ships facilities for union property and literature."

as "guinea pigs" for the project.

Silicosis accounts for 20 to 25 per cent of the "natural" deaths of anthracite miners. In the eight anthracite counties of Pennsylvania alone, it is estimated that 10,000 miners are afflicted with silicosis in various stages, with the number increasing at the rate of **1,000 a year.**

The project revealed that X-rays, heretofore the only means of determining existence of silicosis, did not always give a true picture; thus "hundreds of . . . silicotic miners were unable to prove . . . that they should receive occupational disease benefits."

A report on the U.M.W. undertaking stated:

"The importance of the research now in progress lies not only in the benefits to anthracite coal miners but also in future benefits anticipated for the workers of other great industries—iron, lead, zinc, granite, etc.—where silicosis is a major problem."

Occupational Wage Differences

A recent study of occupational wage differentials conducted by the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the U.S. Department of Labor reveals that percentage differences in rates of pay of skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled occupations have shown a distinct tendency to decline in the past 40 years, but that actual differences in cents per hour have increased.

The study showed that occupational wage differentials are important in providing recognition of differences in skill, effort and working conditions, and that such differentials are essential in attracting labor to the skilled trades. Currently, the wages of skilled workers in manufacturing exceed those of unskilled workers, on the average, by about 55 per cent.

Although percentage differences have narrowed, a study of 17 manufacturing industries for the periods 1945-1947 showed that the actual cents-per-hour differentials between skilled and unskilled occupations increased from an average of 30 cents in the earlier period to 43 cents at present.

Over the 40-year period from 1907 to 1947, the extent of the average differential between skilled and unskilled labor in manufacturing industries has been cut practically in half.

A. F. of L. Striving for Maximum Worker Votes

LABOR'S League for Political Education, the political arm of the A.F. of L., is intensifying its efforts to mobilize an overwhelming vote by workers and their familes on Election Day. With well-organized groups operating in virtually every one of the 48 states, the League is concentrating its efforts on securing the defeat of all candidates who support the Taft-Hartley Law.

League organizations are making extensive use of radio and other mass media to bring its arguments in favor of progressive, pro-labor candidates and measures to the attention not only of trade unionists but of the American public in general.

As a result of these efforts, a significant labor victory was achieved last month in the ordinarily conservative state of Maine where two vicious anti-union bills were heavily defeated by the voters.

Commenting on the significance of this advance election verdict, William Green, president of the A.F. of L., declared:

"Labor's victory in Maine was achieved despite an active and costly campaign by reactionary interests in support of the anti-labor proposals. It provides concrete proof that the trend toward the enactment of restrictive legislation against the trade union movement can be stopped. It is encouraging evidence that the people of this country are in a mood to repudiate the Taft-Hartley Law and all the little Taft-Hartley Laws which the opponents of organized labor are pressing for adoption. . . .

"Our main job is to get out the vote. If we can prevail upon the millions of members of our trade unions and their families and friends first to register and then to make certain to vote on November 2, I am confident that we can overcome the forces of reaction and win a resounding victory.

"The rank and file of the American people are endowed with basic good sense and intelligence. The Tafts and Hartleys cannot delude them for long. The people know who is to blame for the continuation of high prices, the lack of decent homes, the failure to lift the miserable minimum wage standards, the failure to improve social security coverage and benefits.

"They know that this controlling group in the 80th Congress, who blocked all progressive legislation for the benefit of the American people, is exactly the same group which teamed up to put over the Taft-Hartley Law at the behest of the National Association of

U.S. Working Conditions and Living Standards

4. A NEW ORLEANS BAKERY WORKER

THIS article is the fourth in a series showing the working conditions and living standards of the average factory worker in the United States and for typical union members in several industrial cities. It should be pointed out that these are neither the highest-paid nor the lowest-paid, but represent the average pay and kind of work affecting a large number.

The series, prepared by the Research and Information Service of the American Federation of Labor, has already covered a metal worker in Milwaukee, a garment worker in New York City and a chemical worker in St. Louis.

THE tables here presented show the cost of living for a typical bakery worker in New Orleans, Louisiana, employed under a contract between the A. F. of L. Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America, Local 35, and the United Baking Company of New Orleans.

The contract provides for closed shop; for not less nor more than six and two-thirds hours work a day; for overtime pay at rate of time and one-half; for compensation at double-pay rates for work on seventh consecutive day; for an apprentice and journeyman system, with one apprentice for every seven journeymen; for seniority recognition; for clean and sanitary dressing room and adequate ventilation; for paid vacations of one week for those with one to five years' service and two weeks for those with over five years' service; for six paid holidays a year; for employer payment for required health certificates; for grievance and arbitration procedure.

THE typical union bakery worker in New Orleans (ovenman or mixerman) earns a weekly rate of $43.40. His straight-time rate is $1.08½ an hour; his work-week is 40 hours.

These tables show the number of hours and minutes a typical New Orleans bakery worker would have to work in order to buy such articles as food, clothing, household goods, utilities, heat, transportation and recreation for himself and his family. The prices are the latest available, representing the last months of 1947.

*Cost-of-Living Items and Hours' Work Required to Buy Them**

Price	Item		Time Required To Buy Item Hours	Time Required To Buy Item Minutes	Amount Bought With One Hour Of Work
$0.15	Bread, white	1 lb.		8	7.43
.54	Beef, chuck roast	1 lb.		30	2.00
.84	Butter	1 lb.		47	1.29
.21	Milk, fresh	1 qt.		11	5.17
.75	Eggs, fresh	1 doz.		41	1.44
.39	Oranges, sz. 200	1 doz.		22	2.77
.07	Cabbage	1 lb.		4	15.72
.05	Potatoes	1 lb.		3	20.87
.21	Dried navy beans	1 lb.		11	5.19
.50	Coffee	1 lb.		28	2.15
.09	Sugar	1 lb.		5	11.67

Price †	Article	Time Required To Buy Article Hours	Time Required To Buy Article Minutes
	Men's Clothing		
$9.26	Hat, fur felt	8	32
52.22	Suit, heavy wool (three-piece)	48	8
1.62	Shirt, work, cotton	1	29
7.50	Shoes, work, pair	6	55

two vicious anti-union bills were heavily defeated by the voters.

Commenting on the significance of this advance election verdict, William Green, president of the A.F. of L., declared:

"Labor's victory in Maine was achieved despite an active and costly campaign by reactionary interests in support of the anti-labor proposals. It provides concrete proof that the trend toward the enactment of restrictive legislation against the trade union movement can be stopped. It is encouraging evidence that the people of this country are in a mood to repudiate the Taft-Hartley Law and all the little Taft-Hartley Laws which the opponents of organized labor are pressing for adoption. . . .

"Our main job is to get out the vote. If we can prevail upon the millions of members of our trade unions and their families and friends first to register and then to make certain to vote on November 2, I am confident that we can overcome the forces of reaction and win a resounding victory.

