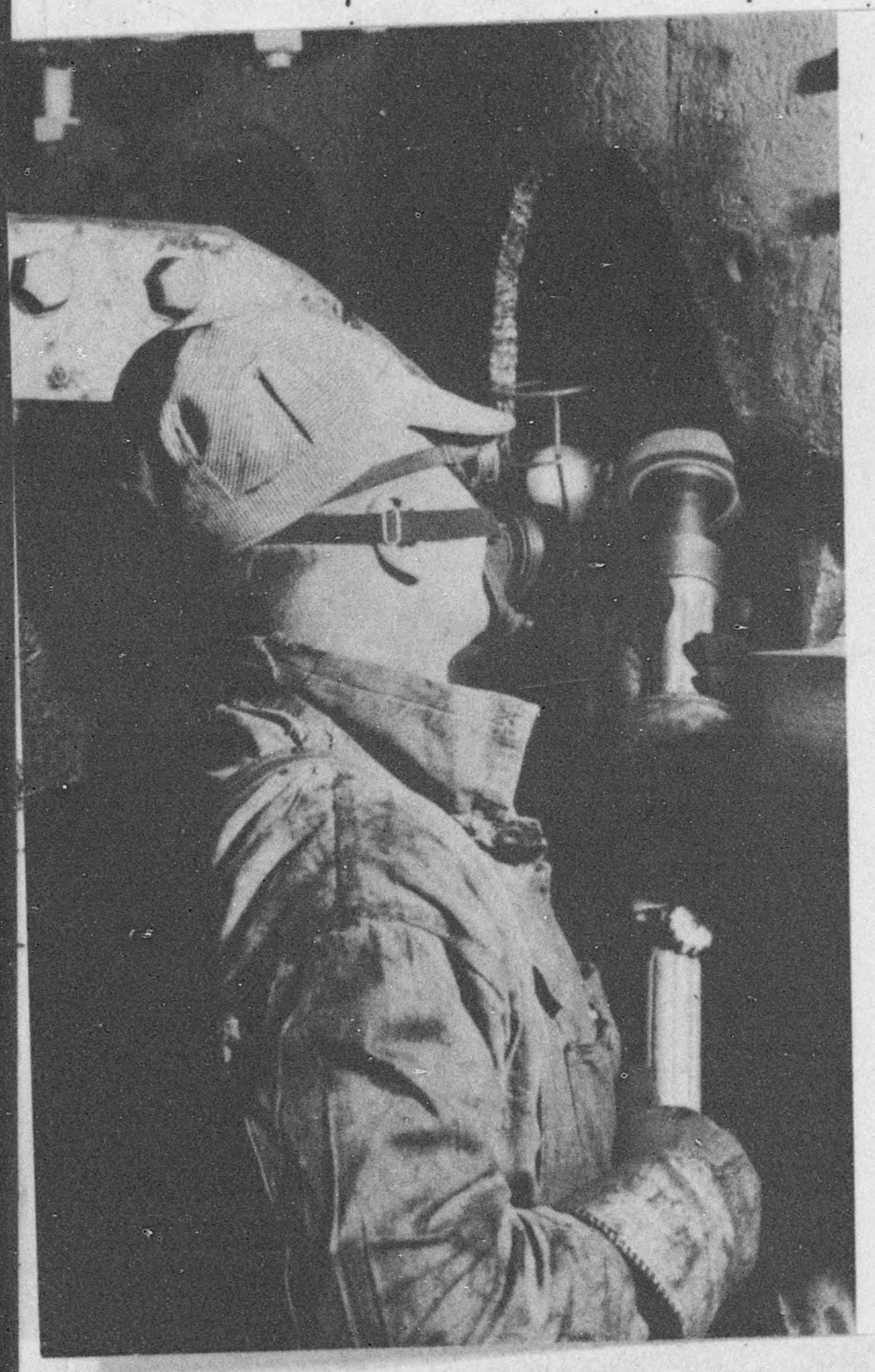


連邦政府は

一週四十時間を超過する場合、予剰時間に對し一倍半の給料を支拂ふ事を要求し

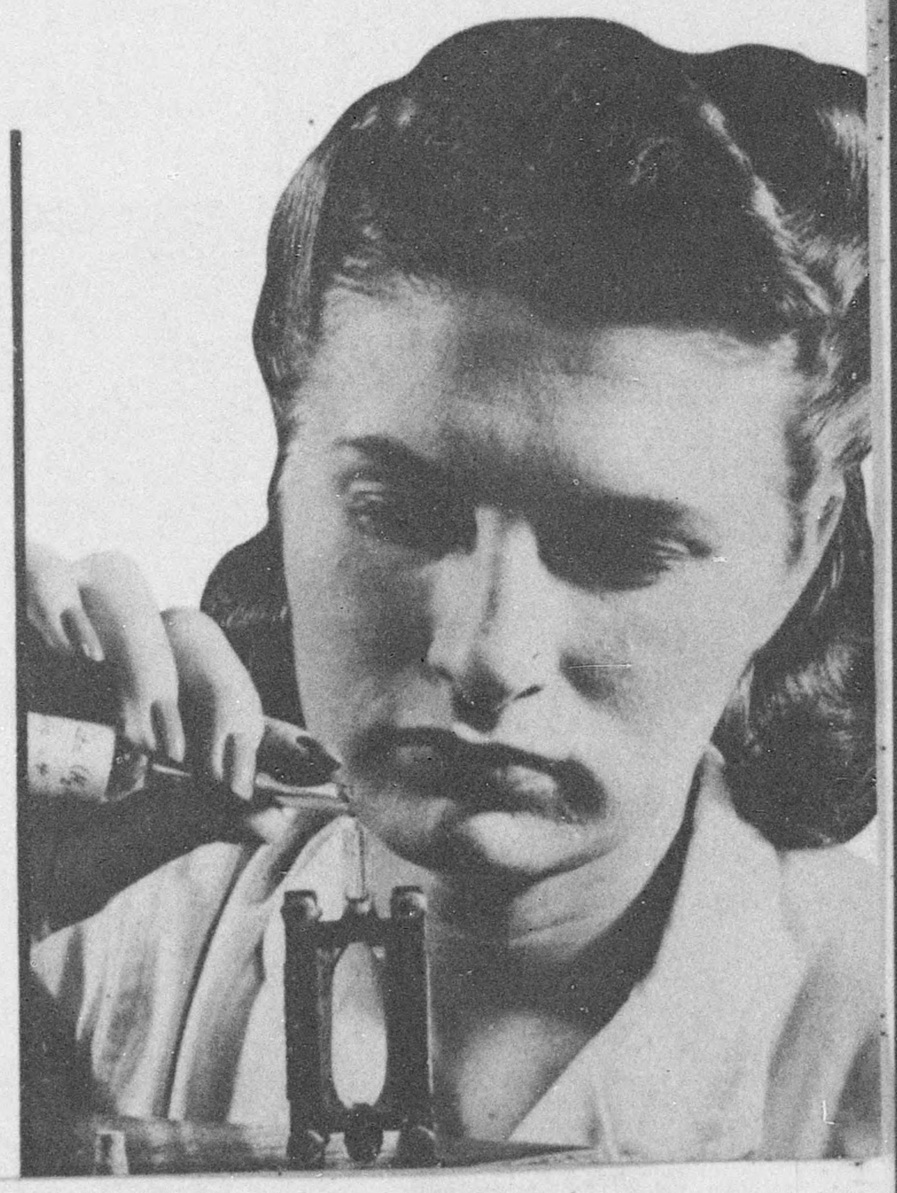
大抵の工場には最底賃銀を規定し

（組合率はこれより高い）

兒童の危險な强制勞働を禁止にゐる。

四十八州の大部分は、又獨自の勞働法規を制定してゐる

婦人勞働者を保護し
兒童の勞働を制限し
男女の賃銀を均等にし
失業中の手當を支給し
公務傷害中の手當も支給する

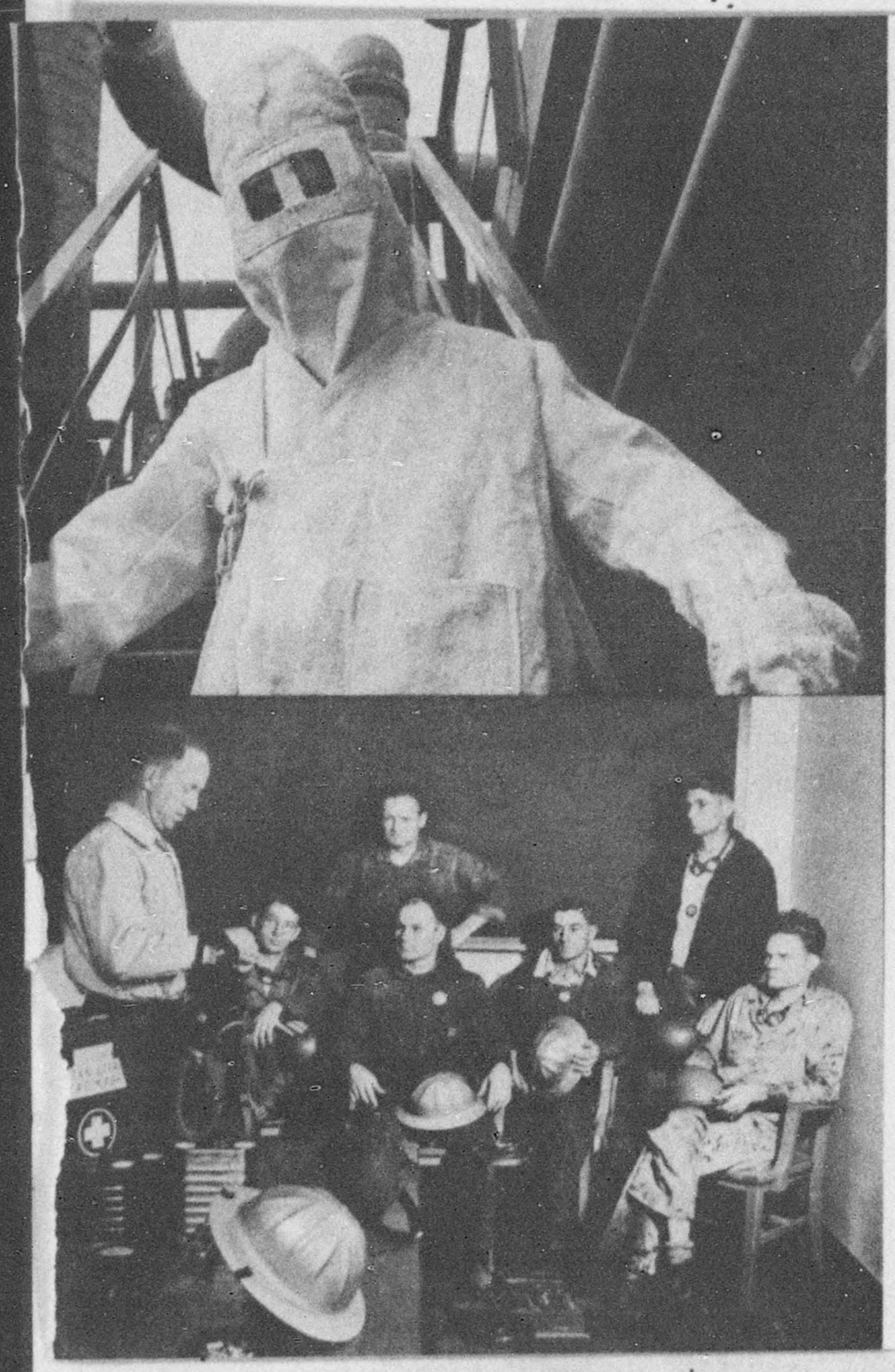


政府、經營者、勞働者は協力して、勞働者の健康擁護に努力する

工場に於て

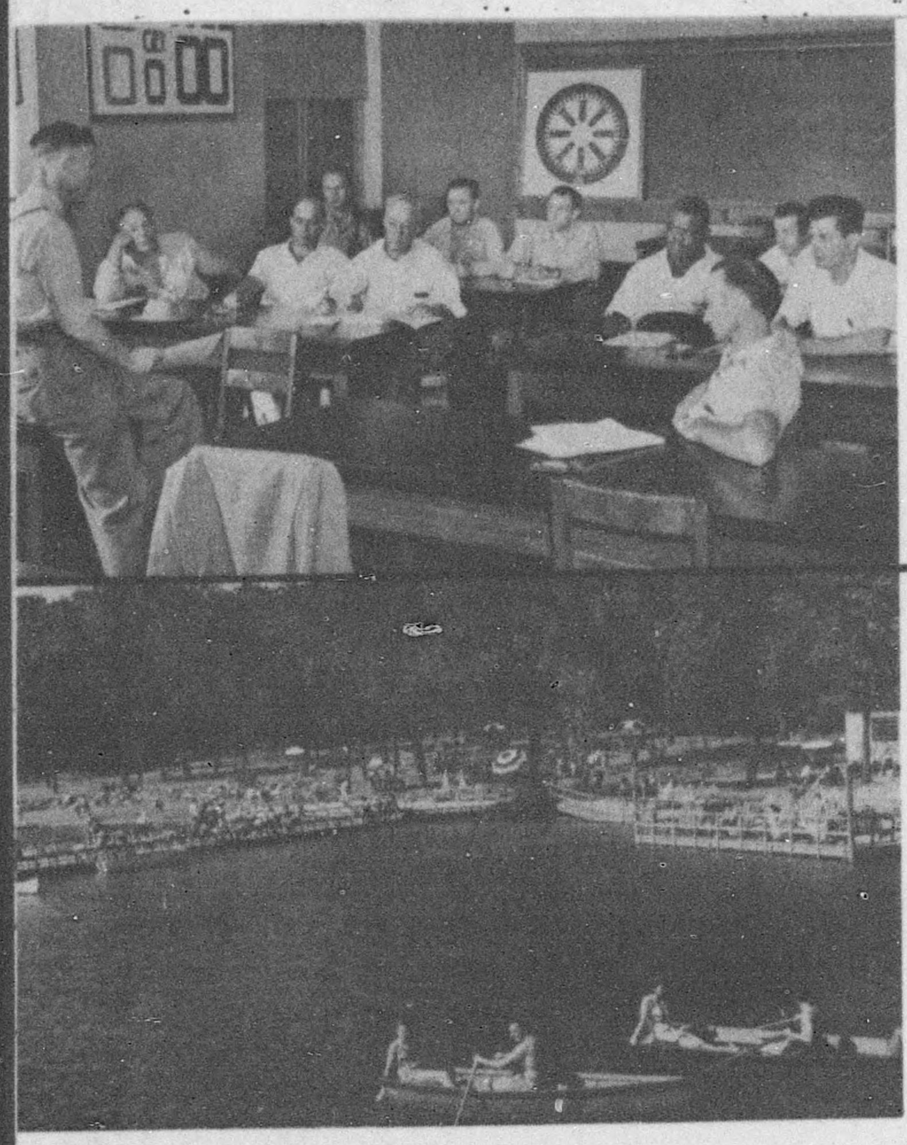
公立病院、診療所に於て

組合保健所に於て



安全手段、危險防止用被服が必要とされる。

勞働者は危險を避けるやうに訓練されてゐる。



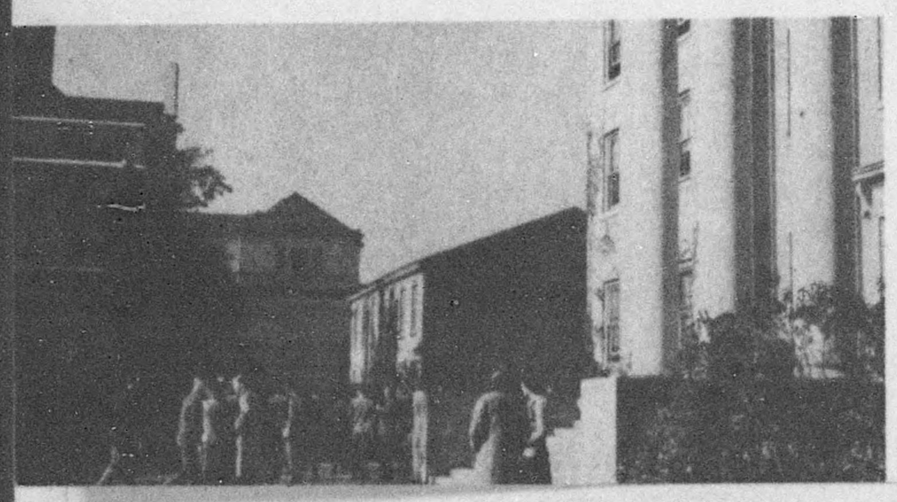
米國の勤勞者は勉强と

娛樂の時間を持つている

週四十時間制が復活された

現在米國には二千七百万台の自動車があるが
大部分は勤勞者のものである。

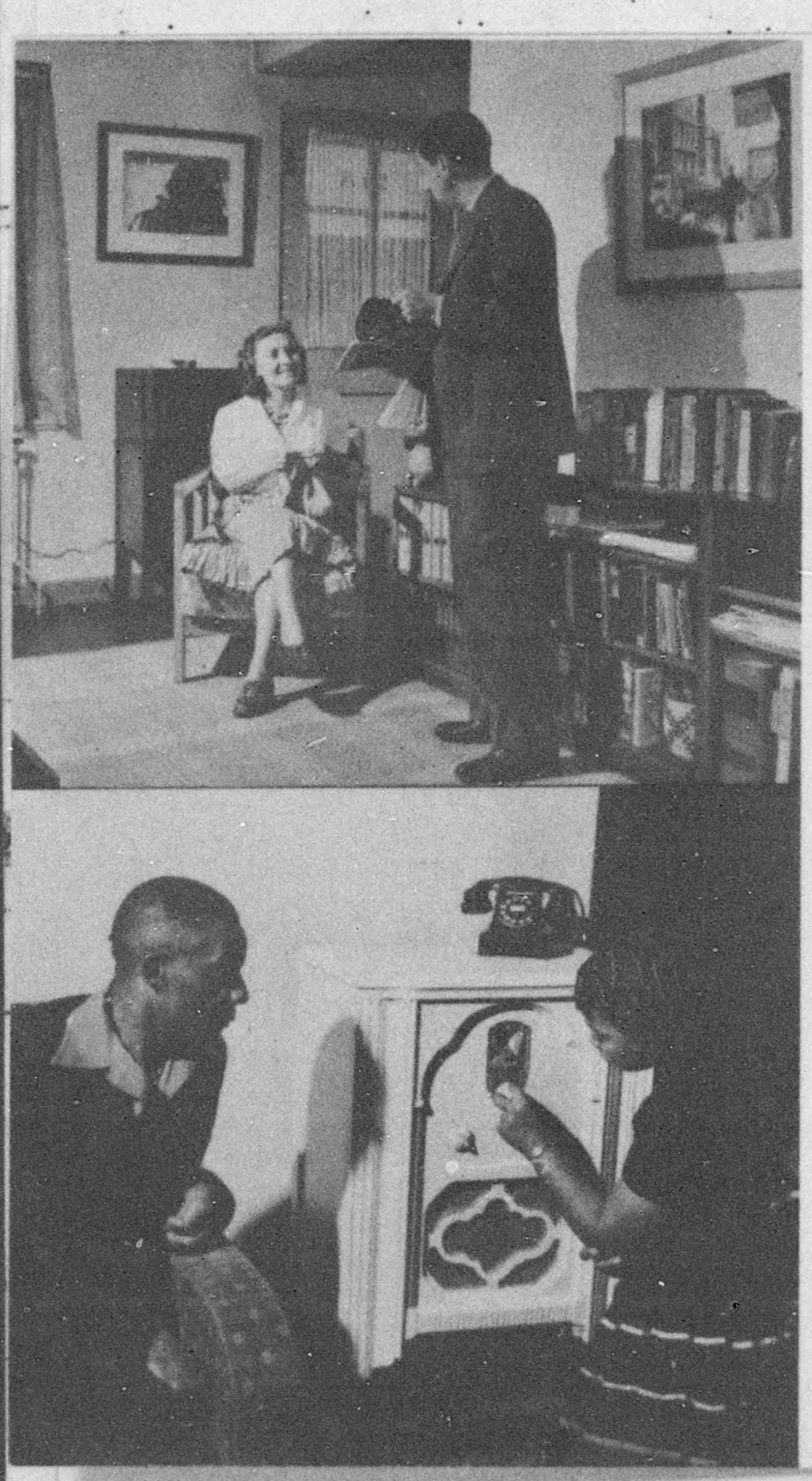
勤勞者の子弟は無月謝の公立學校に行き



カレツヂにも進學出來る。

組合と學校は協同して勞働者の問題につき成人教育を行なう

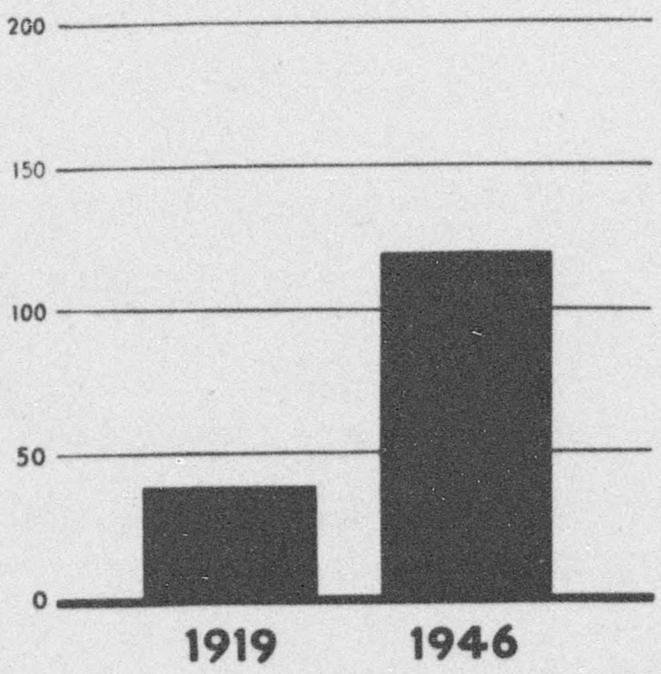
勤勞者は種々な組織、出版物を通じて國際協力、國內國外の一般的福祉問題を研究する。



勤勞者は獨立家屋、アパートに住む。

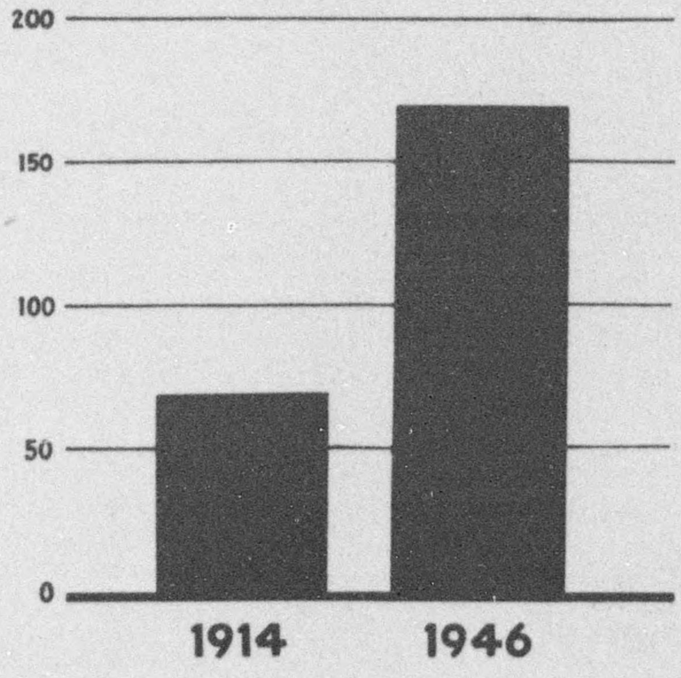
一九四七年一月の工場勞働者賃金は平均一
時間一弗二十仙であつた。
これは次の品物のどれかを買うに十分である
白パン……五キログラム
牛乳……六リツトル
玉子……二十四個
卷煙草……一三六本
米……三キログラム
砂糖……六キログラム
ポークチヨツプ……一キログラム