"The rank and file of the American people are endowed with basic good sense and intelligence. The Tafts and Hartleys cannot delude them for long. The people know who is to blame for the continuation of high prices, the lack of decent homes, the failure to lift the miserable minimum wage standards, the failure to improve social security coverage and benefits.

"They know that this controlling group in the 80th Congress, who blocked all progressive legislation for the benefit of the American people, is exactly the same group which teamed up to put over the Taft-Hartley Law at the behest of the National Association of Manufacturers."

Labor Broadcasts to Nation

NATION-WIDE radio broadcasts are being sponsored by a number of A.F. of L. unions in order to stimulate the largest possible turn-out at the polls on Election Day. The International Brotherhood of Boiler Makers, A.F. of L., recently sponsored a special radio program featuring its president, Charles J. MacGowan and the U.S. Secretary of Labor, Maurice J. Tobin. Their addresses showed that the Taft-Hartley Law has not reduced strikes but, on the contrary, has provoked widespread discord.

The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, A.F. of L., is sponsoring a series of four nation-wide broadcasts as part of a broad campaign to get out the labor vote. Among those invited to participate in its programs are President Harry S. Truman and Alben W. Barkley, the Democratic candidates for President and Vice President of the United States.

tract between the A. F. of L. Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America, Local 35, and the United Baking Company of New Orleans.

The contract provides for closed shop; for not less nor more than six and two-thirds hours work a day; for overtime pay at rate of time and one-half; for compensation at

These tables show the number of hours and minutes a typical New Orleans bakery worker would have to work in order to buy such articles as food, clothing, household goods, utilities, heat, transportation and recreation for himself and his family. The prices are the latest available, representing the last months of 1947.

*Cost-of-Living Items and Hours' Work Required to Buy Them**

Price	Item		Time Required To Buy Item Hours	Time Required To Buy Item Minutes	Amount Bought With One Hour Of Work
$0.15	Bread, white	1 lb.		8	7.43
.54	Beef, chuck roast	1 lb.		30	2.00
.84	Butter	1 lb.		47	1.29
.21	Milk, fresh	1 qt.		11	5.17
.75	Eggs, fresh	1 doz.		41	1.44
.39	Oranges, sz. 200	1 doz.		22	2.77
.07	Cabbage	1 lb.		4	15.72
.05	Potatoes	1 lb.		3	20.87
.21	Dried navy beans	1 lb.		11	5.19
.50	Coffee	1 lb.		28	2.15
.09	Sugar	1 lb.		5	11.67

Price †	Article	Time Required To Buy Article Hours	Time Required To Buy Article Minutes
	Men's Clothing		
$9.26	Hat, fur felt	8	32
52.22	Suit, heavy wool (three-piece)	48	8
1.62	Shirt, work, cotton	1	29
7.50	Shoes, work, pair	6	55
	Women's Clothing		
21.07	Coat, heavy wool, no fur	19	25
3.63	Dress, house, percale	3	21
1.55	Hose, nylon, 45-gauge, pair	1	26
9.50	Shoes, oxford, pair	8	46
	Household Goods		
119.50	Radio-phonograph, table model	110	8
129.92	Washing machine	119	44
66.97	Vacuum cleaner	61	43
232.84	Refrigerator, electric	214	36
	Transportation		
1533.00	Automobile, 1947 model (Chevrolet, four-door)	1412	54
	Recreation		
.20	Cigarettes (20)		11

* Hourly earnings: $1.08½.

† Includes 3 per cent sales tax.

‡ Many workers buy these goods second-hand at prices roughly one-third to two-thirds of the present selling price.

Appeal to British Labor

(*Continued from Page* 1)

ing these crucial days in the life of your country.

"I do not come as a sage to give advice, to teach or to preach. You know your problems best. It is you who will have to solve them in your own good way. We can only assure you of **our readiness to assist in any and every manner possible.** There is no field of human endeavor—whether it be more efficient production or scientific advance—in which your country and our country, your trade union movement and our trade union movement, cannot help each other to the advantage of both. Today, this also means to the advantage of all mankind.

"Many people are speaking these days of the need to build a new world. Yes, we must build a new world. In this undertaking, labor with its idealism and aspirations—which run across all arbitrary and artificial national lines and boundaries—has a special and most positive part to play. But this new world cannot be built on the ruins of the old. That would indeed be a very poor foundation. Furthermore, this new world must not be built on that which ruined the old world. Here there is much to ponder.

"Of course, we need precise national plans in each country. But these plans must not be based on narrow nationalism. They must not be conflicting; they must be cooperating, dovetailing—all part of a continental or even world pattern. A crisis such as now exists calls for and demands boldness of plan and action. The European Recovery Program represents the first all-out move by the democratic forces in answer to the various totalitarian movements which, until checked, exercised a virtual monopoly in attempts to shape world destiny.

Challenge and Opportunity

"THE democratic world now faces **an opportunity** and likewise **a challenge.** Chaos and freedom do not mix. Economic collapse means the tyranny of hunger. And the tyranny of hunger means, in modern times, the tyranny of totalitarian dictatorship in one form or another. If the free trade unions of your country and ours, of your continent and the Americas, cooperate and participate ac-

"In truth, you have no other choice. Look at the actual condition in which the free trade union movements in the cooperating—the E.R.P.—countries of Europe find themselves. There are fine trade union movements in the Scandinavian countries and the Netherlands. But these organizations, though indispensable to the success of the reconstruction program, are neither numerically, nor from the viewpoint of the economic weight of their respective countries, in a position to wield decisive influence. In France, the Communists still have a stranglehold on the C.G.T., and the Force Ouvrière, while carrying on gallantly, is not yet strong enough to lead. Italian trade unionism is still, in too great a measure, under the heel of the Communist Party.

Communists Prolong Chaos

"OF course, you know even better than we do that the Communists only devitalize unions—only use them for furthering the destructive purposes of their party and its masters behind the Iron Curtain. You know that no trade union movement controlled by Communists will do anything but sabotage and slander the E.R.P. The Communists do not hide their aims or disclaim their purpose. They have but one—**to prevent economic reconstruction in Western Europe, to aggravate and prolong chaos and to promote their particular brand of dictatorship.**

"In Germany, the trade union movement is reviving, making encouraging progress despite terrible obstacles and displaying enormous courage. This is especially true in Berlin. But Germany is a vanquished and war-ruined country—shattered in spirit, broken into zones, occupied by foreign armies, not all of which always act in a civilized manner. . . .

"As we of the A.F. of L. see it, **the British T.U.C.—and only the British T.U.C.—is at present in a position to assume this responsibility. It—and it alone—can and must provide the vitalizing and unifying trade union leadership so necessary to the success of the E.R.P., so vital to the gradual integration and unification of European economy.**

"We of the A.F. of L. place great hope in the decisions of the International Trade Un-

We hail its decision to have the Trade Union Advisory Committee function in Paris in cooperation with the Office for European Economic Cooperation. We greet the decision to have European labor participation in the subdivisions representing key industries like steel, transport and coal. We heartily approve its decision to have the various national trade union bodies make per capita payments towards enabling the E.R.P. Trade Union Advisory Committee to function as the guiding center of trade union endeavors for continental reconstruction. It is high time that a united, authoritative voice of international free trade unionism be heard and its strong hand felt in counteracting the totalitarians' vicious propaganda against and sabotage of the E.R.P. But, again, **our faith and hope rest primarily on your capacity and readiness to serve as the dynamo in this development.**

"More than this. We know of no better platform, no sounder program, no more effective way in which the ranks of free labor can be rallied and united for genuine international cooperation and solidarity.

E.R.P. Bulwark of Democracy

"**IF there is a sounder or more democratic program than the E.R.P. for welding the free trade unions of Europe and America together for cooperative action and as a bulwark of human freedom and decency, we would like to know of it.** In this I am confident that I am expressing the conviction of all organized labor in our country. We do not deal in dry abstractions or pretentious but empty theories. We are a practical people with a practical trade union movement. We sincerely look forward to a fundamental realignment in the ranks of world labor—a realignment so progressive, so powerful, so constructive, so inspiring and so humane that mankind will be spared the fear of poverty, tyranny and war, and that it will come to enjoy freedom in its richest concept and fullest meaning.

"Toward the fulfillment of this noble and most urgent task, I extend to you, on behalf of the A.F. of L., the fraternal handclasp of unstinting support and international labor solidarity. For the good of humanity, we

which run across all arbitrary and artificial national lines and boundaries—has a special and most positive part to play. But this new world cannot be built on the ruins of the old. That would indeed be a very poor foundation. Furthermore, this new world must not be built on that which ruined the old world. Here there is much to ponder.

"Of course, we need precise national plans in each country. But these plans must not be based on narrow nationalism. They must not be conflicting; they must be cooperating, dovetailing—all part of a continental or even world pattern. A crisis such as now exists calls for and demands boldness of plan and action. The European Recovery Program represents the first all-out move by the democratic forces in answer to the various totalitarian movements which, until checked, exercised a virtual monopoly in attempts to shape world destiny.

Challenge and Opportunity

"THE democratic world now faces **an opportunity** and likewise **a challenge.** Chaos and freedom do not mix. Economic collapse means the tyranny of hunger. And the tyranny of hunger means, in modern times, the tyranny of totalitarian dictatorship in one form or another. If the free trade unions of your country and ours, of your continent and the Americas, cooperate and participate actively in the execution of the E.R.P., then economic reconstruction and better working standards, higher purchasing power and improved living conditions will be assured. In the opinion of the A.F. of L., this is the surest path to world freedom, social justice, prosperity and peace.

"But it is necessary to face the world trade union situation realistically and frankly. In a very great measure, successful and effective trade union participation in assuring the success of the E.R.P. depends on your powerful organization, the British T.U.C. I know you will not consider it an imposition or an arrogant attempt on my part to try to direct you when I say that your organization is the best fitted, by experience, by tradition and by its present strength, to assume command, to provide the urgently needed leadership to the trade unions of Europe in fulfilling the historic mission now confronting them.

"We, in turn, pledge our help to you in exercising and giving this leadership.

"OF course, you know even better than we do that the Communists only devitalize unions—only use them for furthering the destructive purposes of their party and its masters behind the Iron Curtain. You know that no trade union movement controlled by Communists will do anything but sabotage and slander the E.R.P. The Communists do not hide their aims or disclaim their purpose. They have but one—**to prevent economic reconstruction in Western Europe, to aggravate and prolong chaos and to promote their particular brand of dictatorship.**

"In Germany, the trade union movement is reviving, making encouraging progress despite terrible obstacles and displaying enormous courage. This is especially true in Berlin. But Germany is a vanquished and war-ruined country—shattered in spirit, broken into zones, occupied by foreign armies, not all of which always act in a civilized manner. . . .

"As we of the A.F. of L. see it, **the British T.U.C.—and only the British T.U.C.—is at present in a position to assume this responsibility. It—and it alone—can and must provide the vitalizing and unifying trade union leadership so necessary to the success of the E.R.P., so vital to the gradual integration and unification of European economy.**

"We of the A.F. of L. place great hope in the decisions of the International Trade Union Conference for the E.R.P. held last July. **development.**

"More than this. We know of no better platform, no sounder program, no more effective way in which the ranks of free labor can be rallied and united for genuine international cooperation and solidarity.

E.R.P. Bulwark of Democracy

"IF **there is a sounder or more democratic program than the E.R.P. for welding the free trade unions of Europe and America together for cooperative action and as a bulwark of human freedom and decency, we would like to know of it.** In this I am confident that I am expressing the conviction of all organized labor in our country. We do not deal in dry abstractions or pretentious but empty theories. We are a practical people with a practical trade union movement. We sincerely look forward to a fundamental realignment in the ranks of world labor—a realignment so progressive, so powerful, so constructive, so inspiring and so humane that mankind will be spared the fear of poverty, tyranny and war, and that it will come to enjoy freedom in its richest concept and fullest meaning.

"Toward the fulfillment of this noble and most urgent task, I extend to you, on behalf of the A.F. of L., the fraternal handclasp of unstinting support and international labor solidarity. For the good of humanity, we dare not fail."

Hungary

(*Continued from Page* 5)

tentionally. In such cases a so-called "Labor Court" has to pass sentence within 72 hours. It is true that a worker has the right to quit his job, but if he does, he will not be able to find another job and will very likely be expelled from his union—which means certain death from starvation.

As in all other countries behind the Iron Curtain, Hungary has experienced the so-called system of "socialist competition." The overwhelming majority of Hungarian workers reject this propaganda hokum. However, out of fear of the ever-present Communist spies, no worker dares to criticize it openly lest he be summoned the next day before the political police.

An extensive purge has been carried out in the factories, offices and among government employees. Old trade unionists, former shop stewards and anti-Communist workers were dismissed from their jobs and expelled from their trade unions—an action which prevents them from finding new jobs in their trades. All the old trade union leaders have been removed from their posts—among them, many founders of Hungarian trade unions.

The Hungarian trade unions have become compulsory organizations. Because they hardly pay any benefits, they have at their disposal large funds which are used to cover the costs of the expanded bureaucratic machinery and Communist political propaganda.

Under that regime, no modern free trade union movement now exists in Hungary. The trade unions no longer serve to protect the interests of the workers. They are instruments of the Communist rulers who have no other aim than to produce as much and as cheaply as possible—regardless of the cost to the Hungarian working people in economic sacrifice and damage to their health.

INTERNATIONAL
FREE TRADE UNION NEWS

Vol. 3, No. 11 | Published by the Free Trade Union Committee of the American Federation of Labor
Box 65, Station G, New York 19, New York, U.S.A. | 357 | NOVEMBER, 1948

Appeal to British Labor

By EDWARD J. VOLZ

This is the text of the address delivered by Edward J. Volz, president of the International Photo-Engravers' Union of North America, A.F. of L., as fraternal delegate of the American Federation of Labor to the 80th annual convention of the British Trades Union Congress, held at Margate, England, from September 6 to 10, 1948.