一九一九年と一九四六年の間に
一人一時間當りの工業生産量は
三倍にふえた。



1939 = 100　1919 = 40　1946 = 120

一九四六年には一九一四年に比較して一週當りの勞働時間が短かかつたにもかがわらず、生産量は殆んど二倍半に達した。

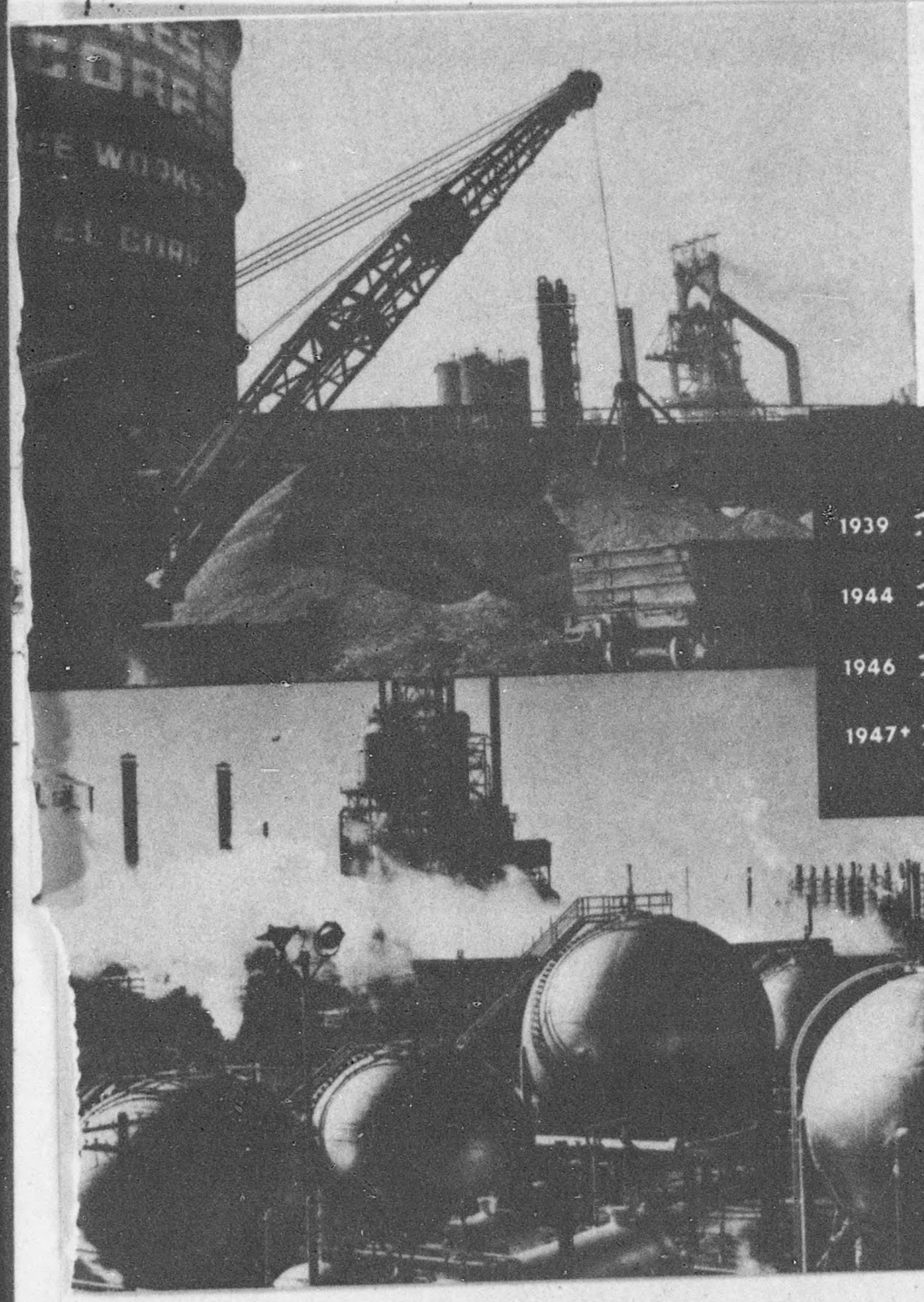


1935/39 = 100　1914 = 70　1946 = 170

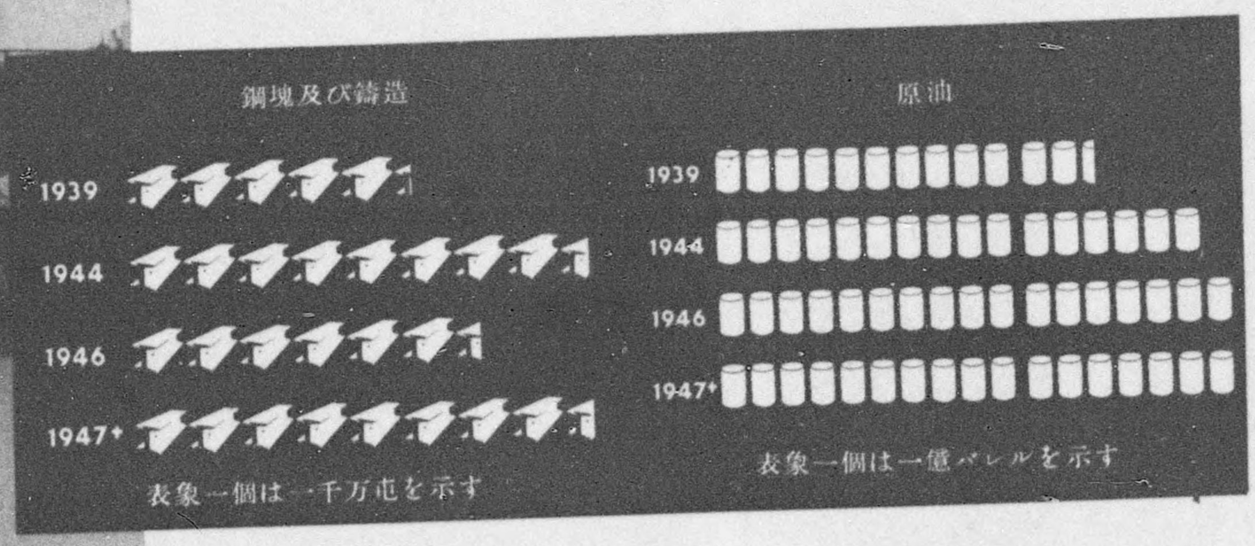
此の好結果は工場の能率と好い勞働條件に依る。

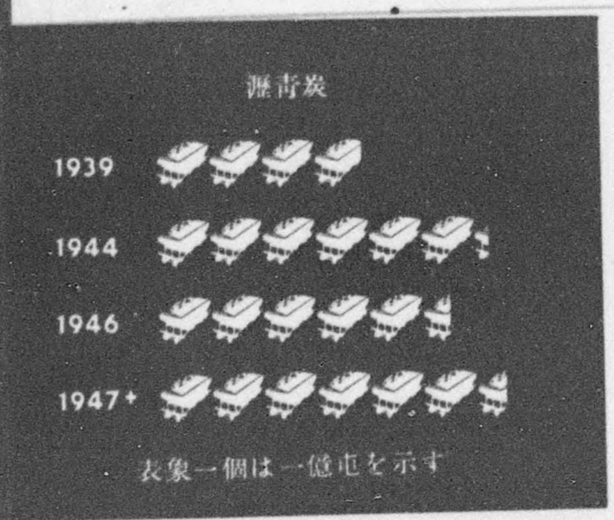
大戦中千五百万の勤労者は
軍務に服した。

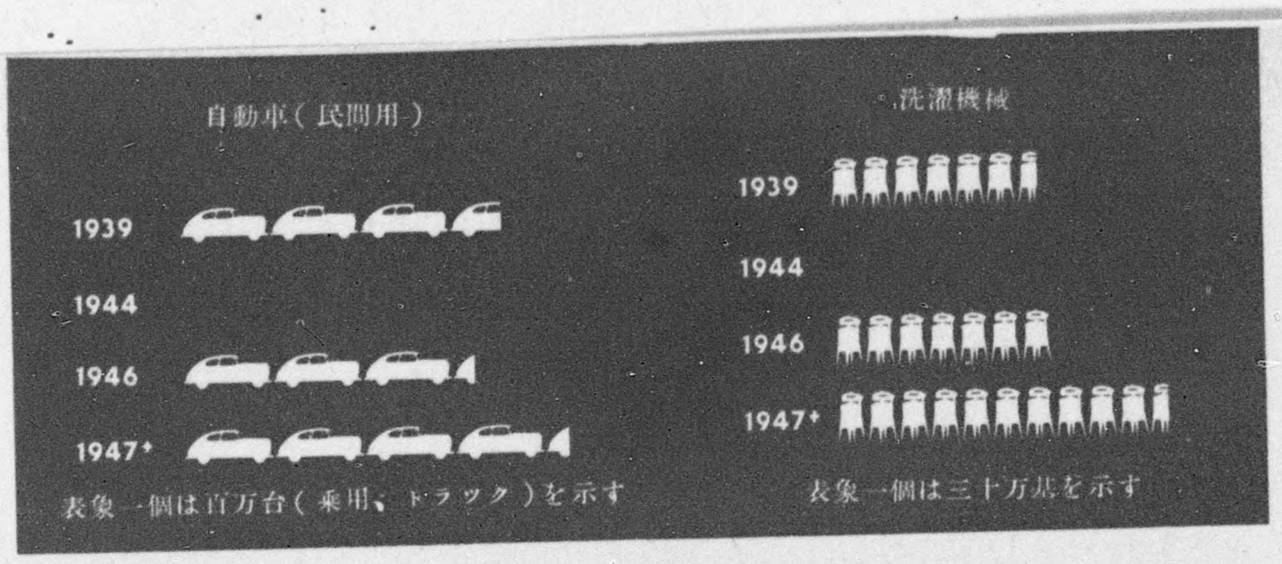
殘つた勤労者は、民間の需要を満
たし、更に全世界軍需品の殆んど
半分を生産した。

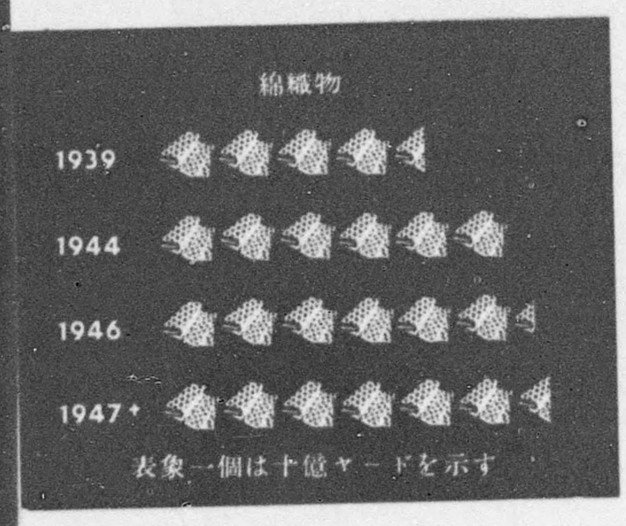


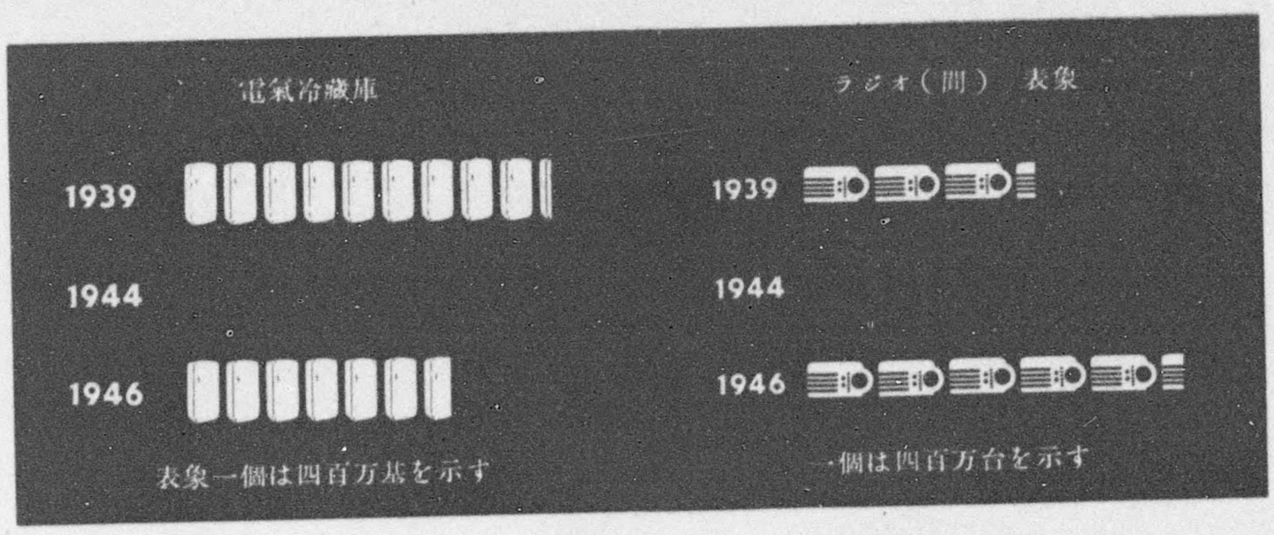
一九四七年には生産新記錄が作られている




褐青炭
1939
1944
1946
1947+
表象一個は一億屯を示す


自動車（民間用）
1939
1944
1946
1947+
表象一個は百万台（乗用、トラック）を示す
洗濯機械
1939
1944
1946
1947+
表象一個は三十万基を示す


綿織物
1939
1944
1946
1947+
表象一個は十億ヤードを示す


電氣冷藏庫
1939
1944
1946
表象一個は四百万基を示す
ラジオ（聞） 表象
1939
1944
1946
一個は四百万台を示す

米國勤勞者は戰時平時を通じて彼等の記錄をほこつている

The New York Times Magazine

"Democratic trade unionism and communism do not mix."—David Dubinsky (right) holds a press conference.

A Warning Against Communists in Unions

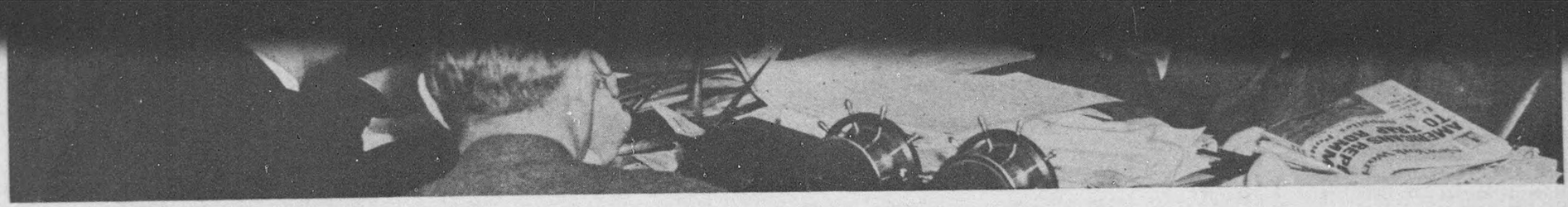
Mr. Dubinsky says their aims and spirits are hostile to the policies of trade unionism

By DAVID DUBINSKY

WHAT Communists do in the trade unions of any country vitally affects the welfare and security of its entire people, and not merely its organized labor movement.

No organization in American life has been immune from Communist penetration. Obedient to centralized direction, Communists have bored within church [illegible] scarcely be exaggerated. Like termites, [illegible] something about parliamentry procedure, want, because they are skilled in parliamentary tactics, and use any methods or weapons and because they reject no trick or device, they make headway.

But the Communist "fraction" does not always plant its own member in the union president's office. This place is often reserved for the ambitious [illegible]



"Democratic trade unionism and communism do not mix."—David Dubinsky (right) holds a press conference.

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WHAT Communists do in the trade unions of any country vitally affects the welfare and security of its entire people, and not merely its organized labor movement.

No organization in American life has been immune from Communist penetration. Obedient to centralized direction, Communists have bored within church bodies, educational institutions, women's clubs, scientific groups and, believe it or not, business men's associations.

But the labor unions have been their special target. Without control of the trade unions the Communists would be lost. The unions form their economic base. Without direction of the key workers' groups, their other "transmission belts" would be useless. The workers' organizations are the largest and most vital non-governmental body in the community. They are primarily dedicated to improving working conditions, to raising living standards. They are part of a delicate mechanism of modern life, the core of "human engineering." The influence of organized labor reaches far beyond its 13,000,000 members or their families.

"Curtain Rod"
Seaman in Justice, ILGWU paper.

For this reason the significance of Communist operations in trade unions can scarcely be exaggerated. Like termites, they bore into the "house of labor," but are not an integral part of the structure because the spirit and aims of totalitarian communism are totally distinct from and hostile to the ideals and policies of free trade unionism.

Free trade unionism may have its faults, but they can be remedied because essentially the processes of these unions are democratic, even though, at times, they may fall short of the ideal.

But communism, in unions and other organizations, is conspiratorial. It is based on the elimination of majority rule. It aims to establish the one-party state as the sole power over all groups. The unions, they are convinced, are the stepping stones to this goal.

THE Communist technique is simple. The party agent forms the acquaintance of a member of a union which is marked for capture. They form a "cell' or "fraction" of a few like-minded members. With the help of the party agent a program is prepared. Naturally, it follows the Communist party line.

At the outset, the party representative's choice falls on a unionist who knows something about parliamentry procedure. Then the stage is set. The innocent is introduced to an important party functionary or well-known party speaker; he is taken to cocktail parties and dances and no time is lost in introducing him to attractive partners.

The next scene is at the union meeting. Hardly is the gathering called to order before the Communist "fraction" starts to work. A member or, better still, a stooge or "innocent" makes a motion. The debate is on. It may and frequently does last long into the night. Slowly the members who want some sleep slip out of the room. As they do, the Communist tide rises. A vote may be taken at 1 or 2 o'clock in the morning. The party-liners win.

"Waiting for Lefty."
Seaman in Justice, ILGWU paper.

Sounds simple, does it not? It is simple. And yet that is the way the followers of Stalin have captured trade unions. The same procedure used at national conventions results in the Communist capture or control of the larger units.

The Communists cannot act single-handed. They must have help. They must be part of a crowd, of a "united front" or a "popular front," whatever the name may be. Because they know what they want, because they are skilled in parliamentary tactics, and use any methods or weapons and because they reject no trick or device, they make headway.

But the Communist "fraction" does not always plant its own member in the union president's office. This place is often reserved for the ambitious opportunist who is ready to "play along." The "fraction" may even seek out a pliable promising non-Communist party man to bear the title of president and thus serve as a good cover for the actual party control of the union. If he stands for the party program, that is enough. Of course the real job, such as secretary-treasurer and organizational director, must go to strict party men.

THE whole Communist apparatus is highly centralized—"democratic centralism" is the phrase. But forget the "democratic." That's camouflage. The machinery is geared for quick action, for when the party line is "handed down" it must be obeyed with blind military discipline. There is no time for debate, only for "discussion and approval."

The Communists refer to themselves as the "vanguard" of labor. Nothing could be further from the truth. They have disrupted many unions with their factional quarrels and have left in their wake many saddened and disillusioned members, destroyed businesses and blasted hopes. Far from being "progressive," as they claim, they are really "dynamic reac-

(Continued on page 2)

DAVID DUBINSKY, president of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union and a vice president of the AFL, has long been a leading foe of Communists in the labor movement.

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tionaries," as someone has called them.

To them ethics and morality are "bourgeois" virtues. Therefore, in the unions, as elsewhere, they will support a conservative or reactionary if he should oblige them by favoring a pro-Soviet or pro-party line.

MANY cases are at hand to prove this assertion. Indeed, we can show examples of union leaders who have dipped into their organizations' treasuries and grossly mismanaged union affairs without any condemnation by the Communists. In such cases the Communists have jumped hard on anyone who has tried to unseat the financially delinquent and incompetent non-Communist "friend of the Soviet Union."

As self-constituted champions of the Negro race the Communists have never faltered in praise of their alleged attitude on race discrimination. Yet they have never criticized the head of one of the nation's important unions who is known to be largely responsible for drawing the color line in his own organization.

Why? This union official, though not a Communist, has, out of vanity, or ignorance perhaps, permitted his name to be used as a sponsor of Soviet "front" outfits.

In another important union the national president has winked at Communist domination of local activities in two important metropolitan areas. By this concession he has bought off criticism of his administration of union affairs. This officer even sits at labor conventions with men he knows are Communist leaders of his affiliates.

IT is evident that vanity and lack of principle by non-Communist unionists have a bearing on the reasons why pro-Communist elements make headway in the mass workers units. Opportunism is a quality that is found everywhere.

Even in our own international union any local officer, no matter how conservative or incompetent, can avoid criticism by Communists and even obtain their support by merely endorsing some resolution favoring Russian foreign policy or the party line.

To Communists the yardstick of a union leader's "progressivism" is not the

eighteen more weeks of futile agony on the picket lines in order to justify the Communist "class struggle" dogma. This terrible fiasco, however, unseated the Communists in our union Since then, most of the leaders of that strike have broken with Communist totalitarianism and have returned to the union. These same leaders are now the most effective fighters against Communist influence and domination.

It took ten years for us to recover from the criminal and stupid Communist-led strike of 1926 which cost $3,500,000 and left in its wake a chaotic industry and a crippled union.

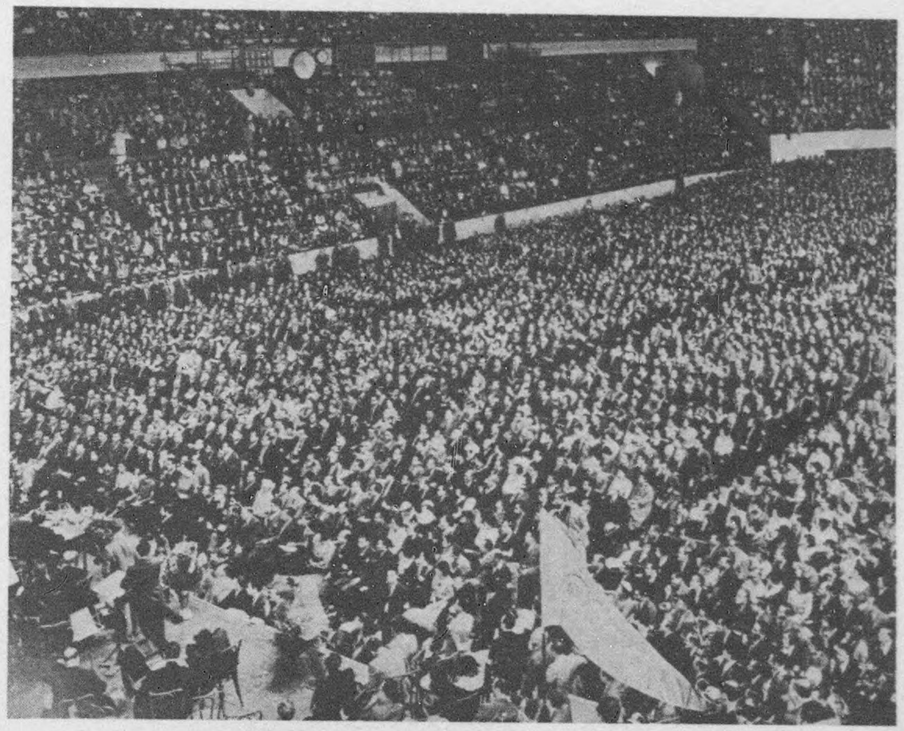
OTHER unions are going through the same experience we have had. Now and then the curtain is pulled aside and we see what is happening. Take the case of Joseph Curran of the CIO's National Maritime Union. He knows the story from the inside. He says that 500 Communist party members dominate his union of 80,000 members through tactics "no different than those practiced by the Nazis when they destroyed the trade union movement of Germany."

By means of its cells the Communist party, according to Mr. Curran, was able to take 107 out of 150 elective offices in this union, one of the most strategic in the nation's life. These 107 officials, says Mr. Curran, are "more interested in assuring that the National Maritime Union becomes a stooge union of the Communist party than they are in keeping it an instrument belonging to the rank and file seamen who built it."

Interference by the Communist party in union elections, finances and strike policies was but recently exposed by J. A. (Pat) Sullivan, president of the Canadian Seamen's Union, an affiliate of the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.