"THE fact that your wonderful organization and ours have exchanged fraternal delegations for more than half a century is of the greatest importance to us in the United States. It is especially true and encouraging at this moment when many time-tested and honored values and traditions are being ruthlessly cast aside—and, in instances, shattered—to see at least some of these values not only maintained, but strengthened.

"We consider unbreakable the bonds of solidarity that bind the British Trades Union Congress and the American Federation of Labor. These bonds are a source of inspiration, encouragement and strength to the workers of America. We like to believe that they are regarded in a similar manner in Great Britain. They are the hope of free labor everywhere and of all forward-looking and liberty-loving people. They are ideals that have become stronger with each recurring crisis — with every test and trial — which for many years our two nations and respective labor movements have faced together, fought for together, triumphed in together.

Edward J. Volz

"Ever-Deepening World Crisis"

"AT present, it is unfortunately true that every nation finds itself immersed, in one form or another, in the ever-deepening

"Ours is not a monolithic totalitarian relationship but a human and free relationship. We know how to disagree without quarreling or disrupting a kinship that should be real and lasting. Our basic interests and fundamental ideals are common. Our traditions and beliefs, our aspirations and our goals spell out the living democratic process for resolving differences and improving ourselves and our standing in the resolution thereof.

"We, in America, appreciate your abundant contribution toward keeping the world free and democratic. We are also aware of your present problems.

E.R.P. Not Wall Street Finance

"LET me explain, at least in part, the effect of the world crisis in our country. In the struggle for victory over Nazi totalitarianism, our nation spent a far larger proportion of its wealth and natural resources than is commonly known or realized. Fighting in the Pacific as well as in the Atlantic, our casualties in men and material have been far greater than is gen-

the remnants of isolationism and the Communists. The next time you read in your press about millions of dollars spent on promoting European reconstruction, keep in mind that these dollars are only symbols for goods and foods, for machines and chemicals, for merchandise and materials—all of which had to be produced with countless upon countless hours of work. You can take paper dollars out of a vault or a bank account. But you can't take fats, leather, tractors and oil out of a safe deposit box. These require toil, sweat and a vast expenditure of energy.

"We gladly make these contributions and sacrifices for economic world recovery. But we are interested in even more than economic recovery. We are anxious to aid in preserving those freedoms which we cherish in common. We know the world cannot long continue half-free and half-slave. Our freedom and security are as inseparable from yours today as they were in 1914 and in the more recent struggle against the Axis.

"We face a tough housing situation. We are confronted with a gathering storm of inflation. We have complicated social problems to solve. We have reactionary threats to the achievements and the rights of labor. You have most likely heard of the notorious Taft-Hartley Act. We are meeting these and other difficulties without fear and without doubt as to the eventual outcome. Despite obnoxious and restrictive laws, we have nevertheless succeeded in making real headway in extending unionization. But, above all else, we endeavor to keep in mind that the all-important thing is not whether a particu-

courageing at this moment when many time tested and honored values and traditions are being ruthlessly cast aside—and, in instances, shattered—to see at least some of these values not only maintained, but strengthened.

"We consider unbreakable the bonds of solidarity that bind the British Trades Union Congress and the American Federation of Labor. These bonds are a source of inspiration, encouragement and strength to the workers of America. We like to believe that they are regarded in a similar manner in Great Britain. They are the hope of free labor everywhere and of all forward-looking and liberty-loving people. They are ideals that have become stronger with each recurring crisis — with every test and trial — which for many years our two nations and respective labor movements have faced together, fought for together, triumphed in together.

Edward J. Volz

"Ever-Deepening World Crisis"

"AT present, it is unfortunately true that every nation finds itself immersed, in one form or another, in the ever-deepening world crisis. America is no exception. There is not a worker in our factories, not a farmer on our land nor a family anywhere in the United States that does not somehow or other feel the impact and the pressure of current developments. We of the trade union movement are continually struggling with its effects and consequences.

"We are keenly aware of the new role being played by our country in a world shattered by two global wars. We are cognizant of enlarged responsibilities—especially toward all freedom-loving peoples. We realize fully the gravity of the new totalitarian challenge to human freedom. You can depend upon organized labor in America, gathered together under the banner of the A.F. of L., to serve as a dynamic and progressive force in this crucial hour. I say this here in all frankness, because we are not strangers to each other—either in a moral or an organizational sense. I say it not because we have always been in agreement; we have not.

delegate of the American Federation of Labor to the 80th annual convention of the British Trades Union Congress, held at Margate, England, from September 6 to 10, 1948.

"Ours is not a monolithic totalitarian relationship but a human and free relationship. We know how to disagree without quarreling or disrupting a kinship that should be real and lasting. Our basic interests and fundamental ideals are common. Our traditions and beliefs, our aspirations and our goals spell out the living democratic process for resolving differences and improving ourselves and our standing in the resolution thereof.

"We, in America, appreciate your abundant contribution toward keeping the world free and democratic. We are also aware of your present problems.

E.R.P. Not Wall Street Finance

"LET me explain, at least in part, the effect of the world crisis in our country. In the struggle for victory over Nazi totalitarianism, our nation spent a far larger proportion of its wealth and natural resources than is commonly known or realized. Fighting in the Pacific as well as in the Atlantic, our casualties in men and material have been far greater than is generally recognized. Serving as the arsenal of world democracy in the war has left our economy with many serious problems in peace. Being anxious to have the world enjoy the fruits of lasting international security and the benefits of economic recovery has obliged the American people as a whole—and labor in particular—to produce increasingly and with the same energy and spirit to win the peace as they manifested in doing their bit towards winning the war.

"Similar to yourselves, we in America also face the very difficult problem of coping with ever-rising prices. In many commodities we feel the pinch because of vast exports occasioned by the European Recovery Program. However, we accept this condition without complaint or gripes. May I remind and impress upon you here that **it is the American people and not Wall Street who are financing the E.R.P.**

"In truth, the principal opposition to the E.R.P. has come from a conglomeration of reactionaries—certain groups in Wall Street, icals, for merchandise and materials—all of which had to be produced with countless upon countless hours of work. You can take paper dollars out of a vault or a bank account. But you can't take fats, leather, tractors and oil out of a safe deposit box. These require toil, sweat and a vast expenditure of energy.

"We gladly make these contributions and sacrifices for economic world recovery. But we are interested in even more than economic recovery. We are anxious to aid in preserving those freedoms which we cherish in common. We know the world cannot long continue half-free and half-slave. Our freedom and security are as inseparable from yours today as they were in 1914 and in the more recent struggle against the Axis.