For years prior to his frank confession of Communist affiliation Mr. Sullivan repeatedly denied that tie. He did so, he says, in order to win two elective positions—secretary-treasurer of the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress and head of the Canadian seamen's organization, strategic posts from which he could serve the Communist party.

THE Communists are desperately working day and night to get control of progressive unions. With these as a



Labor rally—Workers protest proposed Federal legislation.

Browder saw in it "the clearest example of the tendencies toward fascism." Roosevelt's labor policies, according to Mr. Browder, constituted "the American brother to Mussolini's corporate state with state-controlled labor unions closely tied up and under the direction of the employers."

Subsequently, when the party line changed, no praise of Roosevelt was too great for Mr. Browder. However, during the Hitler-Stalin pact this ersatz fuehrer thundered in Madison Square Garden, "The Rooseveltism of the New Deal has capitulated to reactionaries."

Yet the moment Russia was forced into the war by Hitler everything changed again. The Communists buried their class struggle theory temporarily and they stopped strikes abruptly because they were no longer interested in embarrassing our defense preparations or sabotaging aid to Britain. In fact, they glorified F. D. R. in terms second only to those held in reserve for Stalin. In this and in their temporarily servile submis-

Coast Longshoremen's Unions, is familiar with all the curves in the Communist party line. When American cooperation with the Soviet Union was the order of the day during the war he boldly proclaimed the idea of extending the no-strike pledge beyond the war period. But he dropped this line when the war ended and the party line changed. Behind this changed expression is his belief, shared by other Communist party line followers, that the political strike is more important than the economic strike. Keep that in mind. It is important. The reason is obvious. The political strike is a revolutionary weapon. The economic strike is not.

WHAT would happen if the Communists should gain control of the American trade union movement?

Let Tomsky, prominent Russian trade union leader, a suicide in one of the party purges, give the answer:

"If for a moment we could imagine

be used as a sponsor of Soviet front outfits.

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Even in our own international union any local officer, no matter how conservative or incompetent, can avoid criticism by Communists and even obtain their support by merely endorsing some resolution favoring Russian foreign policy or the party line.

To Communists the yardstick of a union leader's "progressivism" is not the soundness of his labor policies but his readiness to approve Kremlin policy. That is why I consider them totalitarian reactionaries.

The fact is that real progressive unionists are the foremost targets of these Leftists while conservative unionists are quite safe from their onslaughts. The reason is simple. The liberal unionist knows the score. He is wise to Communist machinations. He can find his way through the jungle of double talk raised by the "saviors of the working class." This will explain why the ILGWU has been the butt of bitter Communist assaults for so many years.

ALTHOUGH our union is free of the Communist menace today, it was not always so. In 1926 the Communist party through its demagogic propaganda and exaggerated promises was able to attract many of our members. It thus managed to obtain control of our New York organization and succeeded in plunging the coat and suit industry into a general strike. After a futile eight-week struggle the local Communist leaders had had enough. They were ready to come to a settlement, but the Communist party, feeling that the Moscow line was about to change, ordered their agents inside the union to continue the strike—against their better judgment and against the interests of the workers.

The strike ended disastrously after this union, one of the most strategic in the nation's life. These 107 officials, says Mr. Curran, are "more interested in assuring that the National Maritime Union becomes a stooge union of the Communist party than they are in keeping it an instrument belonging to the rank and file seamen who built it."

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THE Communists are desperately working day and night to get control of progressive unions. With these as a base they can then launch their attacks on more conservative union citadels. Once in control of a few key progressive unions, they have a toehold in the inner circles and policymaking body of the whole labor movement. This is no small achievement. It means representation on committees and bodies of all sorts, visiting the President, for example, having an entree to important Government departments and gaining access to what might otherwise be secret information and, naturally, passing it on to the party commissars.

One Communist-dominated union "suddenly" conceived the idea of organizing workers in the Panama Canal Zone. Overnight the organizer flew to that strategic area. In a comparatively short time the union boasted 13,000 members there. Was this display of activity solely an interest in trade unionism?

I will not deny that Communists, at times, fight to improve the lot of the wage-earners but only when such a policy coincides with the interests of the Soviet rulers. If it is to their advantage to forego demands on their employers, to neglect grievances, to engage in the maximum of "class collaboration," they will do so.

TAKE their attitude toward President Roosevelt. When the New Deal was sponsoring important social legislation, Earl Browder saw in it "the clearest example of the tendencies toward fascism." Roosevelt's labor policies, according to Mr. Browder, constituted "the American brother to Mussolini's corporate state with state-controlled labor unions closely tied up and under the direction of the employers."

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THE unions under Communist domination reflected this sudden change faithfully because they are completely wired for Communist sound. Read their organs and you will learn that as soon as Russia entered the war they abandoned their campaign against lend-lease and frowned on any interruption of production. In this period one of the largest of these Communist - dominated unions even espoused an elaborate "incentive" production plan of the type denounced by labor for many years as "speed-up." It is hardly necessary to emphasize the reason.

For purely Communist purposes, the needs of Russian foreign policy, the Communists have brought discredit to the time-honored weapon of trade union picketing. They threw a picket line around a hotel to interfere with a dinner officially tendered to Winston Churchill by the City of New York. In another instance Philip Murray had to intervene to prevent the Communist - dominated New York City CIO-Industrial Council from proclaiming a two-hour city-wide political strike. The strike was called ostensibly to support another CIO union —also in the Communist orbit.

Harry Bridges, who runs the West Coast Longshoremen's Unions, is familiar with all the curves in the Communist party line. When American cooperation with the Soviet Union was the order of the day during the war he boldly proclaimed the idea of extending the no-strike pledge beyond the war period. But he dropped this line when the war ended and the party line changed. Behind this changed expression is his belief, shared by other Communist party line followers, that the political strike is more important than the economic strike. Keep that in mind. It is important. The reason is obvious. The political strike is a revolutionary weapon. The economic strike is not.

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Let Tomsky, prominent Russian trade union leader, a suicide in one of the party purges, give the answer:

"If for a moment we could imagine that tomorrow all the trade unions of Germany would march hand in hand with the German Communist party, we would have no doubt that a Soviet Government would be established there within five minutes after that combination of forces took place. * * * If we could imagine for a moment a combination of the trade unions with the Communist party of England, then a Soviet Government would rapidly spring up also in England."

Obviously, the extent to which Communists succeed in capturing posts and securing domination over unions vitally concerns the entire nation and not merely the particular labor body affected.

PRESENT-DAY France affords a striking and tragic confirmation of this truth. The Communists in France now dominate the General Confederation of Labor. No doubt the Communist party in France owes much of its electoral strength to the stranglehold it has over the great trade unions in the metal trades, coal fields, transportation and other key labor organizations. Through its air-tight control of the trade unions, the Communist party has, whenever it so desired, exercised veto power over the French Government's economic policies. Because of this Communist control of the General Confederation of Labor, the nu-

merically largest political party in France is one whose policies are controlled by a foreign power and not by its membership.

We must never forget that the Communists took to resistance in France not when their own country was attacked but only after Russia was invaded. What a menace this development is to the stability and security of France is clear to all.

In many important respects, the situation now prevailing in Italy is similar.

WERE the Communists ever to exercise such domination over the American trade union movement and thereby secure such a decisive political position, our own country would find itself just as unstable and insecure—its national independence vitally sapped—at the mercy and whim of a ruthless foreign totalitarian dictatorship.

Liberals render a distinct disservice to the nation when they allow themselves to be used as fig leaves, front men or transmission belts by the Communists. Some liberals deliberately allow themselves to be thus used; others may do so unwittingly. But in both cases such liberals lend most vital prestige indispensable to Communist success.

Non-Communist trade union leaders who join with the Communists in united front movements render an equally distinct disservice to the people as a whole and to organized labor in particular.

The present trend in the country against communism has so far resulted only in an increasing number of union members getting on to the Communist game. Some leaders of trade unions have left their posts in disgust because of their belated realization as to what the Communists have been doing right under their noses. But though more and more rank and file workers in Communist-dominated unions are waking up to the fact that they have been used as dupes by the Communist party, the Communists have not yet been dislodged from the control of any unions which they have been holding in their grip. In recent months the Communist party has been put on the defensive and has lost some ground. But it continues to maintain its stranglehold on a number of unions.

Today the Communist party claims 70,000 members. Let us assume that 35,000 of these are in the unions. That would give the party a maximum numerical strength of .0027 per cent of the 13,000,000 trade union members. But despite their insignificant numbers, the Communists and their fellow-travelers and party-liners dominate twelve to fifteen out of forty national CIO unions. They have a strong bloc on the CIO executive board.

None of the 110 national unions of the AFL is dominated by Communists, but they do control locals of an undetermined number, though not many.

It is safe to say that no important labor union in the United States has more than 2 per cent Communist membership. Because of their devious methods of operation, however, the Communists and their followers wield an influence far out of proportion to their numbers. It is truly a case of the Communist tail in some cases wagging the trade union dog.

The real danger from the Communists in trade unions is that they control strategically placed workers in key industries such as communications, transportation, shipping and maritime and electrical manufacturing.

HERE and there influential labor leaders have felt they could use the Communists to their advantage. Uniformly, this policy has been a failure, sometimes a disaster. The history of the CIO is abundant proof of my statement. Free, democratic trade unionism and communism do not mix. One cancels out the other. To be free, the unions must keep the Communists out of leadership which they would use to advance their party interests.

How can this be done? We start from the assumption, which is a fact, that up to now the totalitarian success in trade unions has been scored largely by default. The Communists have broken through open doors.

Today the constructive trade union leader who is fighting the infiltration of Communists into his organization is faced with other grave obstacles. Curiously enough, these hindrances come from those anti-union legislators, on the national and State levels, who presum-

EVERY anti-union law passed by Congress becomes a trump card in the hands of the Communists. Weaken the trade unions and you open wide the dikes for Communist propaganda to rush through. Nearsighted "regulators" of trade unionism in our legislative halls are the best pals the Communists could wish for in this country.

It is sheer nonsense for anyone to believe the Communists have a monopoly of organizational skill. They can be beaten by the conscious combined will of the progressive and democratic forces within the unions. Over and over again our experience in the ILGWU has supported this contention.

A local of the ILGWU with a membership of 25,000 held an election recently. It has less than 500 avowed or known Communists. Yet, because of their energy, discipline, unscrupulousness in creating false issues and propagandistic activity, they polled 5,000 votes. Suppose only 9,000 members had gone to the polls. Less than 500 Communists would have taken control of a local with such a huge membership. Only because the progressive forces were alert, were well led and were able to bring 80 per cent of the members out to vote did they succeed in defeating the Communist-led forces, 3 to 1.

THEREFORE, to meet the situation, trade union progressives must:

(1) Put at least as much energy in organizing the majority as the Communists do in organizing the minority.

(2) Enlightened trade unionists do not have to ban Communist propaganda to stop party infiltration. Outlawing the Communist party from the political arena or Communists from trade union membership is not an effective way of combating them. We must rely on education and discussions of daily problems confronting labor, on the systematic enlightenment of our members about the grave issues facing us.

(3) We must do everything we can to bring home to the rank and file the importance of attending their local meetings and sharing in the responsibilities of union membership. They must lead in handling grievances in the shops and factories. They must serve on committees that administer the policies of the union,

(4) Local unions should make it obligatory for members to attend meetings and participate in elections in order to insure that all decisions reflect the will of the majority. This would serve as the most effective barrier to Communist minority control of unions.

OBJECTIVE

"Infiltration of organized labor has been a major objective for Communists for several good reasons. First of all, unions are large in membership. If captured they represent substantial economic and political power. Secondly, communism has an appeal to persons who are dissatisfied with their existing status. Communism makes glowing promises * * *. Yet, to the credit of labor, it must be said that many honest and forward-looking labor unions are themselves endeavoring to expose and destroy this cancerous growth."

—Robert M. La Follette Jr.

Local unions must work out practical administrative methods of stimulating all members to take part in every phase of union life, to take time and patience to interest members in such a program. Efforts must continue despite discouragement.

(5) As trade union leaders we must be tireless in our efforts to solve the daily problems of the wage-earners in improving their working conditions, living standards and safeguarding their political rights and interests.

(6) Constructive unionists must refrain from competing with Communists or others in making extravagant "pie-in-the-sky" promises that cannot be fulfilled.

IF we follow these rules we can easily overcome the Communist nuclei in the trade unions in every test of strength. These strepto-Communist cells, like those of other diseases, thrive in darkness and ignorance. They do not multiply in unions where leaders and members are alert, honest and competent.

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HOW much strength do the Communists have in the unions? It is impossible to give an exact figure of their trade union membership.

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What the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union has been able to do since it routed the Communists twenty years ago every progressive American labor union can do today.

International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union

1710 Broadway New York 19, N. Y.

The New York Times Magazine

"Democratic trade unionism and communism do not mix."—David Dubinsky (right) holds a press conference.

A Warning Against Communists in Unions

Mr. Dubinsky says their aims and spirits are hostile to the policies of trade unionism

By DAVID DUBINSKY

WHAT Communists do in the trade unions of any country vitally affects the welfare and security of its entire people, and not merely its organized labor movement.

No organization in American life has been immune from Communist penetration. Obedient to centralized direction, scarcely be exaggerated. Like termites, something about parliamentry procedure.

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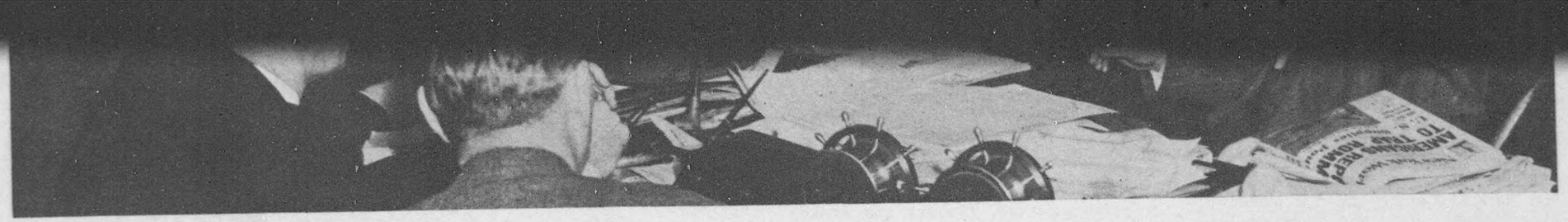
But the Communist "fraction" does not always plant its own member in the union president's office. This place is often reserved for the ambitious opportunist who



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WHAT Communists do in the trade unions of any country vitally affects the welfare and security of its entire people, and not merely its organized labor movement.

No organization in American life has been immune from Communist penetration. Obedient to centralized direction, Communists have bored within church bodies, educational institutions, women's clubs, scientific groups and, believe it or not, business men's associations.

But the labor unions have been their special target. Without control of the trade unions the Communists would be lost. The unions form their economic base. Without direction of the key workers' groups, their other "transmission belts" would be useless. The workers' organizations are the largest and most vital non-governmental body in the community. They are primarily dedicated to improving working conditions, to raising living standards. They are part of a delicate mechanism of modern life, the core of "human engineering." The influence of organized labor reaches far beyond its 13,000,000 members or their families.

"Curtain Rod"
Seaman in Justice, ILGWU paper.

For this reason the significance of Communist operations in trade unions can scarcely be exaggerated. Like termites, they bore into the "house of labor," but are not an integral part of the structure because the spirit and aims of totalitarian communism are totally distinct from and hostile to the ideals and policies of free trade unionism.

Free trade unionism may have its faults, but they can be remedied because essentially the processes of these unions are democratic, even though, at times, they may fall short of the ideal.

But communism, in unions and other organizations, is conspiratorial. It is based on the elimination of majority rule. It aims to establish the one-party state as the sole power over all groups. The unions, they are convinced, are the stepping stones to this goal.

THE Communist technique is simple. The party agent forms the acquaintance of a member of a union which is marked for capture. They form a "cell' or "fraction" of a few like-minded members. With the help of the party agent a program is prepared. Naturally, it follows the Communist party line.

At the outset, the party representative's choice falls on a unionist who knows something about parliamentry procedure. Then the stage is set. The innocent is introduced to an important party functionary or well-known party speaker; he is taken to cocktail parties and dances and no time is lost in introducing him to attractive partners.

The next scene is at the union meeting. Hardly is the gathering called to order before the Communist "fraction" starts to work. A member or, better still, a stooge or "innocent" makes a motion. The debate is on. It may and frequently does last long into the night. Slowly the members who want some sleep slip out of the room. As they do, the Communist tide rises. A vote may be taken at 1 or 2 o'clock in the morning. The party-liners win.

"Waiting for Lefty."
Seaman in Justice, ILGWU paper.

Sounds simple, does it not? It is simple. And yet that is the way the followers of Stalin have captured trade unions. The same procedure used at national conventions results in the Communist capture or control of the larger units.

The Communists cannot act single-handed. They must have help. They must be part of a crowd, of a "united front" or a "popular front," whatever the name may be. Because they know what they want, because they are skilled in parliamentary tactics, and use any methods or weapons and because they reject no trick or device, they make headway.

But the Communist "fraction" does not always plant its own member in the union president's office. This place is often reserved for the ambitious opportunist who is ready to "play along." The "fraction" may even seek out a pliable promising non-Communist party man to bear the title of president and thus serve as a good cover for the actual party control of the union. If he stands for the party program, that is enough. Of course the real job, such as secretary-treasurer and organizational director, must go to strict party men.

THE whole Communist apparatus is highly centralized—"democratic centralism" is the phrase. But forget the "democratic." That's camouflage. The machinery is geared for quick action, for when the party line is "handed down" it must be obeyed with blind military discipline. There is no time for debate, only for "discussion and approval."

The Communists refer to themselves as the "vanguard" of labor. Nothing could be further from the truth. They have disrupted many unions with their factional quarrels and have left in their wake many saddened and disillusioned members, destroyed businesses and blasted hopes. Far from being "progressive," as they claim, they are really "dynamic reac- (*Continued on page 2*)

DAVID DUBINSKY, president of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union and a vice president of the AFL, has long been a leading foe of Communists in the labor movement.

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tionaries," as someone has called them.

To them ethics and morality are "bourgeois" virtues. Therefore, in the unions, as elsewhere, they will support a conservative or reactionary if he should oblige them by favoring a pro-Soviet or pro-party line.

MANY cases are at hand to prove this assertion. Indeed, we can show examples of union leaders who have dipped into their organizations' treasuries and grossly mismanaged union affairs without any condemnation by the Communists. In such cases the Communists have jumped hard on anyone who has tried to unseat the financially delinquent and incompetent non-Communist "friend of the Soviet Union."

As self-constituted champions of the Negro race the Communists have never faltered in praise of their alleged attitude on race discrimination. Yet they have never criticized the head of one of the nation's important unions who is known to be largely responsible for drawing the color line in his own organization.

Why? This union official, though not a Communist, has, out of vanity, or ignorance perhaps, permitted his name to be used as a sponsor of Soviet "front" outfits.

In another important union the national president has winked at Communist domination of local activities in two important metropolitan areas. By this concession he has bought off criticism of his administration of union affairs. This officer even sits at labor conventions with men he knows are Communist leaders of his affiliates.

IT is evident that vanity and lack of principle by non-Communist unionists have a bearing on the reasons why pro-Communist elements make headway in the mass workers units. Opportunism is a quality that is found everywhere.

Even in our own international union any local officer, no matter how conservative or incompetent, can avoid criticism by Communists and even obtain their support by merely endorsing some resolution favoring Russian foreign policy or the party line.

To Communists the yardstick of a union leader's "progressivism" is not the soundness of his labor policies but his readiness to approve Kremlin policy.

eighteen more weeks of futile agony on the picket lines in order to justify the Communist "class struggle" dogma. This terrible fiasco, however, unseated the Communists in our union Since then, most of the leaders of that strike have broken with Communist totalitarianism and have returned to the union. These same leaders are now the most effective fighters against Communist influence and domination.

It took ten years for us to recover from the criminal and stupid Communist-led strike of 1926 which cost $3,500,000 and left in its wake a chaotic industry and a crippled union.

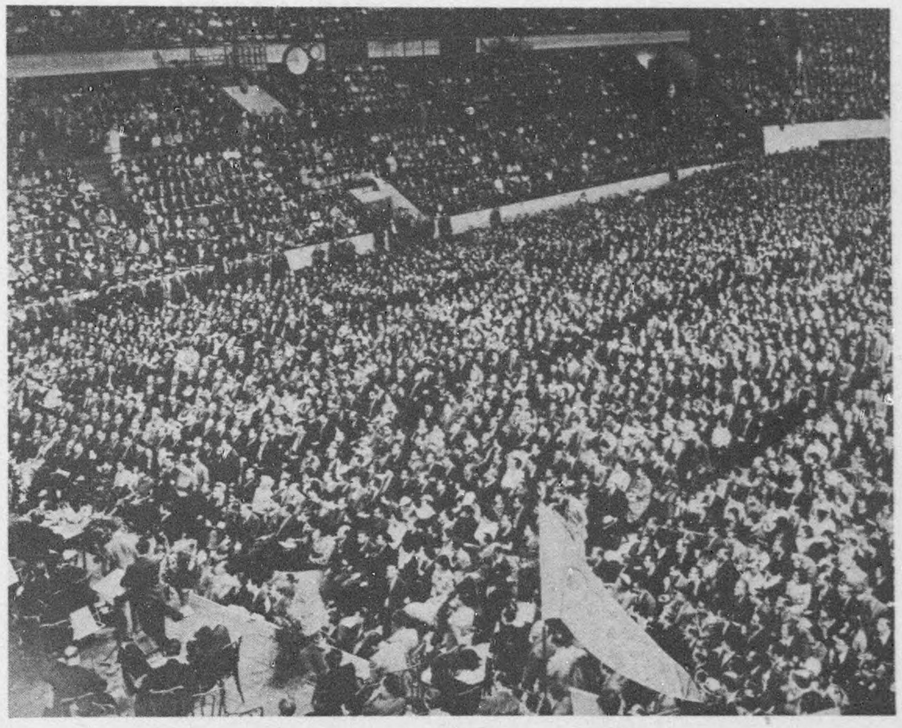
OTHER unions are going through the same experience we have had. Now and then the curtain is pulled aside and we see what is happening. Take the case of Joseph Curran of the CIO's National Maritime Union. He knows the story from the inside. He says that 500 Communist party members dominate his union of 80,000 members through tactics "no different than those practiced by the Nazis when they destroyed the trade union movement of Germany."

By means of its cells the Communist party, according to Mr. Curran, was able to take 107 out of 150 elective offices in this union, one of the most strategic in the nation's life. These 107 officials, says Mr. Curran, are "more interested in assuring that the National Maritime Union becomes a stooge union of the Communist party than they are in keeping it an instrument belonging to the rank and file seamen who built it."

Interference by the Communist party in union elections, finances and strike policies was but recently exposed by J. A. (Pat) Sullivan, president of the Canadian Seamen's Union, an affiliate of the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.

For years prior to his frank confession of Communist affiliation Mr. Sullivan repeatedly denied that tie. He did so, he says, in order to win two elective positions—secretary-treasurer of the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress and head of the Canadian seamen's organization, strategic posts from which he could serve the Communist party.

THE Communists are desperately working day and night to get control of progressive unions. With these as a base they can then launch their attacks



Labor rally—Workers protest proposed Federal legislation.

Browder saw in it "the clearest example of the tendencies toward fascism." Roosevelt's labor policies, according to Mr. Browder, constituted "the American brother to Mussolini's corporate state with state-controlled labor unions closely tied up and under the direction of the employers."

Subsequently, when the party line changed, no praise of Roosevelt was too great for Mr. Browder. However, during the Hitler-Stalin pact this ersatz fuehrer thundered in Madison Square Garden, "The Rooseveltism of the New Deal has capitulated to reactionaries."

Yet the moment Russia was forced into the war by Hitler everything changed again. The Communists buried their class struggle theory temporarily and they stopped strikes abruptly because they were no longer interested in embarrassing our defense preparations or sabotaging aid to Britain. In fact, they glorified F. D. R. in terms second only to those held in reserve for Stalin. In this and in their temporarily servile submission to American employers they had but

Coast Longshoremen's Unions, is familiar with all the curves in the Communist party line. When American cooperation with the Soviet Union was the order of the day during the war he boldly proclaimed the idea of extending the no-strike pledge beyond the war period. But he dropped this line when the war ended and the party line changed. Behind this changed expression is his belief, shared by other Communist party line followers, that the political strike is more important than the economic strike. Keep that in mind. It is important. The reason is obvious. The political strike is a revolutionary weapon. The economic strike is not.