"We face a tough housing situation. We are confronted with a gathering storm of inflation. We have complicated social problems to solve. We have reactionary threats to the achievements and the rights of labor. You have most likely heard of the notorious Taft-Hartley Act. We are meeting these and other difficulties without fear and without doubt as to the eventual outcome. Despite obnoxious and restrictive laws, we have nevertheless succeeded in making real headway in extending unionization. But, above all else, we endeavor to keep in mind that **the all-important thing is not whether a particular law is good or bad but that the people continue free to appraise, change or rescind it.**

T.U.C.'s Dynamic Role

"IN our ranks there is a growing political consciousness, a spirit of political independence and self-reliance. We do not fear any permanent wave of reaction. While we may occasionally suffer a temporary setback, the organized labor movement in America has grown mature and strong enough, in time, to beat back reactionary assaults—whether they come from the Right or so-called Left.

"But we realize that our difficulties are nowhere as many or as great as yours. We have watched with the keenest interest and the warmest sympathy the determined and courageous manner in which you have faced your tasks and labor on in a spirit of austerity—to meet them in the best interest of your people. We have been especially glad to note the dynamic and decisive role of your powerful trade union movement dur-

(*Continued on Page* 8)

INTERNATIONAL LABOR HIGHLIGHTS

W.F.T.U. Seen on Its Last Legs After T.U.C. and I.T.S. Actions

THE W.F.T.U. has sustained two blows from which it cannot recover. One came in connection with the absence of a W.F.T.U. fraternal delegate from the recent Margate meeting of the British Trades Union Congress. The other was the decision, in September, of the International Trade Secretariats to discontinue all further discussion with the W.F.T.U. on their incorporation into the W.F.T.U.

The absence of a W.F.T.U. delegate at Margate was explained by Vincent Tewson, T.U.C. general secretary, as due to the action of Louis Saillant, W.F.T.U. general secretary. When the T.U.C. International Committee asked the W.F.T.U. to send a fraternal delegate, it suggested that he be one with a knowledge of English in order to eliminate the need for translation which would retard the crowded convention agenda. In addition, it indicated that it would be desirable to circulate the designation of fraternal delegates among the various nations affiliated with the W.F.T.U. For both reasons, the T.U.C. suggested that the W.F.T.U. select a delegate from Norway or Denmark. Instead, Saillant named himself.

Disclaiming any consideration of personalities, the T.U.C. General Purposes Committee charged that Saillant was himself injecting such factors into the situation. It further emphasized that "it would be an advantage to the fraternal delegate if he came from a country associated with the E.R.P." When, in reply to Saillant's self-nomination, the T.U.C. proposed that a Danish delegate be named, it was informed that Saillant was absent from his office due to his mother's illness. Thereupon, the T.U.C. General Council decided to report to the Margate sessions that it had been impossible to arrange for W.F.T.U. fraternal representation.

Another important feature of the T.U.C. conference concerning the W.F.T.U. occurred when Arthur Deakin, president of the W.F.T.U., launched into a bitter denunciation of its activities. According to the London of experiences against which we had fought so long."

Deakin emphasized that **"the W.F.T.U. became a Communist-dominated organization. The W.F.T.U. was the successor of the International Federation of Trade Unions which was an immeasurably superior organization."**

Especially noteworthy was the fact that, in debate over the Communist-sponsored resolution for T.U.C. support of the W.F.T.U., the first one to attack it was none other than Will Lawther, president of the National Union of Mine Workers. Long known as a Communist sympathizer, Lawther charged that those who had been urged to withdraw the resolution and refused to do so were guilty of "mischief-making." He also criticized the Communist-controlled French miners' union for its refusal to make any financial contribution to the International Miners' Secretariat. He quoted with approval the remarks of John T. Jones, delegate of the U.S. United Mine Workers at the recent meeting of the International Miners' Secretariat in Stockholm, to the effect that those not prepared to pay their share should not participate in an international movement.

Secretariats to Coordinate

THE second great blow to the W.F.T.U. was the decision of the Negotiating Committee of the International Trade Secretariats, meeting in Paris at the same time as the W.F.T.U. Executive Committee, to endorse the resolution adopted by the International Transport Workers' Federation at its Oslo conference last July. The resolution had broken off all negotiations for entry into the W.F.T.U.

After this decision, the I.T.S. Negotiating Committee presented its position to the W.F.T.U. Executive Bureau and served notice that it would be pointless to pursue further conversations on affiliation. The representatives of the Russian "trade unions"

BELGIUM

The Belgian General Federation of Labor (F.G.T.B.) was urged to withdraw from the W.F.T.U. at the convention of the Belgian Clothing Workers' Union, held at Antwerp on September 11 and 12. The convention decided:

"1. To demand the immediate reconstruction, **outside the W.F.T.U.**, of the International Federation of Clothing Workers and to invite all the free garment workers' unions of the world to affiliate with such an International Federation;

"2. To propose to the garment workers' unions in the European countries which have preserved their freedom the establishment of a European Federation with a permanent European Committee for the purpose:

"a. Of deciding the measures necessary to stop any competition among the enterprises of the countries in question which is based upon inequality of working and living conditions, social insurance contributions, import and export duties;

"b. Of determining the means by which to guarantee the free circulation of goods between the countries of Western Europe and their colonies, as well as the countries under mandate;

"3. **To propose to the F.G.T.B. that it leave the W.F.T.U. as soon as possible for the following reasons:**

"a. This organization has been still-born from the very beginning, since it comprises free trade unions, on the one hand, and on the other hand, state-controlled trade unions which have no freedom of action;

"b. The W.F.T.U. is set up according to totalitarian principles by which the International Trade Secretariats are subjected to absolute domination by the central executive of the W.F.T.U.;

"c. The W.F.T.U. has exclusively served —and could not serve any other objective— the foreign policy of Russia in particular and Stalinist policies in general;

"d. The W.F.T.U. has prevented the free trade unions from uniting their forces and resources in order to further their common goals;

"4. To establish within the framework of the new International Federation of Trade Unions, to be formed by free trade unions, a European Federation of Trade Unions whose task it would be to give leadership to the European working class in its struggle for a European economic union; the urgent need for such a union becomes increasingly manifest from day to day since it is the only means of protecting Western Europe against complete bankruptcy and against a possible invasion by Russian totalitarianism."

Committee asked the W.F.T.U. to send a fraternal delegate, it suggested that he be one with a knowledge of English in order to eliminate the need for translation which would retard the crowded convention agenda. In addition, it indicated that it would be desirable to circulate the designation of fraternal delegates among the various nations affiliated with the W.F.T.U. For both reasons, the T.U.C. suggested that the W.F.T.U. select a delegate from Norway or Denmark. Instead, Saillant named himself.

Disclaiming any consideration of personalities, the T.U.C. General Purposes Committee charged that Saillant was himself injecting such factors into the situation. It further emphasized that "it would be an advantage to the fraternal delegate if he came from a country associated with the E.R.P." When, in reply to Saillant's self-nomination, the T.U.C. proposed that a Danish delegate be named, it was informed that Saillant was absent from his office due to his mother's illness. Thereupon, the T.U.C. General Council decided to report to the Margate sessions that it had been impossible to arrange for W.F.T.U. fraternal representation.