WHAT would happen if the Communists should gain control of the American trade union movement?

Let Tomsky, prominent Russian trade union leader, a suicide in one of the party purges, give the answer:

"If for a moment we could imagine that tomorrow all the trade unions of Germany would march hand in hand with

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Even in our own international union any local officer, no matter how conservative or incompetent, can avoid criticism by Communists and even obtain their support by merely endorsing some resolution favoring Russian foreign policy or the party line.

To Communists the yardstick of a union leader's "progressivism" is not the soundness of his labor policies but his readiness to approve Kremlin policy. That is why I consider them totalitarian reactionaries.

The fact is that real progressive unionists are the foremost targets of these Leftists while conservative unionists are quite safe from their onslaughts. The reason is simple. The liberal unionist knows the score. He is wise to Communist machinations. He can find his way through the jungle of double talk raised by the "saviors of the working class." This will explain why the ILGWU has been the butt of bitter Communist assaults for so many years.

ALTHOUGH our union is free of the Communist menace today, it was not always so. In 1926 the Communist party through its demagogic propaganda and exaggerated promises was able to attract many of our members. It thus managed to obtain control of our New York organization and succeeded in plunging the coat and suit industry into a general strike. After a futile eight-week struggle the local Communist leaders had had enough. They were ready to come to a settlement, but the Communist party, feeling that the Moscow line was about to change, ordered their agents inside the union to continue the strike—against their better judgment and against the interests of the workers.

The strike ended disastrously after the nation's life. These 107 officials, says Mr. Curran, are "more interested in assuring that the National Maritime Union becomes a stooge union of the Communist party than they are in keeping it an instrument belonging to the rank and file seamen who built it."

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THE Communists are desperately working day and night to get control of progressive unions. With these as a base they can then launch their attacks on more conservative union citadels. Once in control of a few key progressive unions, they have a toehold in the inner circles and policymaking body of the whole labor movement. This is no small achievement. It means representation on committees and bodies of all sorts, visiting the President, for example, having an entree to important Government departments and gaining access to what might otherwise be secret information and, naturally, passing it on to the party commissars.

One Communist-dominated union "suddenly" conceived the idea of organizing workers in the Panama Canal Zone. Overnight the organizer flew to that strategic area. In a comparatively short time the union boasted 13,000 members there. Was this display of activity solely an interest in trade unionism?

I will not deny that Communists, at times, fight to improve the lot of the wage-earners but only when such a policy coincides with the interests of the Soviet rulers. If it is to their advantage to forego demands on their employers, to neglect grievances, to engage in the maximum of "class collaboration," they will do so.

TAKE their attitude toward President Roosevelt. When the New Deal was sponsoring important social legislation, Earl Browder saw in it "the clearest example of the tendencies toward fascism." Roosevelt's labor policies, according to Mr. Browder, constituted "the American brother to Mussolini's corporate state with state-controlled labor unions closely tied up and under the direction of the employers."

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THE unions under Communist domination reflected this sudden change faithfully because they are completely wired for Communist sound. Read their organs and you will learn that as soon as Russia entered the war they abandoned their campaign against lend-lease and frowned on any interruption of production. In this period one of the largest of these Communist - dominated unions even espoused an elaborate "incentive" production plan of the type denounced by labor for many years as "speed-up." It is hardly necessary to emphasize the reason.

For purely Communist purposes, the needs of Russian foreign policy, the Communists have brought discredit to the time-honored weapon of trade union picketing. They threw a picket line around a hotel to interfere with a dinner officially tendered to Winston Churchill by the City of New York. In another instance Philip Murray had to intervene to prevent the Communist - dominated New York City CIO-Industrial Council from proclaiming a two-hour city-wide political strike. The strike was called ostensibly to support another CIO union —also in the Communist orbit.

Harry Bridges, who runs the West Coast Longshoremen's Unions, is familiar with all the curves in the Communist party line. When American cooperation with the Soviet Union was the order of the day during the war he boldly proclaimed the idea of extending the no-strike pledge beyond the war period. But he dropped this line when the war ended and the party line changed. Behind this changed expression is his belief, shared by other Communist party line followers, that the political strike is more important than the economic strike. Keep that in mind. It is important. The reason is obvious. The political strike is a revolutionary weapon. The economic strike is not.

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"If for a moment we could imagine that tomorrow all the trade unions of Germany would march hand in hand with the German Communist party, we would have no doubt that a Soviet Government would be established there within five minutes after that combination of forces took place. * * * If we could imagine for a moment a combination of the trade unions with the Communist party of England, then a Soviet Government would rapidly spring up also in England."

Obviously, the extent to which Communists succeed in capturing posts and securing domination over unions vitally concerns the entire nation and not merely the particular labor body affected.

PRESENT-DAY France affords a striking and tragic confirmation of this truth. The Communists in France now dominate the General Confederation of Labor. No doubt the Communist party in France owes much of its electoral strength to the stranglehold it has over the great trade unions in the metal trades, coal fields, transportation and other key labor organizations. Through its air-tight control of the trade unions, the Communist party has, whenever it so desired, exercised veto power over the French Government's economic policies. Because of this Communist control of the General Confederation of Labor, the nu-

merically largest political party in France is one whose policies are controlled by a foreign power and not by its membership.

We must never forget that the Communists took to resistance in France not when their own country was attacked but only after Russia was invaded. What a menace this development is to the stability and security of France is clear to all.

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EVERY anti-union law passed by Congress becomes a trump card in the hands of the Communists. Weaken the trade unions and you open wide the dikes for Communist propaganda to rush through. Nearsighted "regulators" of trade unionism in our legislative halls are the best pals the Communists could wish for in this country.

It is sheer nonsense for anyone to believe the Communists have a monopoly of organizational skill. They can be beaten by the conscious combined will of the progressive and democratic forces within the unions. Over and over again our experience in the ILGWU has supported this contention.

A local of the ILGWU with a membership of 25,000 held an election recently. It has less than 500 avowed or known Communists. Yet, because of their energy, discipline, unscrupulousness in creating false issues and propagandistic activity, they polled 5,000 votes. Suppose only 9,000 members had gone to the polls. Less than 500 Communists would have taken control of a local with such a huge membership. Only because the progressive forces were alert, were well led and were able to bring 80 per cent of the members out to vote did they succeed in defeating the Communist-led forces, 3 to 1.

THEREFORE, to meet the situation, trade union progressives must:

(1) Put at least as much energy in organizing the majority as the Communists do in organizing the minority.

(2) Enlightened trade unionists do not have to ban Communist propaganda to stop party infiltration. Outlawing the Communist party from the political arena or Communists from trade union membership is not an effective way of combating them. We must rely on education and discussions of daily problems confronting labor, on the systematic enlightenment of our members about the grave issues facing us.

(3) We must do everything we can to bring home to the rank and file the importance of attending their local meetings and sharing in the responsibilities of union membership. They must lead in handling grievances in the shops and factories. They must serve on committees

(4) Local unions should make it obligatory for members to attend meetings and participate in elections in order to insure that all decisions reflect the will of the majority. This would serve as the most effective barrier to Communist minority control of unions.

OBJECTIVE

"Infiltration of organized labor has been a major objective for Communists for several good reasons. First of all, unions are large in membership. If captured they represent substantial economic and political power. Secondly, communism has an appeal to persons who are dissatisfied with their existing status. Communism makes glowing promises * * *. Yet, to the credit of labor, it must be said that many honest and forward-looking labor unions are themselves endeavoring to expose and destroy this cancerous growth."

—Robert M. La Follette Jr.

Local unions must work out practical administrative methods of stimulating all members to take part in every phase of union life, to take time and patience to interest members in such a program. Efforts must continue despite discouragement.

(5) As trade union leaders we must be tireless in our efforts to solve the daily problems of the wage-earners in improving their working conditions, living standards and safeguarding their political rights and interests.

(6) Constructive unionists must refrain from competing with Communists or others in making extravagant "pie-in-the-sky" promises that cannot be fulfilled.

IF we follow these rules we can easily overcome the Communist nuclei in the trade unions in every test of strength. These strepto-Communist cells, like those of other diseases, thrive in darkness and ignorance. They do not multiply in unions where leaders and members are alert, honest and competent.

pensable to Communist success.

Non-Communist trade union leaders who join with the Communists in united front movements render an equally distinct disservice to the people as a whole and to organized labor in particular.

The present trend in the country against communism has so far resulted only in an increasing number of union members getting on to the Communist game. Some leaders of trade unions have left their posts in disgust because of their belated realization as to what the Communists have been doing right under their noses. But though more and more rank and file workers in Communist-dominated unions are waking up to the fact that they have been used as dupes by the Communist party, the Communists have not yet been dislodged from the control of any unions which they have been holding in their grip. In recent months the Communist party has been put on the defensive and has lost some ground. But it continues to maintain its stranglehold on a number of unions.

HOW much strength do the Communists have in the unions? It is impossible to give an exact figure of their trade union membership.

HERE and there influential labor leaders have felt they could use the Communists to their advantage. Uniformly, this policy has been a failure, sometimes a disaster. The history of the CIO is abundant proof of my statement. Free, democratic trade unionism and communism do not mix. One cancels out the other. To be free, the unions must keep the Communists out of leadership which they would use to advance their party interests.

How can this be done? We start from the assumption, which is a fact, that up to now the totalitarian success in trade unions has been scored largely by default. The Communists have broken through open doors.

Today the constructive trade union leader who is fighting the infiltration of Communists into his organization is faced with other grave obstacles. Curiously enough, these hindrances come from those anti-union legislators, on the national and State levels, who presumably are opposed to communism but who at the same time are doing all they can to break down the trade unions and thereby help to strengthen the Communist position.

to 1.

THEREFORE, to meet the situation, trade union progressives must:

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(3) We must do everything we can to bring home to the rank and file the importance of attending their local meetings and sharing in the responsibilities of union membership. They must lead in handling grievances in the shops and factories. They must serve on committees that administer the policies of the union, no matter how dull this work seems to be—remembering that if progressive unionists fail in these tasks the Communists will undertake them for their party purposes.

to interest members in such a program. Efforts must continue despite discouragement.

(5) As trade union leaders we must be tireless in our efforts to solve the daily problems of the wage-earners in improving their working conditions, living standards and safeguarding their political rights and interests.

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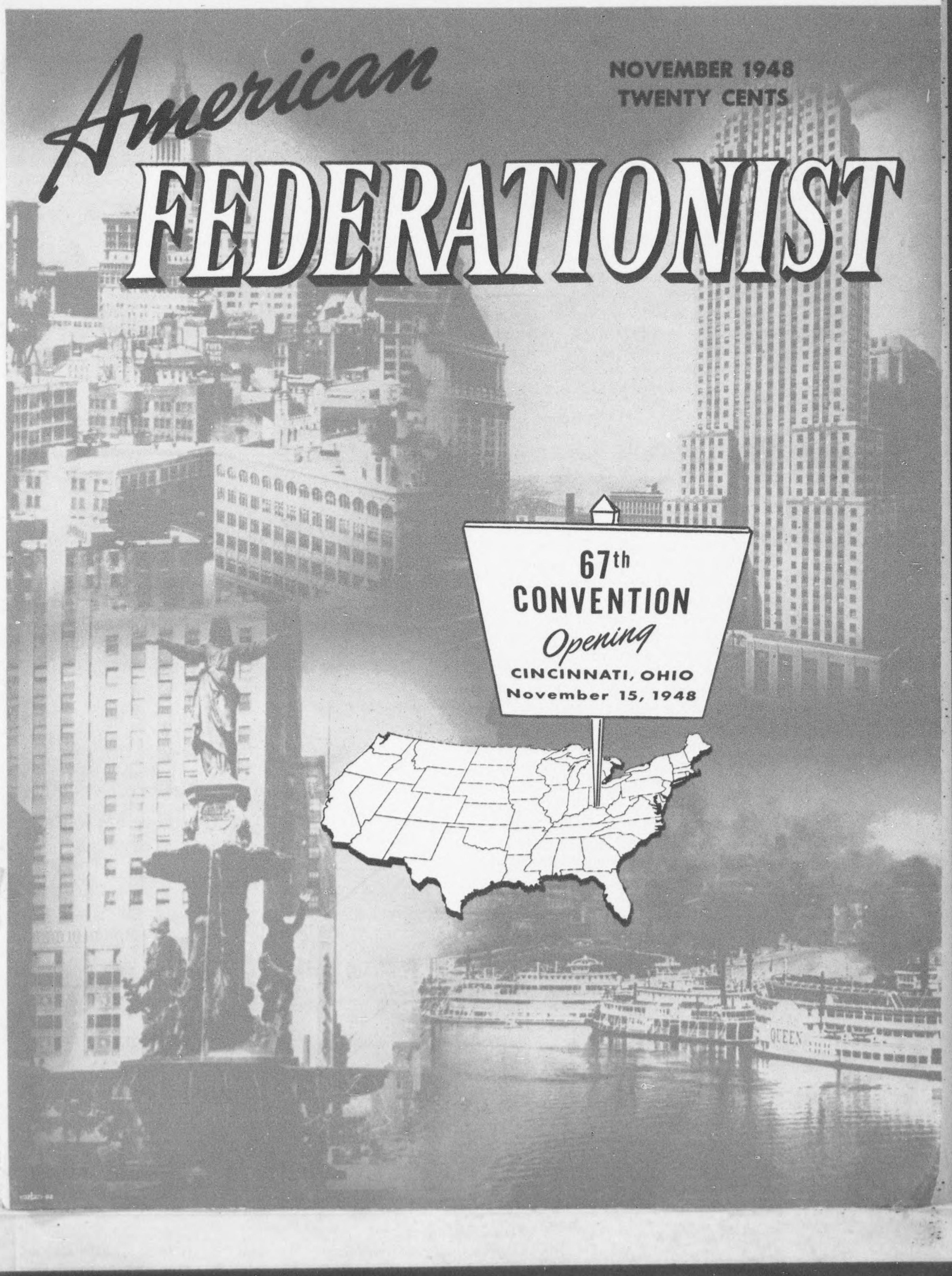
IF we follow these rules we can easily overcome the Communist nuclei in the trade unions in every test of strength. These strepto-Communist cells, like those of other diseases, thrive in darkness and ignorance. They do not multiply in unions where leaders and members are alert, honest and competent.

What the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union has been able to do since it routed the Communists twenty years ago every progressive American labor union can do today.

International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union

1710 Broadway — New York 19, N. Y.

L.L.P.E.'S FIRST EFFORT — by George Meany



LABOR HIGHLIGHTS

THE PROFIT PARADE is continuing. With prices high, industry as a whole is making billions this year. A *Wall Street Journal* survey covering 155 major companies in fifteen industries shows aggregate third quarter earnings 41.7 per cent above the third quarter of 1947. And 1947 was a wonderful year from the profit-takers' standpoint. The financial newspaper says the soaring profits of the third quarter of this year clearly point to "record high earnings for all 1948."

LABOR'S LEAGUE for Political Education, A. F. of L. political arm, has come through its first test with flying colors. The League, with its affiliated branches in every state and in hundreds of cities, did a magnificent job in its first year of getting the people registered and to the polls on Election Day. When the counting of the votes was completed, it was found that dozens of labor-baiting, N.A.M.-serving legislators—the men who put over the Taft-Hartley Act for Big Business in 1947—will not be coming back to Washington in January. Working people who stayed away from the polls in 1946, thereby letting N.A.M.-approved candidates capture Congress, showed that they had learned their lesson and learned it well. On November 2 the nation's millions of wage-earners and wage-earners' families marched to the polls and swept Taft-Hartleyites into the discard. As good citizens exercising the right to vote, they achieved one of the greatest people's victories in history.

IN TELEGRAMS to the directors of local branches of Labor's League for Political Education congratulating them for "your highly successful drive to get out the labor vote" in the elections of November 2, the officers of L.L.P.E.—William Green and George Meany—emphasized that the League must begin immediately to strengthen and perfect its organization for the 1950 Congressional campaign. "Do not under any circumstances let your local League disband," the message said. While hailing the "spectacular achievement" of labor's ouster of many members of the Eightieth Congress who voted for the Taft-Hartley Act, Mr. Green and Mr. Meany declared: "Our job in the political field has only begun. The need for effective political organization in every state and in every Congressional district will be even greater in 1950 than in 1948. The great public interest that is engendered in Presidential election campaigns normally evaporates in off-year elections. That is what happened in 1946 when only one-third of the eligible voters in America took the trouble to go to the polls. The result was the election of the reactionary Eightieth Congress. We must not let that happen again in 1950."

A FORTY-HOUR WEEK for railroad workers was urged as overdue by George M. Harrison, president of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks, in testimony before the emergency fact-finding board which is now studying the wage and hour demands of the non-operating rail employes. Mr. Harrison told the board that, of the 300,000 workers whom he represents, 70 per cent could be put on a forty-hour, Monday-through-Friday week without any dislocation of railroad operations. He emphasized that decades have passed without any reduction in hours in the carriers' general offices. This is in sharp contrast, said Mr. Harrison, to the progress made in reducing hours in industry generally.

WILLIAM GREEN rapped John L. Lewis last month after the latter gave aid and comfort to the French Communists and their masters in the Kremlin by supporting the Communist-inspired and Communist-run political strikes in the French coal mines. Responding to an appeal from Lewis, President Green said: "We cannot and will not extend either sympathy or support to the Communist labor movement of France or to the Communist Party, which is capitalizing upon the misery, suffering and hunger of the working people to promote its political objectives and to establish a Communist dictatorship in France."

THE CENSUS BUREAU estimates that the peacetime draft could take as many as four out of every 100 workers from their jobs. The Bureau's estimate is based on a survey which was made to determine the possible impact of the draft on the labor force.

REGISTERED NURSES in New York City are making a determined effort to build a real trade union under the banner of the American Federation of Labor.

American FEDERATIONIST

Official Monthly Magazine of the American Federation of Labor

NOVEMBER, 1948 — **WILLIAM GREEN, *Editor*** — Vol. 55, No. 11

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We Americans

Look at your neighbor. Look at the statistics of the people of your state and of the people of the United States.

They have come, their hearts full of hope and confidence, from practically every nation in the world, to constitute a portion of our strength and of our hope and a contribution to our achievement.

In every part of the world I can recognize an American the minute I see him. Yet that is not because we are all of one stock. We are of more varied origins and stocks than any other people in the world. We come from all the great races of the world.

I do not know how it happens that we are all Americans. We are so different in origin—we are so different in memories. Yet we are all unmistakably Americans, and nothing else.

There is only one possible explanation for that, and that is that there is in the practice and in the tradition of this country a set of principles which, however imperfectly, get into the consciousness of every man who lives in this country.

In almost every other country there is some class that dominates or some ancient custom which ties a man into a particular groove. There is none of that in America. We do not have to ask anybody's leave what we shall think or what we shall do or how we shall vote. Every American knows that he stands on the same footing as every other man in America.

Woodrow Wilson, 1919.

THIS MONTH'S COVER

Familiar scenes in Cincinnati, where the A. F. of L. convention meets this month.

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Electrical Workers
13th Council Member

Back to Cincinnati

After Nine Years, A. F. of L. Meets There Again

THE sixty-seventh convention of the American Federation of Labor will be held this month in Cincinnati. The convention is scheduled to open Monday, November 15. It will remain in session all that week and most of the following one, with delegates representing 8,000,000 organized workers in attendance. William Green, president of the Federation, will be in the chair.

The 1948 convention city has played host to the A. F. of L. four times before—in 1896, in 1922, in 1932 and in 1939. At the Cincinnati convention of 1939, which was held in the second month of the war in Europe, the mood was somber. A notable occurrence at that conclave was the election of George Meany as secretary-treasurer, replacing the veteran Frank Morrison, who became secretary emeritus.

It is difficult to forecast the exact course of the sixty-seventh convention, but one prediction is safe—the 700 delegates will devote much attention to labor's new political arm, Labor's League for Political Education. They will assess L.L.P.E.'s far-reaching and highly creditable achievements during its first year and chart its future activity.

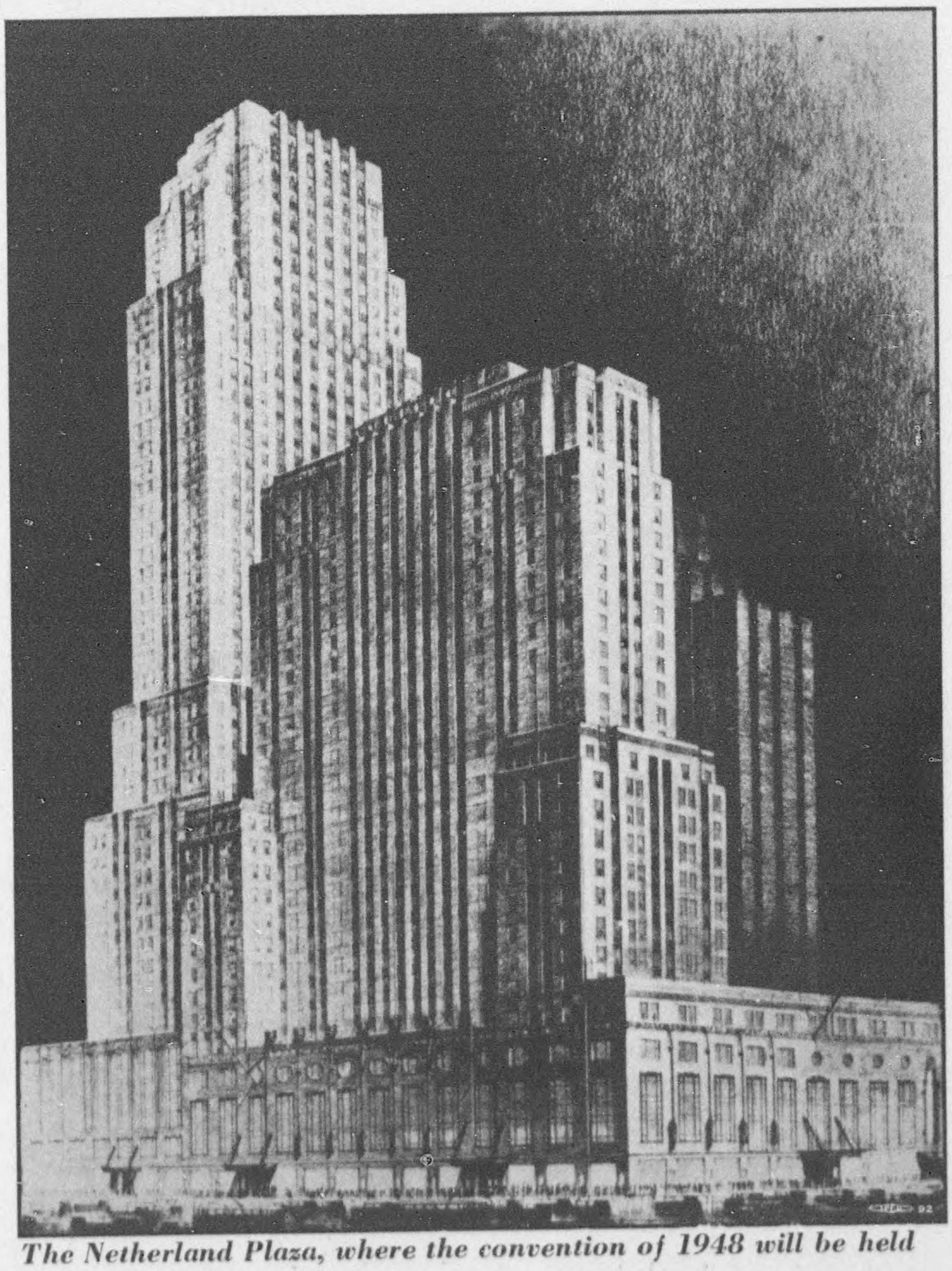
Heartened by labor's sweeping victory in the November 2 elections, the delegates will undoubtedly spend time on the important task of shaping the Federation's legislative program for the 1949 session of Congress.

While repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act obviously will head the list of legislative demands, as it has ever since the obnoxious statute's passage in 1947, the Cincinnati convention is expected to call also for many other desirable legislative measures demanded by the working people of America. These will probably include health insurance, low-cost housing, a higher minimum wage, federal assistance to education, broadened social security and fair taxation.

The convention is certain, too, to give serious consideration to the problem of inflation. The high prices for the necessities of life since the N.A.M.-inspired removal of controls have caused real deprivation and suffering for many millions of low- and average-income families, and the delegates at Cincinnati are likely to declare plainly what remedies for this serious situation organized labor will ask the Eighty-first Congress to adopt.

Other important topics on the convention's agenda will be organization of the unorganized, labor's international activities, the Marshall Plan, the Communist menace, apprentice training, the Federation's new public relations program, workers' education, cooperatives, handicapped workers, fair employment practices, displaced persons, legal problems and promotion of the union label.

For the first time in years, labor leaders coming directly from Germany will be on hand at an A. F. of L. convention. Four leaders of democratic trade unionism in the three Western zones of Germany and the Allied sector of Berlin will appear at Cincinnati to give the delegates a first-hand report on developments.



The Netherland Plaza, where the convention of 1948 will be held

A Word of Thanks

TO THE RANK-AND-FILE TRADE UNIONISTS WHO MAKE UP THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR—

The results of the recent general elections have demonstrated that the organized workers of America can be depended upon to support the efforts of their officials to serve them and to promote the general welfare of the nation.

The achievements registered on Election Day by Labor's League for Political Education would not have been possible without the wholehearted support of the individual trade unionists across the nation.

Congressmen and Senators are not elected in Washington, D.C. They *are* elected back home. What was accomplished on November 2 was accomplished back home—*by you*. By your intelligent use of the right to vote, you played a most vital part in making effective the work of Labor's League for Political Education.

While the officers of American Federation of Labor unions gave freely of their time and energies to the political arm established in response to the mandate of the 1947 convention of the A. F. of L., it is perfectly obvious that no good could have been accomplished on Election Day without the full support of the rank-and-file members.

On behalf of Labor's League for Political Education, we wish to express, to each individual trade unionist who contributed to the cause of progress, our sincere thanks. You demonstrated beyond question the effectiveness of patriotic, non-partisan political action.

WILLIAM GREEN
Chairman, *Labor's League for Political Education*

GEORGE MEANY
Secretary-Treasurer, *Labor's League for Political Education*

JOSEPH D. KEENAN
Director, *Labor's League for Political Education*

L.L.P.E.'s First Effort

By George Meany

LABOR'S League for Political Education, which came into being as a direct result of unanimous action taken by the San Francisco convention of the American Federation of Labor in 1947, has now been through its first major political campaign. The results of this first effort on the part of the League have been successful to a marked degree.

MR. MEANY

November 2 was truly "Labor's Day." The 8,000,000 members of the American Federation of Labor may well be proud of themselves. Labor went to the polls this year as never before. The reactionary leadership of the Eightieth Congress was completely repudiated by the vote of the American people. More anti-labor Congressmen were turned out of office than ever before in history.

As the ballots were counted, it became apparent that labor was not the only group with a grievance against the Eightieth Congress. The defeat of reactionary candidates by rural voters in such states as Iowa, Indiana, Minnesota, Missouri, Illinois and Ohio is proof that the majority of our citizens looked carefully at the traitorous record of the Eightieth Congress and, on a non-partisan basis, cast their ballots for candidates pledged to liberal democracy.

The 1948 election was a victory for all Americans—for farmers, small businessmen, professional workers and housewives as well as for wage and salary workers.

How successful were we this year? From the standpoint of organized labor, here are the results:

THE SENATE

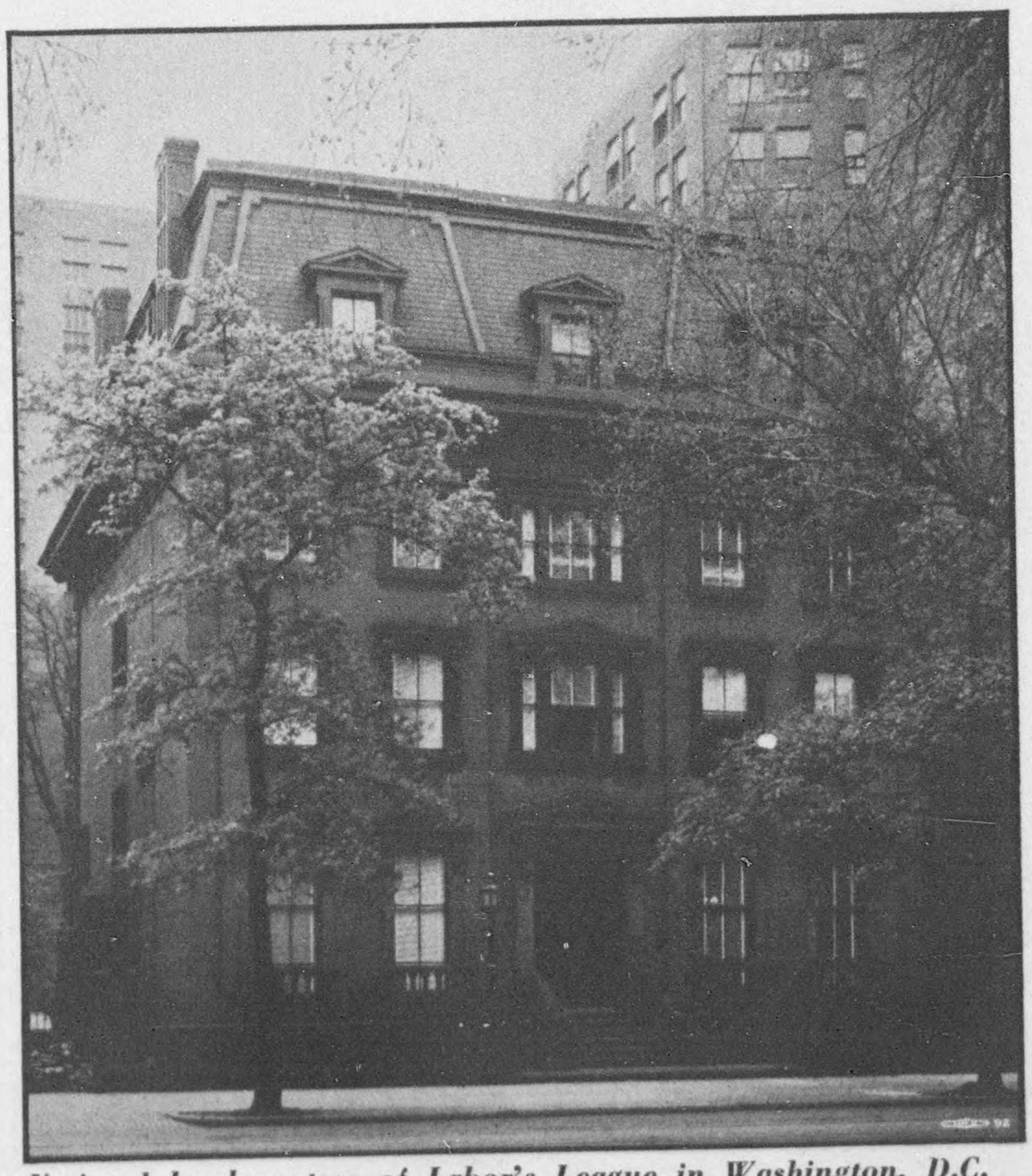
Of the thirty-two Senators who were up for election in 1948, only four were friends of labor who voted against the Taft-Hartley Act. All four of these pro-labor Senators were returned. They are:

Green, *Rhode Island*
Johnson, *Colorado*
Murray, *Montana*
Sparkman, *Alabama*

Of the other twenty-eight Senators, twenty-seven voted for the Taft-Hartley Act and one was not in office. Of the twenty-seven anti-labor Senators, seventeen will not return to plague labor in the Eighty-first Congress. But twelve new Senators who were backed by Labor's League for Political Education will be in the next Congress. They are:

Humphrey, *Minnesota*
Douglas, *Illinois*
Kefauver, *Tennessee*
Neely, *West Virginia*
Kerr, *Oklahoma*
Anderson, *New Mexico*
Frear, *Delaware*
Miller, *Idaho*
Gillette, *Iowa*
Broughton, *North Carolina*
Hunt, *Wyoming*
Long, *Louisiana*

This is a tremendous victory. The defeat of such labor-baiting Senators as Joe Ball of Minnesota, Dworshak of Idaho, "Curly" Brooks of Illinois, Chap-



National headquarters of Labor's League in Washington, D.C.

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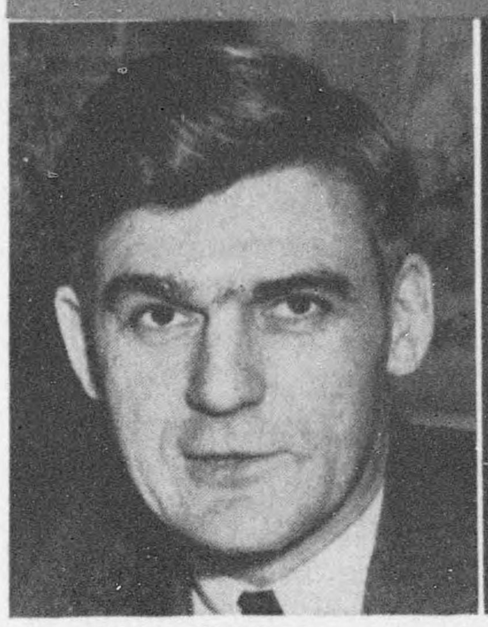
Opposed by Labor—and *DEFEATED*



Ball of Minnesota

One of the leaders in putting over the offensive Taft-Hartley Act was Joe Ball. Subsequently

Brooks of Illinois

he shouted that the law should be made even tougher on labor. On Election Day the people of

Reece of Tennessee

Minnesota told Ball what they thought of him and his union-busting ideas. Reactionaries

Revercomb of West Va.

Brooks, Reece, Revercomb and many, many others also received crushing news from aroused voters.

Supported by Labor—and *VICTORIOUS*

Humphrey of Minnesota

These four good men as well as eight others—all backed by L.L.P.E.—will be new members of

Douglas of Illinois

the United States Senate in January. Labor's League also played its helpful part in electing a

Kefauver of Tennessee

large number of friends of labor and progress to the new House. More than 100 anti-labor Rep-

Neely of West Virginia

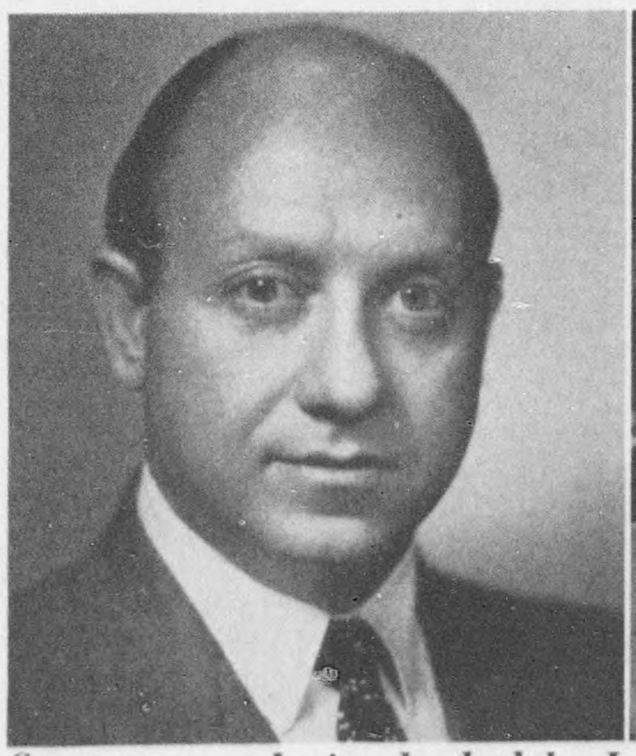
resentatives who voted for T-H won't be returning. November 2 was Victory Day for the people!

NON-PARTISAN POLICY PROVES IT'S EFFECTIVE IN NEW YORK CONTEST

The tremendous effectiveness of the non-partisan policy consistently followed by Labor's League was most dramatically demonstrated in New York City. There Congressman Jacob Javits, liberal Republican, was given all-out support by L.L.P.E. on the basis of his splendid record, which included opposition to the vicious T-H Law, and won election to another term in the House.

Although Javits richly deserved reelection, he faced tough opposition. Paul O'Dwyer, brother of New York's potent Mayor O'Dwyer, not only had the Democratic nomination against Javits but was also the candidate of the misnamed American Labor Party, now completely controlled by the Communists.

However, with the staunch and generous backing of L.L.P.E., labor's known friend, liberal Republican Congressman Javits—he also had the Liberal Party's nomination—was carried to victory in the face of what was otherwise a Democratic sweep in New York City.



Congressman Javits, backed by L.L.P.E., licked Paul O'Dwyer

[*Turn to Page 36*]

THE EUROPEAN SCENE

—Highlights and Shadows

By DAVID DUBINSKY

THE Europe of today is no place for a leisurely vacation. It is a place for observation—careful, keen and continuous. History is being made and remade there at a terrific clip. Nations are in flux. Countries are in crisis. Institutions once considered immutable and invincible are now getting to be, in some sections of the continent, invisible—disappearing fast—sinking in the mud and blood of aggravated social chaos. Values held sacred for many centuries are being fiercely challenged. Everybody has a sort of on-the-brink feeling. What will tomorrow bring? Will there be peace or war?

No one can escape the impact of events there. When our train pulled into Paris, we expected the city to be in a festive mood, for it was a national holiday. But there was nothing of the sort. The evening papers, their weight much reduced as one of the countless casualties of war, carried screaming headlines about the attempt on the life of Togliatti—Stalin's chief henchman in Italy. The morning papers told of the pre-revolutionary situation in the land of the Italians. The Communists had called a general strike in protest. They made a desperate but futile attempt to overthrow the DeGasperi government, which had been swept into office by the historic elections of April 18.

In a few days France, clad in all the beauty and glory of the French summer, was steeped in an unusual cabinet crisis. The Schuman cabinet was voted out. The Socialist Party parliamentary group, oppressed by self-stifling pacifist illusions, didn't like the size of the military budget. This was the signal for a series of sharp swings toward the Right. The expanding shadow of a DeGaulle dictatorship loomed ever bigger to darken the horizon of French politics and the entire social and economic scene. The rumblings of storms to come were louder and louder.

At the same time the Russians treated the world to something new in barbarism. For the first time in the history of civilized mankind, a great populous city was blockaded and beleaguered in peacetime. Men and women, aged and infants, were forced to face starvation through the Soviet military orders which prevented food, clothing, machinery, materials for factories, coal and medicine from being brought into the city of Berlin.

MR. DUBINSKY

And do you remember the alibi for it? Why, the trains broke down and needed repairs—said the Russians. The high-handed and utterly inhuman action of the Communists only added more fuel to the flames which so many Europeans fear will soon again scorch their earth and sear their lives beyond repair.

Even in democratic, orderly and relatively quiet Britain not all was unruffled. There was not much smooth sailing in British waters. The dynamic Isles were shaken by an intense debate over production problems. Britain is producing. She is rebuilding. She is exporting. She has gone ahead.

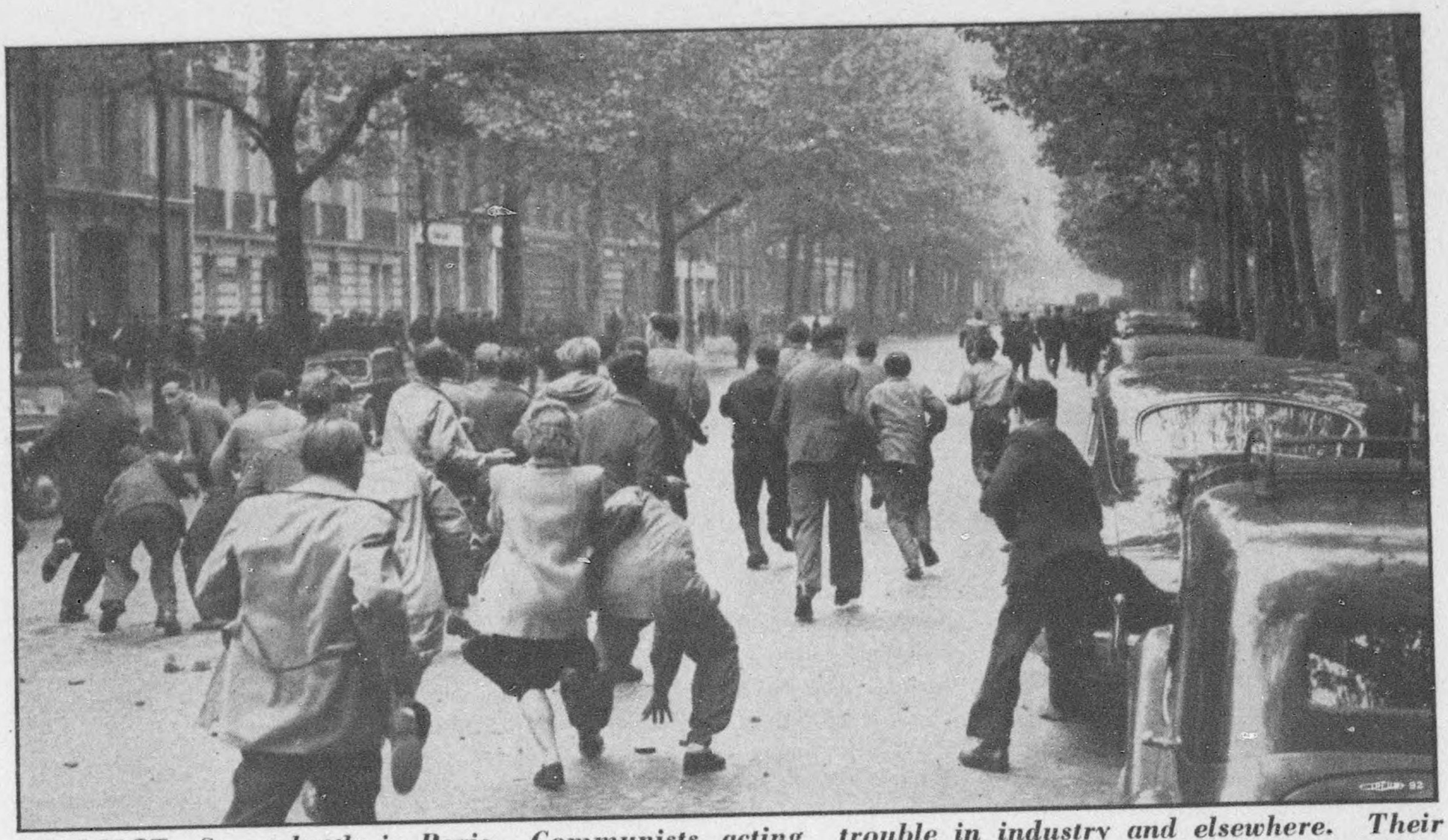
But Britain still has very far to go to recover her past world position—if she is ever going to do so. The British people have been steeped in austerity—life without any frills, with much that we take for granted every day at our breakfast tables or in our living rooms rigidly denied them. Under such circumstances there is a growing clamor in Britain not only for more but for better, for more efficient, production.

This search for efficiency grips every section of the population. Sometimes it is unwilling, at other times unwitting. But the quest for greater and better production is there.

LET no one make any mistake about it. The continent of Europe is in difficulties. Yet it is not lost. Despite the feverish Communist propaganda of confusion and chaos, despite the Moscow-inspired drive against reconstruction, the continent west of the Soviet zone in Germany is definitely on the mend. One may ask and hope for a speedier tempo of recovery, but definite recovery has already been attained.

There would be no point in burdening the readers of the AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST with figures and statistics revealing the progress of reconstruction to date. Such figures are there for the asking. They are encouraging and irrefutable. They are a source of real hope. They are the fruit of the hope and faith inspired in the liberty-loving and peace-seeking peoples of Europe—inspired primarily by the generous aid from the United States and dramatized by the assistance given them via the Marshall Plan.

This spirit of rebuilding is to be noticed everywhere. One can feel it on the sidewalks and in the air of the Italian cities. It is noticeable even in the impoverished rural areas of



FRANCE ***Street battle in Paris. Communists, acting on orders sent to them by Moscow, stir up trouble in industry and elsewhere. Their goal is to turn France into a Soviet satellite.***

Sicily. Though conditions are still very hard in France, there is no denying the substantial economic headway the French people have made. Even in the thoroughly war-wrecked Germany, the pulse of economic revival is beating closer to normal. And Germany, not Turkey, is today "the sick man of Europe"—the area which has become the cockpit of international controversy and conflict.

It is against this background that the plight, problems and prospects of labor in Europe should be examined. It is in this tense and turbulent atmosphere that labor's role—particularly in the European Recovery Program and the struggle for peace—must be appraised. Old dogmas and even the most cherished notions of the past are of little use and can even serve as a real hindrance to an appreciation and understanding of the resurgent labor movement in Europe today.

The first great idea in thirty years which the Western democracies gave to the world to counteract the lure of totalitarian propaganda and the offensive of the various dictatorships which were established between the two world wars was the Marshall Plan. This was a positive idea. It was a constructive idea. It appealed to a continent. It appealed to victors and vanquished alike. It did not seek to rebuild in the grooves of the past. Here was bold initiative which caught fire quickly. It electrified the peoples. No nation was omitted from the Marshall appeal to join hands in a great collective effort to reconstruct, restore and revive. Russia was invited. So were her satellites. At first, Poland and Czechoslovakia accepted. Then their masters in the Kremlin vetoed it all and Warsaw and Prague, along with the other Soviet dependencies, said no.

But precisely for the reasons which led the Russians to say *no* did the Western nations say *yes* to the American invitation. The Communist hope for the future lies in a collapse of the European economy. The hope of the people on the continent lies in the rebuilding and even expansion of their economies. The prospects of totalitarian Communist domination of Europe depend upon a divided continent—with each nation undercutting the other, with one country at the throat of another. On the other hand, the prospects of a free and democratic Europe are bright only to the extent that its people can cooperate in a spirit of mutual aid, in continental endeavor, in one helping the other so that *all* can be strong enough to repel and smash any attempt at imperialist domination and every attempt—from within or without—at strangulation of their democratic liberties.

Moreover, indispensable to Communist success in Europe, or anywhere else, is the discrediting of America as an imperialist Wall Street ogre, as a land of Shylocks and robber barons. To sell the Russian totalitarian system and its slave economy, the Kremlin must successfully paint America as a land of exploiters, as a people run by greedy entrepeneurs, who plot to rob the nations of the world of their sovereignty and independence. Furthermore, in order to imbue the people of Europe and elsewhere with a robust and lasting faith in the Russian rigid state slavery, the Bolsheviks must be able to convince them that the American economy is on the eve of an irreparable crisis and that our country is too weak to help any other nation for any length of time.

Moscow's "economists" never tire of telling the Russian and European peoples that American labor is enslaved and that is why we produce so much. They work overtime heaping ridicule on our standard of living.

It is also on this count that the interests of the European people have led them to welcome American aid. Whether it be to the right or the left, to the east or west of the Oder, the people of Europe have suffered heav-

GERMANY *America stands firm. Russia's fascistic rulers have been trying to oust U.S., but they have not succeeded. Building of free unions is aided by the A. F. of L.*

ily at the hands of the Russian invader, "liberator" or intriguer. There is no nation in Europe which has not enjoyed the blessings of America's generous aid. There is no nation in Europe or anywhere else where we maintain a fifth column or seek to interfere with its free institutions or impose our pattern of politics or economy.

Despite all these unchallangeable truths, it must be said that Communist anti-American propaganda has taken root in many quarters. This is an unwelcome, unjustifiable and yet understandable condition. There is considerable envy of America. The continent is war-wrecked. Our country is not. Even the most generous givers are never loved by the beneficiaries of their gifts, though there may be genuine gratitude for the moment. Besides, we must never forget that for decades America has been systematically and demagogically smeared and slandered by a sinister, cunning and well-financed international propaganda machine.

UNTIL recently we did not raise a feeble voice in self-defense. The "Voice of America" is only now beginning to do effective work. Our country has been able to sell machinery and soap. But we have not, until of late, even thought of "selling" America. At this writing there is only one force in Europe continuously, consistently and effectively on the offensive against the Communist and all other brands of totalitarian despotism and vigorously propagating the ideals of democracy. Today it is the American Federation of Labor alone which carries on an educational struggle against the Communists and energetically champions the ideals of American democracy in the trade unions on the continent.

In the *International Free Trade Union News*, published monthly in English, French, German and Italian by the Free Trade Union Committee of the A. F. of L., the democratic ideals of the American people and the true aspirations of free trade unionism in our country and abroad are forthrightly propounded and forcefully championed. There is not a Communist sheet inside or outside of Russia that does not maintain an incessant fire against the A. F. of L. on this score. But these totalitarian firebrands are on the defensive, trying to explain away our exposures and indictments of their own evils and desperately seeking to refute the facts about America as brought out by the *International Free Trade Union News*.

This and other A. F. of L. publications have had a profound effect on the reviving European trade union movement. In France it is the ideas and influence of the American Federation of Labor which have been the primary source of encouragement to the militant democratic trade unionists who have, within the last year, begun to challenge seriously the Communist stranglehold on the French trade union movement.

In Italy the program and prestige of the A. F. of L. as a democratic lodestar have served to help crystallize the first beginnings of a movement to break the iron grip of Moscow in the General Confederation of Labor and to establish genuinely independent trade unions.

In Britain, too, there is an awakening to the dangers of Communist infiltration of the trade unions and to the role of the so-called World Federation of Trade Unions as a propaganda vehicle of the Cominform and agency of Russian military espionage. The spirit and resolutions of the recent annual conference of the British Trades Union Congress attest to this.

Even in the relatively undisturbed Scandinavian countries, where until lately there was not much awareness of the gravity and depth of the world crisis, labor has recently been aroused. A vital factor lending confidence and drive to the Scandinavian trade unionists' readiness to cooperate wholeheartedly in assuring the success of the European recovery program is their conviction that American labor

Named to Important Posts

GEORGE PHILIP DELANEY ***(at right)*** **is the new** ***international representative*** **of the American Federation of Labor. He takes over the position left vacant by the death of Frank P. Fenton.**

Mr. Delaney is a member of Local 215 of the International Molders and Foundry Workers. He was president of the Washington, D. C., Metal Trades Council from 1935 to 1937. He served in the Navy during the last war. At the time of his appointment he was with ECA as chief of liaison with its labor missions abroad.

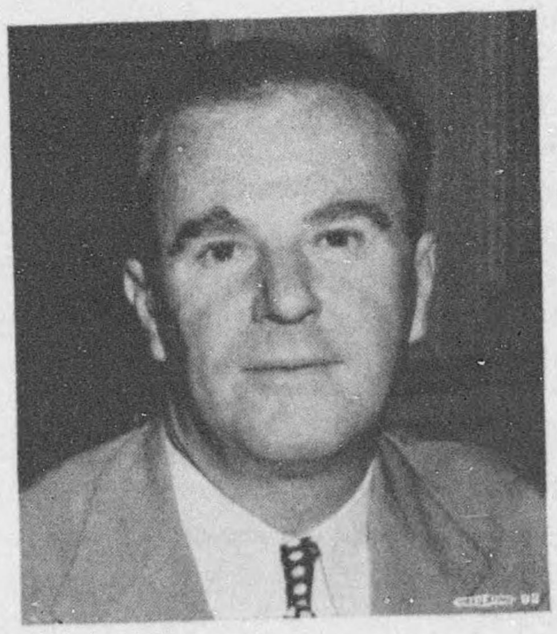
HARRY O'REILLY ***(at left)*** **has been appointed as the A. F. of L.'s** ***director of organization,*** **succeeding John J. Murphy. The latter is now the secretary of the Bricklayers International Union.**

Mr. O'Reilly has been regional director of organization in Chicago and the Middle West since 1940.

In 1917, at the age of 18, Mr. O'Reilly joined the Railway Clerks. Since 1925 he has been a member of the Chicago Milk Wagon Drivers, Local 753, International Brotherhood of Teamsters.

RALPH WRIGHT ***(at right)*** **was named** ***Assistant Secretary of Labor*** **last month by President Truman and promptly sworn in.**

Mr. Wright, born in Concord, North Carolina, in 1903, joined the International Typographical Union in 1920. Subsequently he worked as a linotype operator for many years on New York City newspapers, was elected business agent of Local 6 in 1936 and was serving as secretary of the New York City Allied Printing Trades Council when informed of his appointment by Mr. Truman.



—and especially the A. F. of L.—is intensely in earnest about helping European labor to play a decisive role in the reconstruction of the continent and safeguarding of the workers' rights and welfare. The energetic initiative displayed by the delegations of American labor at the Second International Trade Union Conference for the European Recovery Program, held at London last July, had a profound effect on Scandinavian labor in particular.

But in Germany more than anywhere else is the effect of the American Federation of Labor drive for democracy evident. In stressing this, I do not for a moment want to minimize the achievements of the reviving German trade union movement at whose helm are to be found quite a number of leaders who paid dearly for their resistance to the Nazis. We must recognize the services rendered to the cause of international freedom and peace by the democratic trade unionists of Berlin who have rallied the people against Communist conspiracy and Russian expansionism.

Yet every member of the A. F. of L. can justly be proud of the fact that the International Bill of Rights which we have proposed to the Economic and Social Council of the U.N. has had a circulation running into many hundreds of thousands in Germany.

Along with other literature printed in special underground form, it has met an enthusiastic and widespread response in the Russian-occupied areas. Factory meetings as well as local union meetings of workers in the various zones of Germany have discussed and debated our material. The Independent Trade Union Organization of Berlin (U.G.O.) has adopted a platform which clearly reveals the democratic inspiration of the American Federation of Labor.

JUST as Germany is pivotal for Europe, so the trade unions are pivotal for Germany. If Germany will become a healthy democracy and serve as an integral part of European life, then the continent of Europe will be healthy and democratic. But the fate of Germany will be, in very large measure, determined by what happens to its reviving trade union movement. The Russian commissars know this very well. Hence their desperate efforts through the W.F.T.U. and their very heavy financial expenditures to grab control of the trade unions in Germany.

No matter what the U.N. decides, no matter what appropriation bills Congress votes for European recovery, if the Communists should capture the trade union movement of Germany, they would become masters of the country. It would not be long before the rest of the continent would be under their iron heel. In stressing this colossal importance of the trade unions in Germany, we do not at all forget the shortcomings of the pre-Hitler German unions and the painful disappointments their leadership brought us.

This is the unpleasant but stern reality of the situation. Through its educational activities, moral and material aid, and tireless efforts to have our govern- *(Continued on Page 38)*

The Nation's Health

Labor Looks to New Congress for Action

By NELSON H. CRUIKSHANK

STRIKE LOSSES IN 1948
INCREASE THIRTY-FOLD;
LOSS IN PRODUCTION
THREATENS NATIONAL SECURITY

CAN'T you see the headlines? Can't you just hear the shrieking of the radio commentators—not to mention the howls of outraged Congressmen if there actually were over a billion man-days of work lost as a result of strikes in a single year? But on the basis of a five-day week and a fifty-week year, 1,075,000,000 man-days of work are lost each year in the United States through bad health—thirty-one times the amount lost last year through strikes.*

Every year 325,000 people die in the United States who could be saved if they could get the health and medical services they need.

The cost to the nation's wealth each year through sickness and partial and total disability equals $27,000,000,000.

These startling facts were brought forcefully to the attention of the nation in a report to President Truman by Oscar Ewing, Federal Security Administrator. This report was based on the findings of the National Health Assembly held in Washington last May. More than 800 professional and community leaders—including labor representatives—participated in this assembly and contributed to the development of this report.

The report goes on to analyze the reasons for the United States' failure to live up to its possibilities in terms of good health and proposes a ten-year program to meet the nation's health needs.

For example, there is the matter of medical manpower. We have only about 80 per cent as many physicians as we need in the United States. Even with present plans for expansion of doctors' training, 1960 will find us still about 20 per cent short, just as we are today, because the expansion plans barely keep pace with population growth. If there should be sharply increased demands for the military—and it would seem obvious that plans should include this possibility—we would be still worse off.

HOW many doctors do we need? Discarding idealistic requirements in favor of the immediately practical, let's ask how many we now have in the areas with most nearly adequate supply. In the twelve states out of the forty-eight having the most favorable ratio, the average is one doctor to every 667 persons. If by 1960 this average were to be obtained throughout the whole country, we would need 254,000 physicians. Even with the expanded facilities for medical education and with these facilities being used to full capacity, the prospect is for only 212,000 by that date.

Other types of medical personnel are also in short supply. Using the same method of measurement as we applied to the number of doctors, we find that by 1960 we will need 113,000 dentists. We need this number to bring all the states up to the average of the twelve best. Our most optimistic estimates show we will be about 23,000 short of this goal.

According to the American Nurses Association, there is a current shortage of 42,000 nurses. By 1960 we would need 566,000 nurses to meet the present average of one to every 280 population in the twelve best states. The prospect is for only 403,000, leaving us with a shortage of 163,000.

There is an even more acute shortage of hospital facilities. The 900,000 acceptable hospital beds that we have, outside of federal hospitals, are just about half the number required to meet present needs. The problem is further aggravated by the fact that the hospital facilities that we do have are not properly distributed. About 40 per cent of the counties have no acceptable general hospital at all.

In many places where there are hospital facilities in existence at the present time, large segments of the population are denied their use because they haven't the money to pay for them, or because of restrictions on their use based on racial discrimination or segregation.

MR. CRUIKSHANK

* We agree that 1,000 man-days lost because of a strike may have a more serious effect on production than the same amount of time lost because of bad health since the strike may bottle up some key industrial process. But certainly the difference is not in a ratio of one to thirty-one. —*N.H.C.*

The Hill-Burton Act is meeting part of this need through providing federal aid for construction of hospitals, but many localities where the need is greatest cannot build hospitals either because they cannot raise the two-thirds of the cost as required by the act or because the income level of the people in the area is generally so low that continued support for the hospital cannot be assured once it is constructed.

As the report to the President points out, even with the $75,000,000 yearly made available under this program, when matched with the $150,000,000 local money, hospital construction is provided at a rate that will meet the needs of 1946 in 1986 —*forty years too late!* This documents and confirms the position the American Federation of Labor expressed in hearings held on this bill when it was before Congress two years ago.

This historic report is explicit and forthright in pointing out that one of the major contributing factors in our national failure to meet health needs lies in the prevailing method of meeting the cost of medical care on the individual and fee-for-service method of payment. It shows clearly that there is a direct relationship between poverty and poor health. It shows how people are driven to poverty through sickness and how through poverty they are denied access to medical treatment and care.

The report demonstrates conclusively what has long been the contention of the American Federation of Labor—that this affects not only those in the lowest income group but in some respects even more seriously affects those of moderate income. A thirty days' illness requiring hospital care with related doctors' and nurses' fees can easily cost $1000. Bills of $2000 and $3000 are by no means exceptional.

So-called "voluntary" insurance plans, such as those provided under Blue Cross and Blue Shield, will not meet the need for three main reasons: (1) the benefits offered are not adequate to the modern needs of promoting the best health—especially in the field of preventive care; (2) the plans can never hope to cover more than a fraction of the population; (3) they have the poorest coverage where the need is the greatest.

WE ARE not criticizing Blue Cross and Blue Shield as such. They are good so far as they go, though there is an increasing tendency for doctors and hospitals to add special charges to patients having such protection. For example, if John Smith has a Blue Cross membership that covers hospital costs up to $5 per day, the hospital will refuse him the use of a ward bed or semi-private room even if his illness is of a nature that does not require the first-class accommodations.

On discharge from the hospital Mr. Smith is presented with a bill that frequently requires as large a cash outlay as he would have had to pay had he had no such "protection." The Blue Cross and Blue Shield programs are showing a tendency to degenerate into cash indemnity programs. They assure the hospital and doctor that they will get their bills paid, but they fail to assure the patient that he will be adequately and properly cared for.

These criticisms are not made exclusively by labor and consumer groups. General Paul R. Hawley, M.D., formerly head of the Veterans' Administration and now chief executive officer of the Blue Cross-Blue Shield Commissions, in an address last June to a conference of presidents and other officers of state medical associations, referred to the "double talk and double dealing with the voluntary non-profit prepayment plans" on the part of the medical profession. He warned:

"The demand for more comprehensive medical care, and for an effective means of budgeting its costs, has grown, within ten years, from a whisper to a roar. Our people will not be denied much longer."

Much the same criticism can properly be made against the "health insurance" provisions now being included in many collective-bargaining agreements, which provide cash payment in case of sickness. They are surely better than nothing and represent in most instances the best that is obtainable at present. But they can never be accepted as a substitute for health insurance that provides medical care and treatment. Only a few unions *(Continued on Page 34)*

P. J. Morrin Steps Down

On January 1, President P. J. Morrin of the International Association of Bridge, Structural and Ornamental Iron Workers will become president emeritus of that great union, of which he has been the leader for many years.

Mr. Morrin is one of the most highly regarded figures in the American labor movement. He has attended American Federation of Labor conventions for many years.

Succeeding him in the presidency of the Iron Workers will be John H. Lyons, who has been the union's general secretary in recent years.

The office of president emeritus was created for Mr. Morrin by the recent St. Louis convention of the Iron Workers. The delegates praised him highly and adopted a resolution appointing him to this office for life.

The convention directed the union's officers to contract with Mr. Morrin to pay him $25,000 a year. Under the agreement he is to give the union "his best advice and counsel" whenever called upon. As president emeritus Mr. Morrin will also be provided with an automobile for his personal use as well as $20 a day for expenses.

MR. MORRIN

Under Mr. Morrin's guidance the Iron Workers' membership has grown from 18,000 to more than 100,000. Wage rates have increased vastly. The union's funds now exceed $8,000,000, a report to the convention disclosed.

STOP PLAYING FAVORITES!

Distribution of Shipbuilding Is Unfair

By JAMES A. BROWNLOW
Secretary-Treasurer, Metal Trades Department

IN World War I and World War II, the members of the affiliated unions of the American Federation of Labor gave their fullest service to the building of the naval and merchant vessels so necessary to victory.

Of equal importance, the American Federation of Labor has always advocated and fought for an adequate Navy and merchant marine *before a national emergency arose.*

At long last, the American people are beginning to appreciate the absolute necessity of an adequate Navy and merchant marine particularly—for our Navy, Army and Air Force, in the final analysis, are not any stronger than the supply ships that keep them going in wartime.

The American people are awakening to the need for an adequate merchant marine, consisting of American ships, manned by American seamen and built by American workmen in American shipyards.

We are showing signs that we realize that our peacetime needs as the leading industrial nation on earth and our national security make it imperative that we do not repeat the mistakes made after World War I, when we permitted the Navy and private shipyards to fall into disuse, and as a result, it was necessary to build new yards and train new mechanics, to reestablish a Navy and merchant marine in preparation for World War II.

Because of the international tension existing today—a period of great uncertainty—the following is an unchallengeable conclusion: there ought to be at all times sufficient employes engaged in the private shipyards and Navy yards to be able to meet immediately any national emergency and, because of experience, to be able to train a rapidly expanding force of employes which might be required during war.

The Navy Department recognized the validity of the foregoing when, in its very recent awards to private and naval shipyards, it announced a policy of "preserving a balance between the private and Naval shipyards to insure that a minimum nucleus of the ship design and shipbuilding capacity in the private yards will be kept available in the interests of national security."

However commendable this policy is, the undisputed and unfortunate fact is, however, that in its awards to private shipyards, the Navy Department did not assign a single ship for construction or conversion to a Gulf, a Great Lakes or a West Coast private shipyard. *Not one* to these yards, *not one* to preserve essential design, personnel and vital shipbuilding skills in these yards, but *every award to a few East Coast shipyards* which are already engaged on numerous Maritime Commission and private contracts!

So much for the Navy Department's awards of naval vessels to the private shipyards.

NOW look at the actions of the Maritime Commission. It had the letting of contracts for five passenger vessels, two costing $25,000,000 each and three $10,000,000 each. It awarded the first two passenger liners to Bethlehem Steel, Shipbuilding Division, Quincy, Massachusetts, and the other three to the New York Shipbuilding Corporation, Camden, New Jersey. It is understood that the Maritime Commission is considering the construction of a $65,000,000 passenger ship and an additional twelve passenger-cargo vessels.

Who will be awarded the superliner and the twelve passenger-cargo ships? On the basis of past performance, presumably these will also be given to a few shipyards situated along the Northeastern Atlantic Coast.

Not a shipyard on the South Atlantic, the Gulf, the Great Lakes or the Pacific Coast is apparently to be assigned a single ship!

So much for the Maritime Commission's awards of passenger and passenger-cargo ships.

AND now note the allocation of steel, under a voluntary agreement between the steel companies and the United States government, for the building of sixty-three tankers, now actively under construction or on firm orders, and eighteen for which proposals had been submitted — a total of eighty-one. There are 40,000 tons of steel per month allocated for these tankers, scarce, very scarce steel, and for very much needed tankers. And who will construct these tankers? It is almost unnecessary to ask.

Bethlehem Steel Company, Shipbuilding Division, has thirty-two under contract.

The Sun Shipbuilding and Dry Dock Company of Chester, Pennsylvania, has another fifteen under contract.

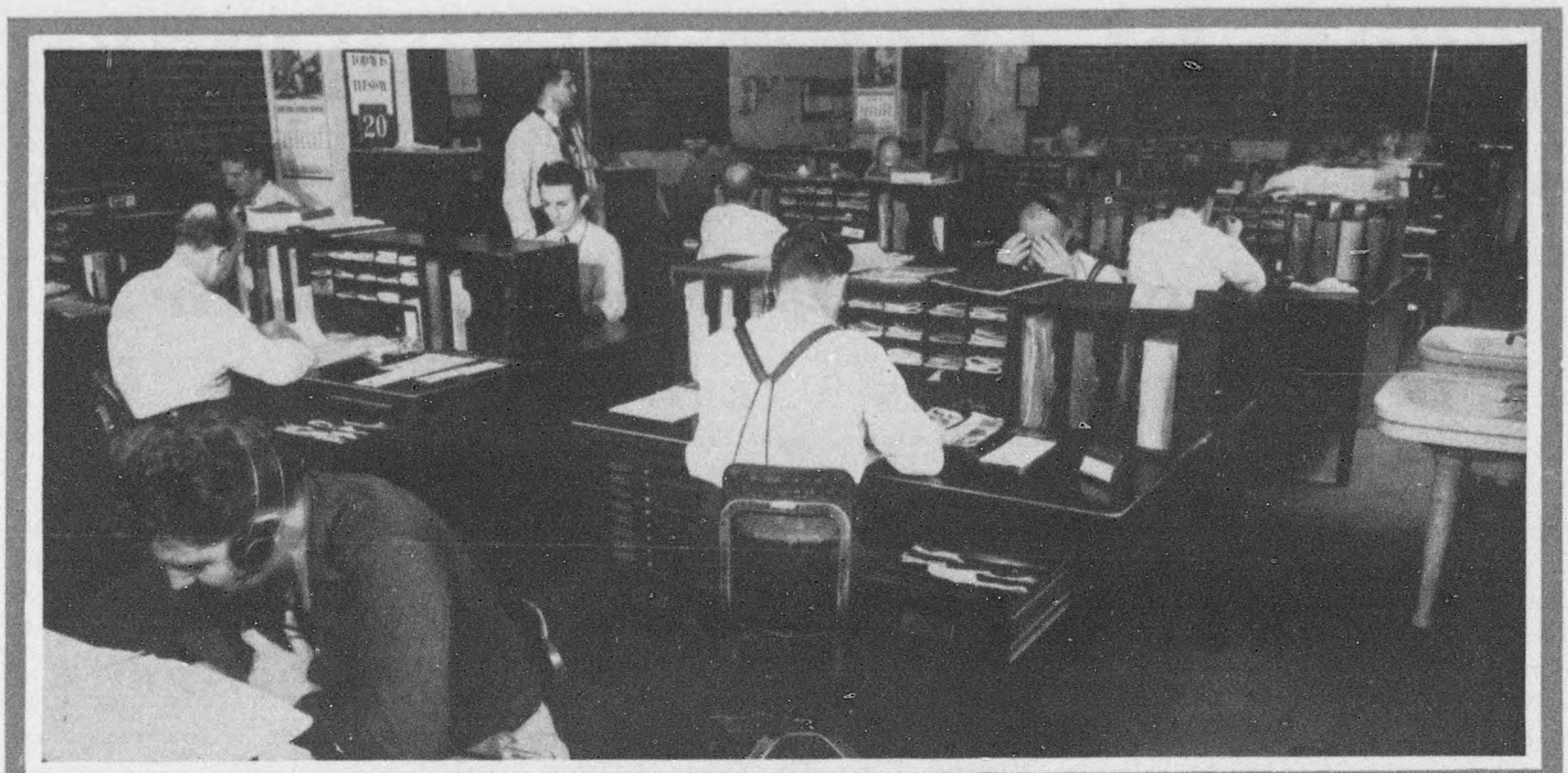
The Newport News Shipbuilding and Dry Dock Company, which is to build the 65,000-ton aircraft carrier for the Navy, has another eleven tankers.

And so it goes.

With the total amount of steel available at the time already allocated, and the tankers contracted for, shipyards not on this preferred list will simply not participate in the tanker program.

There was not a West Coast shipyard granted a ton of steel for a tanker, obviously because it had no contract to build a tanker.

True, these contracts for tankers are not let by the Maritime Commission, but *(Continued on Page 37)*



The Railway Clerks

By GEORGE M. HARRISON

DECEMBER 29 next will mark the forty-ninth anniversary of the founding of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks. The struggle to form a union of railway clerical workers—for it was indeed a struggle—was unspectacular but not without considerable personal sacrifice on the part of many of the pioneers of the movement.

The fanfare, mass meetings, strikes and lockouts that so often accompany the organization of a new group of workers were conspicuously absent during the formative days of our union, for the very good reason that railway clerks were then so unenthusiastic about organizing that it was some time before much opposition from railway management was aroused; and when the fury of the bosses did let loose, the new union was too weak to resist it.

MR. HARRISON

It was twenty years before the B.R.C. had gained enough following to exert a substantial influence upon the wages and conditions of the employes it represented, and its sudden growth in 1918-19 resulted from government operation of the railroads during World War I.

I mention our humble beginning and the long struggle to establish a union among railroad clerical workers in the hope that it will give encouragement to those unions which are endeavoring today to organize white-collar workers in other industries and in miscellaneous trades and callings. For they need help. Clerical workers in general have been difficult to organize. Until comparatively recent years they were indifferent to trade union organization, and even after seeing the gains made by organized workers and learning the value of collective bargaining, as a class they have often lacked the urge to organize.

Despite the fact that railway clerks were "exposed" to trade union organization by working in an industry where collective bargaining had been established for years, we wrestled with many of the same problems and encountered much the same resistance that other unions face today in organizing white-collar workers.

The Brotherhood of Railway Clerks was founded at Sedalia, Missouri. Why not St. Louis—second largest railroad terminal in the country, less than 200 miles away—or Chicago, New York, Pittsburgh or any of a score of other large railroad terminals where railway clerks worked and lived by the thousands; where one would think that discontent over the unconscionably long hours they worked and the pitifully low wages they received would be more apt to crystallize into action for organization than in a small city in central Missouri?

It is noteworthy that of the approximately 100 local unions formed during the four years following the first one founded at Sedalia, nearly 40 per cent were chartered in relatively small railroad terminals like Sedalia.

But there was another reason why Sedalia became the birthplace of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks. There were, of course, many clerks throughout the country who, like our founding fathers—J. F. Riley, R. E. Fisher and Frederick O. Withers, the latter the only one surviving and still an active member—realized the need of organization and visualized the benefits to be gained by collective bargaining. But there was a union cigarmaker in Sedalia. His name was Behrens.

E. T. Behrens was not only a union card carrier; he was an agitator for labor organization. His cigar store was a meeting place for railroad workers. When Riley, Fisher and Withers complained about the long hours they worked and the wages they received, Behrens suggested that doing something to change conditions would be better than griping about them. He offered his workshop as a meeting place if his clerk customers wanted to get together to discuss the possibilities of forming a union. When they decided to make a try of it, Mr. Behrens drafted a union constitution. The new union was christened the Order of Railway Clerks of America.