Another important feature of the T.U.C. conference concerning the W.F.T.U. occurred when Arthur Deakin, president of the W.F.T.U., launched into a bitter denunciation of its activities. According to the London *Times*: "There could have been few more bitter condemnations by a president of his own organization."

In part, Deakin declared:

"The W.F.T.U. is rapidly becoming nothing more than another platform and instrument for the furtherance of Soviet policy. Wherever we meet, you can see the alignment of the forces. The Communists are carefully looked after and segregated from the rest. They meet in a different place. The same merry game has been going on here this week. . . . We have tried to forge the instrument that our conference asked us to. I suggest to you that it is utterly impossible."

Referring to the Communists' insistence on excluding the Marshall Plan from the W.F.T.U. agenda, Deakin stated:

"If they could not discuss a matter of that character, what could they discuss? The prime declared purpose of the W.F.T.U., as it was constituted, was to create conditions that would allow reconstruction and rehabilitation of the devastated countries of Europe. We have wasted our time in trying to get and maintain contact and a relationship that would prevent the recurrence

Lawther charged that those who had been urged to withdraw the resolution and refused to do so were guilty of "mischief-making." He also criticized the Communist-controlled French miners' union for its refusal to make any financial contribution to the International Miners' Secretariat. He quoted with approval the remarks of John T. Jones, delegate of the U.S. United Mine Workers at the recent meeting of the International Miners' Secretariat in Stockholm, to the effect that those not prepared to pay their share should not participate in an international movement.

Secretariats to Coordinate

THE second great blow to the W.F.T.U. was the decision of the Negotiating Committee of the International Trade Secretariats, meeting in Paris at the same time as the W.F.T.U. Executive Committee, to endorse the resolution adopted by the International Transport Workers' Federation at its Oslo conference last July. The resolution had broken off all negotiations for entry into the W.F.T.U.

After this decision, the I.T.S. Negotiating Committee presented its position to the W.F.T.U. Executive Bureau and served notice that it would be pointless to pursue further conversations on affiliation. The representatives of the Russian "trade unions" thereupon made long speeches, shedding crocodile tears over the preservation of unity in the international labor movement, and finally declared their intention of forming trade departments in the W.F.T.U.

The Secretariats represented at this Paris meeting included the transport workers, metal workers, leather workers, miners, textile workers, building and wood workers, factory workers, food workers, agricultural workers, clerical workers, utility workers, public servants, tobacco workers and diamond workers.

On initiative of the I.T.F., the I.T.S. agreed to form a coordinating committee which is now preparing the basis for an effective, though not formal, federation of all the Secretariats. Actually, this body is of a much more genuine international nature and functions on a far broader world scale than the W.F.T.U.

Finally, there are indications at present that the W.F.T.U. congress, scheduled to take place in Belgium this year, has been postponed indefinitely.

port and export duties;

"b. Of determining the means by which to guarantee the free circulation of goods between the countries of Western Europe and their colonies, as well as the countries under mandate;

"3. **To propose to the F.G.T.B. that it leave the W.F.T.U. as soon as possible for the following reasons:**

"a. This organization has been still-born from the very beginning, since it comprises free trade unions, on the one hand, and on the other hand, state-controlled trade unions which have no freedom of action;

"b. The W.F.T.U. is set up according to totalitarian principles by which the International Trade Secretariats are subjected to absolute domination by the central executive of the W.F.T.U.;

"c. The W.F.T.U. has exclusively served —and could not serve any other objective— the foreign policy of Russia in particular and Stalinist policies in general;

"d. The W.F.T.U. has prevented the free trade unions from uniting their forces and resources in order to further their common goals;

"4. To establish within the framework of the new International Federation of Trade Unions, to be formed by free trade unions, a European Federation of Trade Unions whose task it would be to give leadership to the European working class in its struggle for a European economic union; the urgent need for such a union becomes increasingly manifest from day to day since it is the only means of protecting Western Europe against complete bankruptcy and against a possible invasion by Russian totalitarianism."

GERMANY

The 9th Interzonal Conference of German trade unions, held recently at Lindau, ended in complete disagreement after two days of fruitless discussion between representatives of democratic trade unions of the three Western zones and Communist representatives of the Soviet-sponsored F.D.G.B. The conference broke up over the crucial Berlin question. The Western zone representatives demanded that delegates of the U.G.O. (Independent Trade Union Organization of Berlin) be present at discussion of the current situation in Germany, since the Berlin crisis is the central phase of the problem. In reply, the Communist-dominated representatives proposed adjournment.

The Western zone representatives, in a statement after adjournment, declared that disunity among the occupying powers was blocking the economic rehabilitation of Germany, thereby delaying "the recovery of the other European countries and increasing the dangers which threaten peace." The statement continued:

"The trade union representatives of the Western zones, assembled at this conference, recognize that some of the great powers

(*Continued on Page* 6)

Soviet Labor Discipline

Role of the Foreman in Russian Industry

(*First in a series of two articles*)

THE basic rules which currently determine the function of the foreman in the industry of the Soviet Union—the Russian designation is *master*—were laid down in a decree on the Enhancement of the Role of the Foreman in the Heavy Machine Building Industry, issued jointly by the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. and the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union on May 27, 1940. (The text of the decree was published in *Izvestsia* of May 28, 1940.) Although the decree formally applied only to the heavy machine building industry, it served as a model for all other Soviet industries.

It can be safely assumed that it was not a simple coincidence that this measure was followed one month later by the decree of June 26, 1940, which has made it a criminal offense for a worker to leave his job without proper authorization or to absent himself from his work without valid reason. (On the decree of June 26, 1940, see *Sovetskoye Trudovoye Pravo*—[*Soviet Labor Law*]—ed. by N. G. Aleksandrov and D. M. Genkin, Moscow, 1946, pp. 277-84.) This official textbook of Soviet labor law, on page 279, defines punishable absenteeism—in Russian, *progul*—as "absence of the worker from his job during the prescribed working time if this absence lasted more than 20 minutes or occurred three times during a month or four times during two consecutive months."

The "enhancement" of the role of the foreman was undoubtedly considered by the Soviet government a necessary prerequisite for the introduction of these drastic measures by which a quasi-military regime was established in the Soviet factories.

Foreman's "Material Interest"

OF course, this consideration was not mentioned among the official reasons for the change in the status of the foreman which were enumerated in the decree of May 27, 1940. The decree declared it necessary to confer upon the foreman all rights which

interest in the improvement of production indices." The decree pointed out that, as a consequence of the fact that foremen frequently earned less than highly skilled workers, the appointment of Stakhanovites and engineers as foremen had become difficult. Managers of enterprises and shops were criticized for an attitude prejudicial to the "authority" of the foreman and for bypassing him by addressing their orders directly to the workers.

The practical provisions of the decree define the status of the foreman as follows: He has full authority in the subdivision of the enterprise of which he is in charge and is responsible for the complete fulfillment of the production task. He is subordinate to the manager of the given department (shop) of the enterprise or, in larger plants, to a chief foreman. These managers or chief foremen have the duty of communicating to the foreman, in due time, the production task and to fix the wage fund required for the fulfillment of that task. All orders of the shop management are to be given to the workers exclusively through the foreman responsible for carrying them out.

The decree ordered the foreman to be freed from all work not directly related to his job; if necessary, a clerical worker may be appointed to assist him.

Authorized to Penalize Workers

SECTION 4 of the decree of May 27, 1940, conferred upon the foreman the right to impose disciplinary penalties upon those who "violate working discipline and disorganize production." Discipline in Soviet enterprises is governed by the Model Working Rules for the Manual and White-Collar Workers of the State, Cooperative and Public Enterprises and Agencies which were worked out by the Central Council of the Soviet Trade Unions and confirmed by the Council of People's Commissars on January 18, 1941.

These Model Rules provide for the following penalties for "violation of the working discipline": "a) reproof; b) reprimand;

responsible. These regulations give the plant management the right to deduct from wages certain specified sums as "compensation" for losses and damages attributed to workers. (*Soviet Labor Law*, pp. 284-97.) The designation of these deductions as "compensation" was obviously chosen in order to comply *pro forma* with Article 43 of the Soviet Labor Code which outlaws fines. That the deductions made by decision of plant managements under the guise of "compensation" are actually a system of fines is clearly shown by the following provision: workers have to pay the fivefold value of the actual loss if any raw materials, partly processed or manufactured goods, tools, working clothes and other factory property entrusted to them—such as protective eye-glasses and special instruments—are lost or damaged because of their negligence. For willful damage or pilfering of factory property, the worker, in addition to "compensation," is liable to prosecution for a criminal offense.

Working Cards Compulsory

THE decree of May 27, 1940, gave the foreman also the right to hire and dismiss workers, subject to approval by the shop managers. According to Section 3 of the Model Rules, a worker can be hired only upon presentation of his passport and working card. A decree of the Council of People's Commissars on December 20, 1938, made it compulsory for all workers to have a working card containing the following personal data: name, age, education, occupation, changes from one job to another, reasons for such changes, and premiums and rewards won by the worker. (*Soviet Labor Law*, p. 127.)

Among the reasons for which workers may be dismissed by management and its representatives, including foremen, the Labor Code of the Russian Soviet Federal Socialist Republic mentions "unfitness for work"—that is, lack of qualification for a certain job or inability to perform a certain type of work—as well as the "systematic non-

It can be safely assumed that it was not a simple coincidence that this measure was followed one month later by the decree of June 26, 1940, which has made it a criminal offense for a worker to leave his job without proper authorization or to absent himself from his work without valid reason. (On the decree of June 26, 1940, see *Sovetskoye Trudovoye Pravo*—[*Soviet Labor Law*]—ed. by N. G. Aleksandrov and D. M. Genkin, Moscow, 1946, pp. 277-84.) This official textbook of Soviet labor law, on page 279, defines punishable absenteeism—in Russian, *progul*—as "absence of the worker from his job during the prescribed working time if this absence lasted more than 20 minutes or occurred three times during a month or four times during two consecutive months."

The "enhancement" of the role of the foreman was undoubtedly considered by the Soviet government a necessary prerequisite for the introduction of these drastic measures by which a quasi-military regime was established in the Soviet factories.

Foreman's "Material Interest"

OF course, this consideration was not mentioned among the official reasons for the change in the status of the foreman which were enumerated in the decree of May 27, 1940. The decree declared it necessary to confer upon the foreman all rights which he may need "in order to fulfill successfully his duties as the on-the-spot organizer of production." As contrary to this conception of the role of the foreman, the decree criticized the practice of not giving the foreman the right to distribute manpower, to classify workers according to wage categories, to grant premiums to or impose penalties upon his subordinates, to participate in delivery of the manufactured goods, to have a voice in the fixing of the "norms" (tasks) and to administer the wage fund allotted to the section of the plant under his supervision. According to the decree, a foreman was to be "materially interested in the economical spending of that fund."

In addition, it was pointed out that the foreman was overburdened with office work and that, as a result, "the foreman was absent for long periods and the workers under his direction were left without technical supervision." The prevailing system of wages for foremen was also found at fault because it did not evoke in them a "material

of the production task. He is subordinate to the manager of the given department (shop) of the enterprise or, in larger plants, to a chief foreman. These managers or chief foremen have the duty of communicating to the foreman, in due time, the production task and to fix the wage fund required for the fulfillment of that task. All orders of the shop management are to be given to the workers exclusively through the foreman responsible for carrying them out.

The decree ordered the foreman to be freed from all work not directly related to his job; if necessary, a clerical worker may be appointed to assist him.

Authorized to Penalize Workers

SECTION 4 of the decree of May 27, 1940, conferred upon the foreman the right to impose disciplinary penalties upon those who "violate working discipline and disorganize production." Discipline in Soviet enterprises is governed by the Model Working Rules for the Manual and White-Collar Workers of the State, Cooperative and Public Enterprises and Agencies which were worked out by the Central Council of the Soviet Trade Unions and confirmed by the Council of People's Commissars on January 18, 1941.

These Model Rules provide for the following penalties for "violation of the working discipline": "a) reproof; b) reprimand; c) severe reprimand; d) transfer to another job where wages are lower for a period up to three months or demotion to a lower position." Demotion applies to supervisory and office personnel.

A worker who incurs the penalty must confirm in writing that he has taken notice of it. According to Section 21 of the Model Rules, these disciplinary penalties are also imposed upon any worker "who is late in coming to work without a valid reason or left his work to go to lunch too early or was late in returning after lunch-time or was slacking during working hours." This provision applies only to those who were less than 20 minutes late since, as mentioned above and as pointed out in Section 26 of the Model Rules, anybody more than 20 minutes late is liable to criminal prosecution.

IN addition, there exist in the Soviet Union special regulations regarding the material liability of workers for damages and losses of plant property for which they are held

to them—such as protective eye-glasses and special instruments—are lost or damaged because of their negligence. For willful damage or pilfering of factory property, the worker, in addition to "compensation," is liable to prosecution for a criminal offense.

Working Cards Compulsory

THE decree of May 27, 1940, gave the foreman also the right to hire and dismiss workers, subject to approval by the shop managers. According to Section 3 of the Model Rules, a worker can be hired only upon presentation of his passport and working card. A decree of the Council of People's Commissars on December 20, 1938, made it compulsory for all workers to have a working card containing the following personal data: name, age, education, occupation, changes from one job to another, reasons for such changes, and premiums and rewards won by the worker. (*Soviet Labor Law*, p. 127.)

Among the reasons for which workers may be dismissed by management and its representatives, including foremen, the Labor Code of the Russian Soviet Federal Socialist Republic mentions "unfitness for work"—that is, lack of qualification for a certain job or inability to perform a certain type of work—as well as the "systematic non-fulfillment by the employee, without a valid reason, of the duties imposed upon him by the contract of employment or by the working rules."