ALMOST immediately the organization became affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. Lodges were soon organized in St. Louis, Kansas City, and Little Rock.

By 1901 there were twenty locals in the United States and Canada. Headquarters of the new "international" union was moved to Kansas city, which was done without benefit of a moving van, going along in a couple of suitcases with the personal effects of Riley and Fisher, who meantime had been fired for their trade union activities along with Withers.

The initial affiliation with the American Federation of Labor didn't last long. Although the records are not too clear on the point, the severance of affiliation in 1901 was probably due to economic circumstances. It was renewed in 1908.

In 1902 came the first lockout. Ordered by officers of the Michigan Central Railroad to sever their affiliation with the union, some twenty clerks at the Buffalo Freight Station and yards told the management to jump off Niagara Falls—or something to that effect—and were run off their jobs. The old records of what happened are so meager and obscure it is reasonable to assume that the twenty clerks sought other occupations. The union, unfortunately, was too weak to give them any support in their courageous effort to establish recognition.

Throughout the country individual members were being fired with such regularity that the union practically went underground. Meetings were held, if at all, at the homes of members or in obscure halls, but in spite of these efforts at secrecy spies were frequently seen hanging around nearby.

Under these conditions the organization did not flourish. In spite of management opposition, however, it did grow. But its growth was spotty. By the end of 1905, 180 lodges had been chartered, but only 74 of them had been able to make a go of it. These were scattered all over the United States, Canada and Mexico.

In only one large terminal had the clerks succeeded in doing a first-rate job of organizing and it was there — New Orleans — that it first established recognition. In October, 1906, a local working agreement was negoitated between clerks of the Illinois Central and the superintendent of the railroad.

In the same year the first strike occurred. It was against the Southern Pacific Company, on the lines from New Orleans to El Paso, which had refused to negotiate with the union on wages and working conditions. Although the strike was lost, it was a costly one to the railroad, and it proved for the first time that railway clerical workers possessed economic power of considerable proportions.

By 1909 organization on the New Haven Railroad had progressed to the point where the clerks were able to secure their first system-wide working agreement.

With successes few and far between, the organization maintained a rather precarious existence and had only about 6,000 members at the outbreak of World War I. When the railroads broke down under the wartime demand for transportation and the government took over, clerks came into the union in large numbers. There was no longer the fear of reprisal, and it quickly became obvious that the government couldn't operate the railroads, fight a war and at the same time look after the interests of individual railway workers.

With the return of the railroads to their private owners after the war, the membership went down under the impact of the open-shop drive of the 1920s as rapidly as it had gone up. By 1925 a bare 90,000 members remained.

But those 90,000 were trade unionists. They were made of the stuff that builds labor solidarity. Those 90,000 members formed the nucleus of what is today the largest member in the family of railway labor organizations and the largest union of white-collar workers in the world.

During the last two decades the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks—now the short title for Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks, Freight Handlers, Express and Station Employes—has acquired a place in the front ranks of the American labor movement. It is justly proud of the contribution it has made not only in improving the wages and conditions of its own members, but to the growth of the entire labor movement and the developments in social progress.

IN THE anti-union crusade of the 1920s the railroads became the battleground of a fight by management to supplant legitimate unions with company unions. The unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor—the B.R.C., the shop-craft unions and the Maintenance of Way Brotherhood—took the brunt of this fight, and before it was ended these unions had been deprived of their bargaining rights on many of the largest railway systems in the country. Crooked elections, coercion and bribery of employes, rather than a desire on their part to change representation, resulted in depriving probably half a million workers of genuine representation.

This crookedest of all employers' tricks to defeat collective bargaining was completely stamped out on the railroads largely as a result of a now famous lawsuit brought by the B.R.C. against the Texas and New Orleans Railroad.

The B.R.C. was denied recognition by the railroad (with which it had long held a contract), the company seeking by this act to escape negotiation on a *(Continued on Page 26)*

This Thing Called PRODUCTIVITY

By LAZARE TEPER

EVER since the end of the war, the debate on productivity has gained momentum. Is productivity of American industry on the increase or on the decrease? Are working men and women turning out a fair day's work or are they a bunch of slackers? If productivity has declined, who is responsible for it and what could be done about it? If, on the other hand, it is rising, who is to gain from such an improvement and to what extent? And for that matter, how do you tell whether productivity is going up or down?

The questions raised are many and varied. In themselves they testify to the complexity of the subject. Indeed, it is clear that those who debate productivity generally have very different things in mind.

Some think of productivity as a measure of performance of the economy as a whole. Others think of productivity in terms of individual industries or plants. Some businessmen, in their public orations, speak as though the whole matter of productivity had to do with the degree of application of workers to their jobs. At other times, the concept of productivity is used as though it were a measure of the degree of efficiency achieved in production. The dictionary merely tells us that this word stands for "quality or state of being productive." One thing common to all these concepts of productivity is the desire to portray someone's ability to produce or the rate at which production is carried on.

When a person works with his hands, pretty much without the use of tools, making the same article day in, day out, fashioning it from the raw materials which he himself obtains, it is relatively easy to determine his productivity. It could be expressed, for example, by relating his output to the length of time spent at work. If the workman were to improve his skill and manual dexterity over a period of time, he could take less time to make the finished article. We could then say that his productivity, *i.e.*, his ability to turn out work, improved.

Let us say, for the sake of illustration, that our worker is a primitive potter who shapes simple vessels of uniform shape and design out of clay dug out by himself. We could measure his productivity by counting the number of pots he turns out on the average in a day's work, or in an hour's time. We could readily interpret increases or declines in his output as changes in productive efficiency.

But should he decide, on the spur of the moment, to decorate his earthenware with scrolls of molded clay, his hourly output would decline because of the additional work involved. Yet the potter's ability to produce is not affected by such change and continues to remain at the high levels of prior achievement. The change in the nature of the product, however, no longer permits us to evaluate the changes in the hourly output as changes in the potter's efficiency.

The problem of measuring our potter's productivity is simple when compared with the task in modern plants and industries. It does help to illuminate, however, the hazard of unsophisticated interpretation of statistics. Many factors may bring about a rise or decline in the potter's hourly output other than changes in his own efficiency.

Some of his time may be spent in maintenance and repair of his workshop. When he is so engaged, it is likely that fewer pieces of pottery will be produced per hour, even though his efficiency in performing identical tasks has in no way been affected.

In a similar fashion, our potter may decide to confine his activities to building shapes and leave the digging of clay to someone else. Two courses are open to him—he can either hire someone to dig the clay or he can purchase it from an outside supplier. In both instances his total production of finished earthenware would increase to the same extent.

However, when he employs a digger, one who is just as efficient as he himself is at digging clay, their combined output of finished earthenware per man-hour of work would remain the same as when the potter both dug and shaped the clay by himself. On the other hand, if he were to purchase the clay, the output per man-hour of his enterprise would show an increase.

IT BECOMES apparent from this discussion that we must draw a distinction between efficiency of performing a specific, unchanged work assignment and the performance of an enterprise as a whole. The latter is readily affected by changes in the nature of the product (including changes in its quality or care exercised in its manufacture), by the amount of labor devoted to maintenance, repair and construction of productive facilities, and by the

degree to which parts and supplies are obtained from outside sources, as well as by technological advances in manufacturing methods and procedures.

A comparison between output and man-hours spent at work need not at all reflect the changes in industry's productive efficiency. For that matter, since over the period of years there has taken place an unmistakable improvement in the product design and usefulness on the one hand, and on the other an increase in the integration of manufacturing functions as a result of the growth of large-scale business, the ratios between output and man-hours grossly understate the true increase in the ability of our economy to produce.

There is no disagreement, however, that over a period of several generations our ability to produce, the very *rate* of our productive activity, has grown considerably. Our technological advances have been spectacular and our ways of doing things have improved. The very volume of industrial production today, when compared, for example, with that at the turn of the century, speaks of progress.

We produce more food, more clothes, more household equipment and other consumer things than ever before. Although our labor force has increased with the growth of our population, we were able to reach new production goals by working fewer hours and by eliminating child labor from industry (just think of the increased numbers of our youth who now enjoy high school and college education!). The level of our achievement was highlighted during the late war when we were able, as the arsenal of democracy, to supply our own forces and those of our allies and still maintain a high standard of living at home for the great masses of our population.

It is this improved *ability to produce* that has made our improved living standards possible; hence the importance of rising productivity to all Americans of whatever walk of life.

The debate on productivity was spurred on during the war because some indices of changes in output per man-hour in individual industries registered declines. For labor's foes this proved a sufficient excuse to raise a hue and cry of alleged labor inefficiency. The partisan use of crude statistical information by anti-labor circles was highlighted by admissions made by many industrial experts (economists, statisticians and engineers) that few plants actually possessed any quantitative information on labor efficiency.

It is difficult even under the best of circumstances to evaluate the effect of any single factor on the advances—or declines—in productivity. In the field of productivity the task is all the more complicated since the methods and the skill with which to carry it through are largely lacking. Indeed, as we have shown, many elements unrelated to the efficiency of performance of an enterprise may affect the ratio of output to man-hours in either direction.

ODD BEHAVIOR of output to man-hour relationship under the stress of war, however is not unexpected. The very nature of industry's endeavor changes in response to war needs. Plants which used to manufacture goods for civilian consumption begin to turn out articles of very different character to supply the armed forces. Where automobiles were produced, tanks are manufactured. Where light shoes were made for everyday wear, heavy army boots are now turned out. General shortages of raw material force the use of substitutes. Product redesign is common. The whole organization of industry suffers from cataclysmic spasms.

Even though American industry successfully overcame its wartime handicaps by developing new production techniques, the very character of rapid change was prone to upset the usual statistics.

The available statistical material on production also contributed to the general confusion. Most of the available figures on production related to the major types of finished products. In wartime such products might have played a lesser role in the total output of an industry to the extent that some of its productive capacity was diverted to the manufacture of other goods, including war material and semi-manufactured goods (such as repair parts).

These products would not, however, be reflected in the published figures of the industry's output, although the employes engaged in their manufacture would be counted in the data on employment.

One may well ask, at this point, what significance do figures have which show the relationship, over a period of time, between output and employment? Clearly they are not directly related to productive efficiency, and one would do well to avoid the sin of commission in using them as such.

They do offer, however, a crude indicator of industrial demand for manpower. We learn from such data, for example, that a particular industry needs more or less man-hours to complete a unit of product. Of course, it may not be exactly the same product as that turned out in the past. The industry might have changed its method of operation. But whatever the causes, the figures are apt to indicate the change in the demand for labor.

Of course, we do not know whether workers of the same or different skill, aptitude or ability are in demand now as heretofore. Nevertheless, the global figure gives us some idea of industry's need for manpower.

The impossibility of obtaining a precise measure of industrial productivity throws into focus the difficulty of answering general questions about the efficiency with which industry operates. Historically, as we noted, the trend is in an upward direction. There is actually no reason to suppose that this general trend was interrupted. A considerable body of opinion held that large-scale advances in industrial efficiency took place during the war, even though this fact could not always be demonstrated statistically.

Today, when we stand on the threshold of an atomic age, there is no reason to suppose that we have reached the impasse of technological progress. Our future advances, just as in the past, will depend on the continued process of invention, on industrial adaptation of new methods or techniques, on the skills and aptitudes and application of workers, and on improvements in managerial functions.

Although the increased ability of the industry to produce creates the condition for basic improvement in the general standard of living, the benefits of such progress are not automatically distributed to the worker-participants in the industrial pro-

cess or, for that matter, to the consumers. With the development of large-scale business, an increased number of articles are priced in accordance with a consciously determined price policy. Prices develop a definite tendency to "stick," to lag behind technical advances. The consumers do not, therefore, automatically benefit by price reductions.

Nor do workers get an automatic increase in compensation when industrial productivity is stepped up. Even when their compensation is based on some incentive plan, increase in production does not always yield an increase in take-home pay.

UNDER some incentive schemes, even though the worker increases his output ten-fold, he can never double his pay. When job content or work tasks are changed, resulting in larger output, the worker does not always benefit in increased compensation, even though the particular change is not accompanied by the installation of new or improved equipment. And, of course, there is even less direct relationship between a worker's wage and his efficiency when he is compensated on a time, rather than on an incentive, basis.

Whatever is the source of increased industrial efficiency, the division of resultant savings among the different participants does not yield itself to a formula. The medium of intelligent collective bargaining, when labor and management can appraise whatever information of statistical character is available with qualitative evaluation and informed judgments, offers the sole basis for mutually satisfactory adjustments.

While discussing the positive aspects of advances in productive efficiency one cannot ignore the other side of the medal. While benefitting the economy as a whole, advances in industrial efficiency may, and frequently do, bring in their wake technological unemployment. Even when such effects are temporary, they cause real hardship to the affected workers. Too frequently in the past employers, while preaching the doctrine of higher productivity and technological advancement, operated without regard of the effect of such advances on their workers. No wonder that such an attitude, which fails to recognize the stake an individual worker has in his job, leads to low morale, dissatisfaction and resistance to change.

The man faced with the possibility of elimination of his job or his skills feels that his whole future existence is threatened. He finds little relief in the realization that his misfortune is accompanied by a general social advance.

The fear of technological displacement need not, however, threaten progress once the worker is assured that he, as an individual, will not suffer through it. Labor-management cooperation, developed through established collective bargaining procedures, is the soundest way of insuring it. Once the question of job security is not at issue, the real road to industrial progress is laid. The considerable body of know-how which workers have, but are normally hesitant to offer management, can be tapped to the benefit of all.

In the period between the first and second World Wars, such labor-management cooperation was established in many cases. The unions showed a healthy interest in management problems. A notable case occured when the New York Dressmakers' Joint Board of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union incorporated in its agreement with employers rules and regulations to promote greater efficiency. During the war the experience of successful labor-management committees further indicated what can be done in this direction once collective bargaining develops mutual trust and confidence.

Much needs to be done in the way of research around the problems of industrial productivity. The questions are many and varied. They stem from the universal desire to find the clue to a better standard of living. We need studies not only about how to measure productive efficiency, but additional investigations of causes, effects and by-products of such changes as well. In the meantime, little can be accomplished by accusations and name-calling.

10 *Years Ago in the* FEDERATIONIST

IT IS NOW time to plan your union's winter program. A definite program serves to stir up the interest of all the members and provides definite goals against which to check progress. An important measure of union management is to give each member of the union some responsible work to do for the organization. This procedure enables the individual member to develop personal concern for the progress of the union.

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THE LABOR movement is no longer an organization of persons whose interests and views can be ignored by those determining national and international policies. Labor has a responsibility in connection with national and international policies. Labor constitutes a numerically large proportion of our citizenry. In accord with democratic principles, the influence of organized labor can be in proportion to our wisdom and our representative character.

IN SPITE of present employment gains, the situation this year makes a sad contrast with last year. In August of last year unemployment had almost reached its post-depression low point. Estimates showed 8,520,000 then out of work. In August, 1938, with 11,031,000 out of work, unemployment was 2,500,000 above last year. With unemployment at this high figure, wage cuts in any important industry would have a very serious retarding effect on the incipient business recovery.

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PERSONS WHO have been self-supporting during the period of their productive years have a right to look forward to honorable old age free from the humiliation of dependence. All employed persons should have an equal right to old-age insurance.

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A COMPREHENSIVE national health program must be built. If we can overcome the fanatical hostility of a section of the medical fraternity and educate the public on the need for such a program, we can promise good health to a far greater proportion of our people than have it today.

MR. AXTELL

ANDY FURUSETH
Seamen's Champion

By SILAS B. AXTELL

MY FIRST recollection of Andrew Furuseth goes back to a day in May, 1908, at the office of the Seamen's Branch of the Legal Aid Society in New York City. Leonard McGee was attorney in charge then and I was just a new clerk.

Tall and gaunt, wearing a baggy blue suit and an old felt hat, Andy walked in and said:

"Is Mr. Abbott in?"

The stenographer, who had been there longer than I, replied:

"No, Mr. Abbott left the Legal Aid Society last December."

"Well," declared Andy, "I wanted to see him about this report that the Society got out about crimping."

The day before I had been aboard a German ship to investigate the complaint of some Chinese seamen. Mr. McGee was planning to get Carl Schurz, attorney at the German consulate, to use his influence with the consul to see to it that the miserable working and living conditions of the Chinese were improved. Their wages were only $6 a month and they were on duty twelve hours a day.

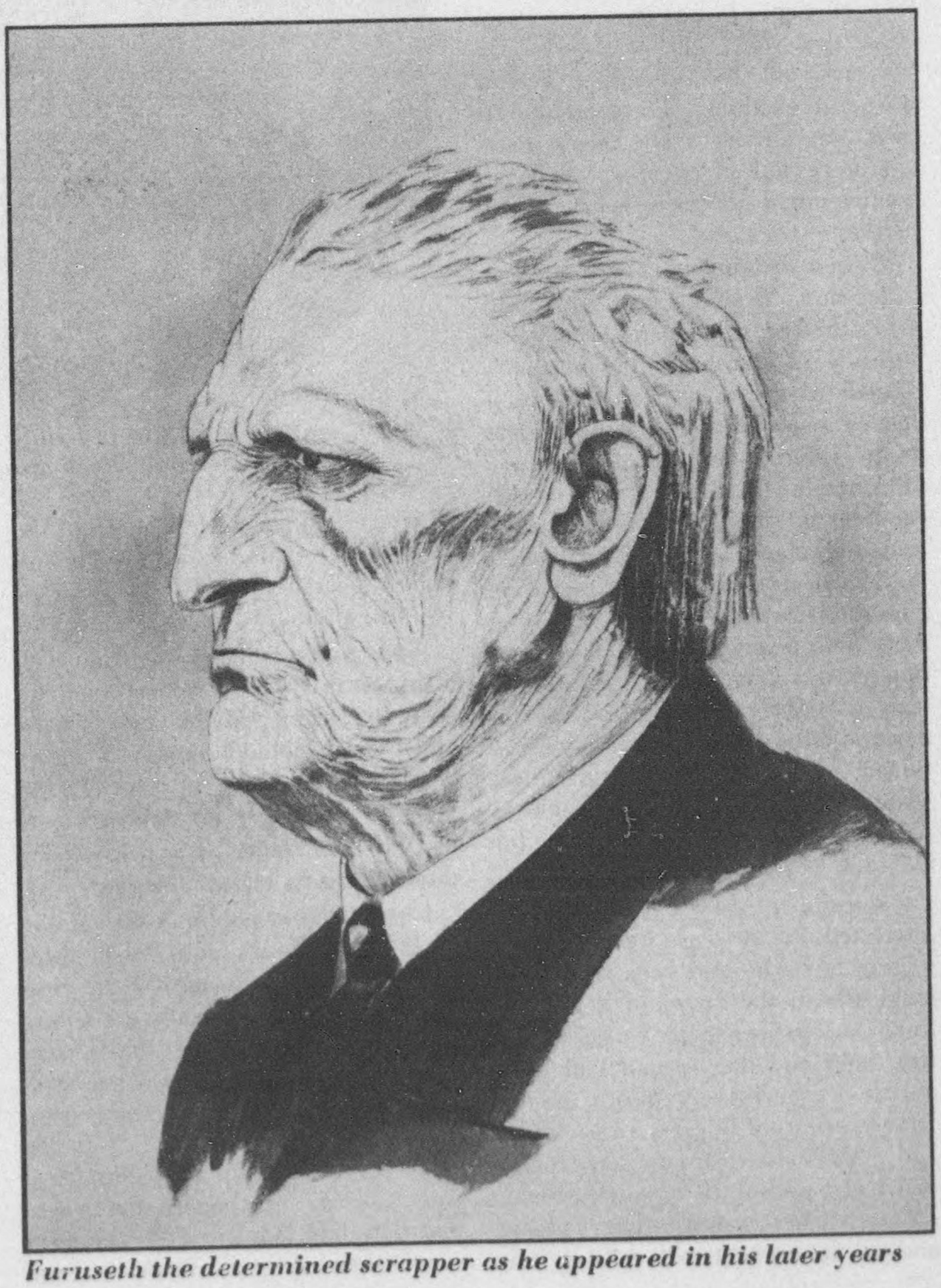
The vessel was a tramp. Its officers were German, its ownership American. The crew had been signed on in Shanghai and they were to be paid off at that port. Mr. McGee had found out that "it's all up to the consul."

I told Mr. Furuseth (he had carefully written out the spelling of his name for me) of the observations on this vessel which I had made.

"Yes," he said, "that's the trouble. The seamen are at the mercy of their consul or his clerk. Even an American seaman has to petition the court and swear that he is a pauper in order to get into court here. The reason I have come here to the Legal Aid Society is that the Legal Aid lawyers can work without fees."

Andy had not come with a case but with a request that we get affidavits about the practice of paying seamen's wages before they were earned.

These "wages" the seamen themselves never received. They were paid to "crimps," the crooked boarding house operators who supplied the



Furuseth the determined scrapper as he appeared in his later years

sailors to the captains of vessels about to sail.

Several times a day for a week Andy came into our office, bringing with him seamen of various nationalities. During that week I learned about the notorious Shanghai Brown of Brooklyn and Tommy Moore of Buenos Aires.

Andy was accumulating evidence, in the form of sworn statements, to prove to certain members of Congress that his charges against crimps and crimping were absolutely true.

After that, Gus Brown, the agent of the Eastern Gulf Sailors Association, would telephone or send up a note introducing a seaman who had been victimized. But more often he would bring along the sailor himself and we would prepare a statement showing how the man had been drugged and shanghaied aboard a vessel at a miserable wage and for a long voyage. It was the same story every day.

Nearly all the offending vessels were foreign ships. The food aboard them was terrible. The men's quarters were full of vermin. And the seamen could not go to court to seek redress.

We got up quite a correspondence with Andy. When I finally got admitted to the bar in 1910 and became the attorney in charge of the Seamen's Branch of the Legal Aid Society, I opened a special file for the president of the International Seamen's Union of America. In a few months I became so interested in the determination and plans of Andrew Furuseth that when I was offered a position with the National Biscuit Company at more than twice the salary I was getting at the Legal Aid, I refused to take it and continued sending out demand letters on the formidable stationery of the Society, to try to get some sort of justice for the 3,000 to 4,000 sailors who applied to us for aid each year.

I remember Andy was particularly interested in the case of one Norwegian boy who had been trussed in handcuffs to the boom of a barkentine. She happened to be an American boat and the seaman had been put aboard by Tommy Moore, the imfamous crimp of Buenos Aires. Olsen had refused to clean up some paint that had been spilled by another man on an earlier watch. The sadistic master, not content with putting him

Seafaring in the old days. Furuseth knew from his own experience the harshness of working conditions

in irons, had strung him up until the circulation of his hands was shut off and his wrists were deeply scarred by the pressure of the handcuffs.

Andy told me that it was from such a ship as this that he himself had run away in Oregon. He had been chased and treed by bloodhounds.

Andy wanted the boy to sue the master and owners for damages.

"We must make it expensive for these things to occur," he said.

I became attorney for Andy's union in 1916. It wasn't until 1918, three years after the passage of the Seamen's Act, that we actually got before the Supreme Court of the United States. It was in the case of the barkentine *Rhine* and the sailing ship *Talus*. The question was, "Can we make the Sheppard Steamship Company, owners, pay again the wages that they had 'advanced' to the crew when they shipped them through Tommy Moore in Buenos Aires?"

The Supreme Court held that we could not. But a few months before the judges had upheld the constitutionality of the half-wage section of the Seamen's Act. Andy was living at the old National Hotel on Pennsylvania Avenue in Washington. The British consul petitioned to file a brief, *amicus curiae*, in that case. And I said to Andy:

"If the court will accept a brief in behalf of the British owners, why won't they accept a brief in behalf of the people of the United States?"

Andy thought that the court would. Immediately he headed for the office of the Solicitor General of the United States. When the case came up for argument our government did file a brief.

The Supreme Court held that, although the contract on the British ship *Stratehearn* provided that sea-

men should receive no wages, except at the option of the master, until the end of the voyage, the Seamen's Act had been passed before the vessel entered New Orleans, where the ship's carpenter made his demand for half of his wages. Therefore, it was held, the owner had waived his constitutional right, there had been no taking of property without due process of law, and so the doctrine of conditional entry was restated.