However, the power to dismiss workers became largely theoretical after the decree of June 26, 1940, which makes it illegal for workers to change their jobs unless properly authorized to do so. Soviet authorities have become reluctant to dismiss workers for "systematic non-fulfillment" of their duties. A decision of the plenary session of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R. on December 25, 1941, stated:

"If the violation of the working rules was committed by the employee in order to obtain his dismissal in this manner, such acts must be regarded as a peculiar kind of unauthorized abandonment of the job concomitant with an attempt to avoid criminal prosecution; in view of this, in such cases the employee is liable to criminal prosecution according to Section 1 of Article 5 of the Decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R. of June 26, 1940." (*Soviet Labor Law*, p. 297.)

Rumania

By EFTIMIE GHERMAN

THE Rumanian trade union movement, which, before the Second World War, had been Social Democratic from top to bottom, was outlawed under the Antonescu dictatorship. After the end of the war, a new course of action was forced upon the Rumanian trade unions—with most unfortunate results. Although numerically weak and practically non-existent in most localities, the Communists demanded an equal share in the leadership of the Rumanian trade unions. They gained this demand because they were supported by the Soviet army of occupation and because they could cite the United Front pact they had concluded with the Social Democrats during the wartime resistance movement.

Because of their small numbers at the outset, the Communists, in their trade union work, frequently employed elements alien to the labor movement, including even notorious ex-fascists who had turned Communist tc whitewash themselves.

With unlimited funds at their disposal, the Communists soon enlisted a special category of "activists" for the task of "organizing" trade union work. These activists exercised virtual control over every enterprise and monopolized all trade union work, with the result that all propaganda and organizational or representational functions of the unions—including the appointment of delegates to conventions—were soon exclusively in Communist hands. These Communist activists employed any means to further their ends, not even shrinking from the use of Nazi phraseology.

Communists Financed by Business

THE salaries of the activists were paid from a huge fund which had been raised by Rumanian businessmen who, despite their hatred of the Communists, financed the party in the hope of winning its favor. In return, these businessmen were permitted to engage in undertakings which, though illegal, were all the more profitable, while those who had refused to make donations were subjected to various vexations and excessive taxes and were harrassed by the government's economic and financial control agencies. The result was to stimulate competition among Rumanian capitalists for greater contributions to the Communist Party treasury.

Through the efforts of the activists, the Rumanian Communist Party succeeded in recruiting more members than any other organization in the nation. In Bucharest, Communists were even able to win the leadership of the Office Employees' Union by democratic methods—for the simple reason that the majority of its members held Communist Party membership cards.

One of the first measures of the activists was to obtain exemption for Communist workers from attending to their jobs and thus allowed to devote their entire time to "activism," though they continued to be paid by the enterprises in which they were employed. It was these activists, remaining on the payroll of their employers, who helped to wipe out the last lingering traces of trade union democracy.

Thereafter, delegates to trade union conventions were, in most cases, no longer elected by the local unions but appointed by the Communist Party. The conventions of these local unions were held simultaneously with the general trade union convention which took place in the capital, decorated for the occasion in Soviet style, with portraits of Communist leaders everywhere. At these conventions, the Communists no longer paid any attention whatsoever to the United Front pact with the Social Democrats. The Communists grabbed the leadership of the national unions and of the Rumanian General Confederation of Labor.

The trade union organizations have been the principal instruments of the Communist Party ever since. From that time on, all Communist demonstrations were organized and directed through the trade unions. The Communists even proceeded to prevent publication of opposition newspapers by getting the Printers' Union to order its members to cease work in the printing plants of such papers on one flimsy pretext or another.

The Rumanian workers soon realized that the new union leaders were merely agents of the Communist Party. In many cases, the workers refused to participate in the Communist-organized street demonstrations, and demanded that conventions be called for election of a new trade union leadership. For two years, the Communists—who had no illusions about the workers' real feelings—resorted to all machinations to prevent the calling of such conventions. "Obstinate" workers were deprived of the right to buy food in the canteens of the enterprises in which they were employed, while those who refused to take part in the constant demonstrations lost their jobs. These rigorous methods were partly successful; on the other hand, the Communist parades have lost so much vigor that they now resemble funeral processions.

Wages at Starvation Level

DURING this time, the material situation of the Rumanian workers deteriorated daily. They could hardly live for eight days on their monthly wages. Starvation was averted solely because they received a minimum of necessary food at reduced prices in the canteens of the enterprises in which they were employed.

Conditions had become unbearable in the spring of 1947. In several localities, especially the coal mines of Anina, the workers went on strike—which, under a Communist regime, is regarded as the worst of crimes. Accordingly, several hundred union members were arrested in the middle of the night, brought to the offices of the union and severely beaten. They were then forced to return to work and forbidden, under threat of a death penalty, to divulge what had happened to them.

In the face of such terror, the workers had no choice but to yield. However, when they returned to work in the mines, 50 of them were discharged, together wit press prohibition against their em in any other jobs. Although these appealed to the courts, their co were thrown out.

Another example of workers' s occurred in the gold mines of Tran where the workers, in spite of o the Communist leaders of their u contrary to the directives of the Confederation of Labor, held a ge sembly and, by secret ballot, electe trade union executive from which nists were excluded. The General Co tion of Labor immediately sent it sentatives to impose new elections. W miners categorically rejected this m General Confederation of Labor d that the police arrest a substantial of rebellious workers. But the latter to be intimidated. To overcome the spirit, as well as to revenge themse such a humiliating defeat, the Com ordered the Mica Corporation to hal tions and dismiss its 3,000 workers the company resumed operations b with those workers who, under th starvation, had signed a declaration mission; no "rebels" were reinstated.

Social Democrats Terrorize

IT was around this period that the nian workers began to recognize t ger represented by the destructive nist domination of the unions. A p trend of opposition to the transforma the unions into auxiliaries of a part pletely controlled by Russia swept th try. The workers, must of whom w yet regimented politically, joined the Democratic Party in great numbers result, tension between Communists a cial Democrats reached its climax. I of the existence of a United Workers' the Communist forces terrorized all Democratic workers, securing their di from jobs and, very often, their arre obvious intention was to counteract th pathies which public opinion manifes ward the Social Democratic Party.

The Social Democratic members government were likewise terrorized a prived of any opportunity for action. ever, these officials felt that, in sp the treachery and trickery of the C nists, the masses of Rumanian w should confront the opposition parties semblance of unity, as well as to pre spectacle to that effect to foreign cou But the Communists, increasingly w by the unusual growth of a "brother" which was becoming a powerful wo party, redoubled their terror tactics in to force the workers to leave the

Eftimie Gherman helped to found the Rumanian Miners' Union and formerly served as its general secretary.

"WHAT HAPPENED TO

An Account of Trade Unio

Copies at 5

Free Trad

Box 65,