ANDY FURUSETH was a rigorous as well as vigorous man. Before going to bed each night, he would draw a tub of cold water. In the morning he would get into that tub of cold water. He had a special rate at the hotel in 1918, on a monthly basis. The charge amounted to less than $1 a day.

Andy refused steadfastly to take any more wages than an able seaman could earn, which was scarcely enough to maintain a man ashore. He arose at 5:30 in the morning, ate his breakfast at 6 o'clock, and for the rest of the day ate at six-hour intervals. After dinner he would work far into the night, always striving to improve the lot of the sailor.

The Seamen's Act was the great accomplishment of his life. The bill was passed by the House and Senate in 1912, but so much pressure was brought to bear on President Taft by foreign governments that he refrained from signing the measure. However, it became law when Woodrow Wilson signed it on March 4, 1915.

Because it gave seamen on foreign vessels the right to demand half their wages and opened the courts of the United States to them, without the prepayment of fees or costs, Congress directed the President to abrogate all treaties with foreign nations. When the new treaties were written the State Department lawyers saw to it that no provisions that would interfere with the right of foreign seamen to demand half of their wages were permitted.

Andy was opposed to workmen's compensation as an exclusive remedy for seamen. But, of course, he wanted more than "maintenance and cure," which was the provision under Article 7 of the Laws of Oleron (Sixteenth Century), a restatement of ancient Phoenician law. Our courts had applied the doctrine of assumption of risk and contributory negligence in maritime accidents. Andy tried to modify that rule in the Seamen's Act, Section 20, but an unsympathetic Supreme Court set it all at naught.

The kind of law that Andy wanted was passed in June, 1920. Called the Jones Act, it was favored by Andy because it not only modified the defense of contributory negligence but also made the employer liable for the negligence of every one of his crew members.

In 1926 Andy went over to Geneva for a session of the I.L.O. I accompanied him. Andy hoped to get seamen of British and Scandinavian lands to favor the adoption of the principles embodied in the American Seamen's Act. He did not succeed.

We sailed from New York on the *Leviathan*. Andy had insisted on tourist quarters, but after climbing up and down to "D" deck in the stern two or three times, he yielded to my suggestion that we might be more comfortable in the second-class accommodations. The difference was only $40, and since it was at my request that we moved, I had hoped that he would let me play host to that extent. Not Andy. He was 72 at the time of the trip.

When we arrived in Geneva we found that the hotel where Andy had stayed on previous occasions was full. It was quite a walk to the next one. I offered to carry one of Andy's heavy bags. But he squared his shoulders and strode off with the two bags, which would have taxed the muscles of a man of half his years and twice his weight.

Andy's last appearance before a Congressional committee was in 1936. He went before a subcommittee headed by Senator Robert M. LaFollette, Jr., with a draft of a conditional ratification of the 1929 Maritime Treaty of London.

Some writer, in an article published a few years after Andy's death, referred to Andy's "brown derby." I am certain that Andy never wore a brown derby in the thirty years that I was counsel for the International Seamen's Union.

The only time I ever saw him with anything but an old felt hat on his head was in 1933. We were motoring back to Manhattan from White Plains, New York, one Sunday evening in the spring of that year of depression. At that time the wages of seamen were down to $35 a month on some American vessels.

Six o'clock had come and Andy had to stop for his dinner. A wind of tornado force was blowing. Suddenly Andy's old felt hat went sailing over the rooftops on the Grand Concourse in The Bronx. After making certain that his hat had disappeared for good, Andy went into the restaurant. That's how he lost his old felt hat. On his way home he bought a cap.

The most money Andy Furuseth ever managed to save, up to 1934, was $2000. Of this sum he sent $1800 to his sister in Wisconsin to prevent foreclosure of the mortgage on her little farm. Poor as he was, he insisted upon reimbursing me out of his personal funds for the cost of translations of the Half-Wage Law into Chinese and Hindustani. The amount was $50.

Between 1915 and 1917 wages of seamen on foreign vessels were increased four-fold through the Half-Wage Law. Our legal enforcement here of the Seamen's Act ceased only when the foreign owners made favorable collective wage contracts with their organized seamen.

Andy died in Washington on January 22, 1938. His body lay in state in the rotunda of the great Department of Labor Building. I saw Justices of the Supreme Court, Senators and Representatives bare their heads before his bier.

On the first day of spring, 1938, in mid-Atlantic, Andy Furuseth's ashes were buried far at sea. A crew, all of whose members belonged to the Seafarers International Union, stood at attention, while the captain, a member of the Masters, Mates and Pilots, read the service.

American seamen and other Americans could have used our lawmaking machinery to free the seamen from cruelty and bondage. But Andrew Furuseth, the great Norwegian, came here, saw the need and the opportunity—and it was he that did it.

I knew Andy Furuseth. I have read of Christ and of Lincoln. To compare them all makes life continuous to me.

Andy revered them, and I revere them all as sons of God. In time, we will all, seamen and landsmen alike, remember them on their birthdays—December 25, February 12 and March 12.

Editorials by WILLIAM GREEN

Don't Squeeze Labor

THE EMPLOYERS of the United States have long been fortunate in having a labor movement which developed in a democratic environment favorable to initiative and which has used economic methods to deal with economic and work problems. This was a remarkable development in view of the fact that the early trade unions in this country were composed mainly of first- and second-generation immigrant workers and the officers were first-generation British or German immigrants.

The dominant force in the New World life was the need to find direct and practical solutions of economic problems, for men had to work to live before the wilderness closed again over them. As no man had special privilege in a struggle with nature, class lines disappeared in the struggle to control the continent for the use of men.

Wage-earners were early concerned with politics and sought manhood suffrage so that all could vote in an equality of citizenship. When the property qualifications were eliminated, workers grew active in the political parties and voted for the candidates favorable to their interests. Labor parties sprang up from time to time, but none flourished, and the tradition of non-partisan political action developed as a part of our two-party system. Under this policy the workers carried their proposals to the two major parties, asking for favorable party commitments and then seeking to elect candidates favorable to their demands. For decades American labor has followed this practice—with special emphasis when need for legislative relief was acute.

Last year, when the party then newly dominant in Congress enacted a law that injured labor by limiting the right to strike and bargain collectively, it realized that labor would strongly resent this unfair legislation and oppose for reelection those responsible for its enactment. So the Taft-Hartleyites sought to save themselves from the punishment they had earned by including in the act regulations to prevent unions from taking care of their political interests in the usual way. The new law prohibited unions from making campaign contributions, thus putting them in the same category as banks and corporations. Unions, however, are organizations of human beings who control little except their labor power, while banks and corporations are economic agencies dealing with material things. In addition, the biased new law undertook to limit the right of free speech for unions in political campaigns.

Have the employers at whose behest the Taft-Hartley legislation was enacted foolishly forgotten the ultimate consequences for British employers when Parliament sought to punish those responsible for the general strike of 1926 by enacting legislation prohibiting civil servants from affiliation with the Trades Union Congress? It was this action that started the British Labor Party on the road that led to victory two decades later and those nationalization projects which facilitate socialistic control. It was this action, too, that was responsible for the decline of the great Liberal Party, in which there had been a democratic merging of groups believing in the extension of opportunities to all.

Do employers and the Republican Party realize that, by singling out unions for repression, they force workers to rely more heavily on political action and encourage formation of a labor party in this country? Had England been true to her traditions, she would not find herself so hampered with Communists now in her economic crisis. As those who build up democratic institutions well knew, the cure for abuses of freedom is more freedom, with penalties for those who abuse freedom's privileges and refuse to fulfill their duties.

Congress must realize that the wise way to deal with abuses of rights is to penalize wrongful acts—not to limit and restrict freedom and constructive practices.

T-H Law: Scabs' Friend

IT TAKES about ten years, usually, to find out what a law means. This knowledge is gained by developing policies and procedures needed in its administration. It is now fifteen months since the Taft-Hartley Act became effective, and decisions of the N.L.R.B., of the courts and of N.L.R.B.'s general counsel are spelling out the significance of various provisions of this complex law.

When the Taft-Hartley Act amended public policy to "protect by law the rights of employes to organize and bargain collectively" by simultaneously giving equal status to "individual" bargaining between a worker and his employer, it gave public sanction to a policy repudiating majority rule.

Decisions against the boycott strike at the fraternal spirit that unites union members everywhere and prompts them to share one another's burdens. Refusal to patronize non-union products is not only a sacred principle to the trade unionist but a reflection of his consciousness of his dignity as a human being. A worker is a better citizen when he is a good trade

unionist, for as a good trade unionist he does not accept injustice and the abuse of rights. His basic defense against injustice is the right to quit work—that right which distinguishes him from a slave and which a free worker must retain. For this reason, workers resist invasion of their precious right to strike. Neither the Taft-Hartley Law nor its administrators deny the right to strike, but they build up protection for strikebreakers.

In deciding the collective bargaining election in the Pipe Machinery case, the N.L.R.B. followed its previous decision by disfranchising "economic" strikers and accepted unilateral decisions of management to resume production and fix the date for ending strikes and entitlement to reinstatement. No "economic" striker not entitled to reinstatement is eligible to vote in collective bargaining elections under the Taft-Hartley Act, whereas the old Wagner Act permitted both to vote.

In excluding the striking workers, the N.L.R.B. ruled:

"There was no showing that any of the strikers ever made an unconditional application for reinstatement."

That is, strikers who did not give up all rights involved in the strike and join with management to break it lost all rights to their jobs and could not participate in determining the bargaining unit. Obviously, the Board saw nothing unfair in permitting management alone to determine when the strike should be ended, a power carrying with it determination of the legal right of reinstatement for striking workers. Those workers who continued to insist upon rights by legal methods found themselves outlawed by their employer.

Obviously, this decision makes it *hazardous* for workers to exercise the right to strike. This is one way to *limit* that right.

The Taft-Hartley Law says that "employes on strike who are not entitled to reinstatement shall not be eligible to vote," but it does not set up criteria to guide in determining the facts. The N.L.R.B. accepted the employer's views and effectively contributed to strikebreaking.

The Board is developing the terminology of "economic" strike and "economic" strikers and formulating decisions as contrasted to legal strike and strikers, thus putting bonafide trade union action at a disadvantage. The Board's preference is for an anemic type of union action dependent on the government.

The majority of trade unionists feel their moral duty requires them to respect the picket line. The moral command, "Bear ye one another's burdens," is a way of life in trade unions. When justice is at stake and the majority have voted to strike, the scab becomes a traitor to the cause of welfare and progress.

A trial examiner of the N.L.R.B. recently held that mass picketing violates the law and that force of numbers alone had an intimidating and coercive effect upon employes otherwise willing to cross a picket line. Picketing has long been an accepted accompaniment of strikes.

Is it justice or wisdom to use the force of government to serve individuals who assert their individual right to work at the expense of the rights of the majority who are trying to get justice for all? Violence can be punished without limiting the right to strike.

More recently the Board has defined what constitutes illegal restraint or coercion by pickets. Under the Taft-Hartley Act such restraints and coercion are unfair labor practices when done by a labor organization or its agent. To make sure that the unions would be held liable, the Board restored the common law interpretation of "agency" and held both the local and international unions responsible.

Legal texts explain agency as follows:

> Agency is a *contractual relationship*, deriving from the mutual consent of principal and agent that the agent shall act for the principal. But the principal's consent, technically called authorization or ratification, may be manifested by conduct, sometimes even passive acquiescence, as well as by words. Authority to act as agent in a given manner will be implied whenever the conduct of the principal is such as to show that he actually intended to confer that authority.
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> A principal may be responsible for the act of his agent within the scope of the agent's general authority, or the "scope of his employment" if the agent is a servant, even though the principal has not specifically authorized or indeed may have specifically forbidden the act in question. It is enough if the principal actually empowered the agent to represent him in the general area within which the agent acted.

While experienced union men knew when the Taft-Hartley Act was under consideration that it was anti-union, punitive legislation, it was impossible at that time to prove to members of Congress and the public that it would not promote sound labor relations. Sound labor relations rest only on acceptance of the right of workers to promote their welfare through unions of their own choice.

We as a nation believe in free enterprise. We have found out that unless labor is organized to look after the interests of wage-earners, free enterprise will lack the necessary checks and balances needed to assure fair distribution of income and purchasing power to maintain the economy at high levels of production. Employers who provide jobs settle most of their business relations through contracts, but they are in a position to *dictate* working conditions if unions are weak.

Unless the workers are organized in strong trade unions, they cannot bargain with employers on an equal footing. A strong union can see that justice is done on the job and that wages rise proportionately with business earnings. A strong union can maintain discipline and make sure that members are competent workers. To be sure, unions are composed of imperfect human beings, but mistakes, if acknowledged and corrected, can be the means to progress—provided workers are free to try again.

To safeguard human freedom, free citizens must insist that abuses of freedom be penalized but rights maintained. Only thus can we teach citizens that rights are accompanied by duties and responsibilities.

Vocational Education

By BETTY HAWLEY DONNELLY

Vice-President, New York State Federation of Labor

ONE of the bulwarks of peace and security is education. Education is part of the necessary preparation for life. It should develop character and good citizenship and teach one to live peacefully with his fellow man, with a recognition of the rights of all. Education should develop not only character and good citizenship but it should teach one to make the best use of his leisure time so that he may live his life to the best possible advantage.

Organized labor in the nation has been the prime mover down through its long history in the promotion and advancement of education. Labor's record in the field of education is a long and honorable one. The educational program advocated by labor has been cited by leading organizations throughout the country as sound and progressive.

There is a close connection between the growth of free public education in this country and the workers' efforts to free themselves from the extremes of exploitation. The two developments are parallel.

One of the prime objectives of every labor organization founded in this country was education—for advancement, for cultural reasons, for the extension and consolidation of political and social democracy. Workers wanted to know things. They wanted intellectual and cultural development just as they wanted an end to inhumanly long hours of work and inhumanly low pay.

The history of educational legislation indicates that organized labor not only was the prime mover in bringing public education into existence in America but of broadening and extending it.

The history of vocational education is also closely interwoven with the history of the American labor movement. Vocational education has a particular appeal to the wage-earners of the nation because it is from the halls of these schools that the young men and women come who will be the skilled workers of tomorrow.

MRS. DONNELLY

As early as 1917 the American Federation of Labor worked to bring about the passage of the law known as the Smith-Hughes Law, which provides aid by the federal government to states and local communities setting up vocational education programs.

Many technological and other changes have taken place in the great industries of our nation, and it therefore behooves labor to take stock of those educational programs to see if they have kept pace with the changing picture. Inasmuch as the purpose and intent of trade and vocational education is very largely the training of skilled workers, it becomes the duty of organized labor to see that these students are given the very highest type of both trade and cultural education. No stronger statement of labor's position can be made than was made in the report of the Committee on Education of the New York State Federation of Labor in 1944. This report was subsequently a topic of discussion in several national magazines.

"While one of the boasts of the American Federation of Labor has been its progressive attitude as well as its cooperation with educational institutions in bringing about a sound system of vocational education," said the report, "there is doubt in our minds as to the soundness of some of the new policies of the federal, state and local boards of education concerning their vocational programs.

"In some instances there is danger that the vocational schools may become merely trade schools. Learning the art of manipulating things is a useful part of a complete education, but it should not be developed at the expense of the liberal or intellectual arts. These arts should be taught to all. They constitute the humanizing processes that enable the ordinary laborer to become an artisan as well as a citizen.

"The robot worker is the greatest menace to democracy. The labels 'manual-minded' children and 'intellectual-minded' children have created the false notion of mutually exclusive kinds of education. True education is vocational as well as intellectual. It embraces both the useful and the intellectual arts. The well-educated man on any level is the man who not only knows how to do something well but knows why he does it and knows something of the cultural content of the society in which he functions.

"By overemphasizing or narrowing the instruction of the workers' children to the arts that seem so important in the business of earning a living we are in danger of creating class education in an inferior sense. In the past, education in the liberal arts was the prerogative of the ruling class and their children's education was literally classical or class education. It would be a tragedy if the liberating forces of democracy served only to make an unintellectual voca-

tionalism the badge of all our workers and stigmatize children as persons who had literally a mind for nothing but skill in manipulating things.

"It should be the object of the trade unions, who are literally the trustees of America's future, to make the liberal arts the inheritance of all the children and workers. Democracy and education have the same end—to enable every citizen to be as completely human and social as he can and to train him in the supreme art, the art of social living."

How far educators throughout the nation have taken cognizance of that recommendation is still a question. A great many educators are still of the opinion that the trade school should be the dumping ground for students who do not measure up to what they call "the high intellectual level."

It therefore becomes the responsibility of organized labor to insist that there be carried on from time to time by local boards of education, in cooperation with industry and labor, a survey of existing vocational and trade schools to see how far they are equipping our young people to take their places in the field of industry not only as workers but as well-rounded citizens with a proper appreciation of the finer things of life as well as an adaptability to function as tradesmen.

Labor is especially anxious to see that a study be made of the social science subjects, not only in the vocational high schools but in the academic high schools as well, and we have urged frequently that the experience of both labor leaders and employers be made available to the curriculum-making bodies and the social science departments. This is true particularly in the history of the labor movement and the laws affecting the working life of our citizens.

We do not favor propaganda, but we are insistent that the students be given a clear, unbiased history of industry and of labor, and also of labor's advances through beneficial federal and state legislation. Especially the part the trade union movement has played in making for a safer and happier workaday world.

We strongly oppose any move to bring into the vocational high schools children with retarded mental development as part of the regular vocational high schools' setup. The time has long passed when educators who lack the knowledge of the purpose of a true vocational program should be permitted to act on the assumption that vocational schools should become the dumping ground for students who cannot, in the opinion of such educators, benefit by academic training.

We agree that adequate provision should be made for students who have not the same mental capacity that the average student may possess, but we consider it a waste of time and money, and ultimately disillusioning, for the student if educators endeavor to teach young people trades for which they are not equipped mentally or physically.

This thought was given consideration when the federal Smith-Hughes Law was put into operation. At that time it was specified that only normal students would be eligible for entrance to trade classes in the highly skilled crafts.

If vocational education is to maintain the high standards it has achieved through the cooperation of employers and labor, we must be ever on guard against moves to break down vocational standards by misguided and uninformed educators who even today do not understand real vocational education.

Labor also recommends to the educational authorities that they recognize the uncertainty of the labor market and that they acquaint themselves with the industrial picture in order that they may so gear their programs and plans for the future developments in the field of vocational education that the graduates coming from the vocational high schools will be equipped with the most modern techniques and that there be some relationship between industry's capacity to absorb new workers and the numbers trained by the schools.

In New York State the first state law relative to vocational education was passed in 1908, with the support and approval of labor and industry. Dr. Andrew S. Draper, who was Commissioner of Education in 1908, in an address on "Factory and Trade Schools," made the following statement which labor accepted as a promise of what the attitude of the New York State Education Department would be respecting the conduct of vocational schools:

"It may as well be said at once that any school teaching a definite trade will fail without the sympathy of both capital and the organized workmen engaged in that trade. They cannot be expected to support it if it can be used in favor of another interest and so arrayed against their own."

Students today, they are preparing to be skilled workers tomorrow

Forty years have passed since the New York State Federation of Labor assisted Commissioner Draper and the State Board of Regents to secure the passage of a vocational educational law. Since 1908 the Federation has aided, in every possible way and in every part of the state, the development of programs of guidance, practical arts, adult education and vocational education.

The first state vocational education law required the appointment in every school district which had a vocational school of an advisory board representing the local trades, industries and occupations.

The present determined position of the New York State Federation of Labor is that:

(1) The provisions of the State Education Law shall be enforced in every district which has a vocational school. Advisory boards should be appointed. They should meet regularly and they should consider and report to the local board of education on every matter of broad policy relating to vocational schools, guidance, practical arts and adult education. Labor and employers should be represented on such boards. The reports and opinions of such boards should be considered by local boards of education before action is taken.

(2) The State Advisory Council, composed of employer members, has been nothing but a paper organization. Going through the motions of appointing the board because the law required it is not fulfilling the needs for which labor requested such an appointment. The Regents should refer to such council for opinion all broad matters of policy related to guidance, practical arts, vocational education and adult education. Such a council should meet regularly and the Regents should consider the reports and opinions of the council before taking action on matters related to such reports and opinions.

The essence of our vocational training program is cooperation of government, industry and labor. We need this cooperative spirit in our country today if the full might of human resources is to be mobilized and utilized effectively.

It cannot be encouraged by setting group against group, class against class.

It cannot be achieved by denying rights to one group which are, under our American system, the birthright of all groups.

It cannot be promoted by using the legislative processes of either state or nation to punish one group and give privilege and advantage to another group.

The paramount need in America today is the unification of the American people. Every agency and every instrument which can promote this unity must be utilized to the fullest extent of its possibilities.

Vocational education belongs in this category. Its programs set an example in this vital process of unity-building by demonstrating that government, industry and labor can work together for the common good.

Both industry and labor cooperate with these programs on a voluntary, not a compulsory, basis. This is real democracy. But democracy is endangered when compulsion supplants cooperation either by legislative act or administrative fiat. Whenever we resort to this device of dictators we take a dangerous step toward tyranny.

Labor is watching certain powerful corporate groups which are antagonistic both to organized labor and to the public schools. These groups regard culture and higher education as unnecessary for the children of workers but insist upon it for their own children, who are sent to expensive private schools. They have an elaborate program for limiting education for workers' children to the three R's and for further undermining it by drastic budgetary reduction, by undermining teachers' tenure, pensions and salary standards as well as sound teaching conditions. Through liberally financed "research" bureaus these groups seek to deprive our children of their rightful educational and democratic heritage.

Organized labor was instrumental in bringing our tax-supported public schools into being and we are determined to defeat any and every attempt of wealth to limit educational facilities for the children attending our public schools.

These enemies of the schools are *our* enemies. As long as we exist, the educational heritage of our children and freedom of teaching will be preserved. To this task we rededicate ourselves.

The Railway Clerks

(Continued from Page 15)

union request for a wage increase. The management then made an "agreement" with a dummy company union which gave the employes an increase less than half as much as the Brotherhood had secured on other properties.

A suit was instituted against the railroad and its officers to enjoin them from influencing or intimidating the clerks in their choice of representatives. Losing in the Federal District Court and the Circuit Court of Appeals, the company carried the case to the Supreme Court, which rendered what students regard as one of the most liberal decisions on a question involving the right of workers to organize that the high court ever handed down.

This decision laid down principles which were subsequently written into the 1936 amendments to the Railway Labor Act, including the outlawing of company-dominated unions, the right of workers to organize without interference by the employer and making collective bargaining obligatory. It prepared the ground for the passage of the Wagner Act.

The B.R.C. took a leading part in establishing the Railroad Retirement and Unemployment Insurance Acts. The Railroad Retirement Act blazed the trail for the later enactment of the Social Security Act.

In the last ten years the Brotherhood increased the wages of the employes it represents a minimum of $118.32 a month. With a few minor exceptions, the B.R.C. today has working agreements with every railroad carrier in the United States, Canada and Newfoundland.

As this is written, negotiations are rapidly proceeding to a conclusion under the Railway Labor Act on the joint request of our own and fifteen other cooperating unions for a wage increase of 25 cents an hour and the 40-hour workweek without any loss in pay for the shorter workweek.

Besides the gains made in higher wages and improved working conditions, the general status of clerical workers in the railroad industry has been practically revolutionized through organization. Long treated like stepchildren, working long hours under most disagreeable conditions for wages fixed arbitrarily by the employer, without any security of tenure, and depending wholly on luck for advancement, railroad clerical workers have developed a union that exercises a high degree of influence in the shaping of their own wages and working conditions and plays an important role in labor relations in one of our greatest industries.

Making the Cooperative Idea Work

By ARNOLD S. ZANDER

ONE year's work has proved that the dismal record of co-ops in the city can be reversed. The cooperative movement—a great success for more than 100,000,000 members all over the world—has not been a success up to now in the cities of America.

An idea strong enough to have defeated three powerful world cartels and sound enough to provide American farmers with an economic weapon that has served them effectively for many years has somehow failed to win the allegiance of urban workers.

Why have cooperatives failed in the cities? Because they have not had real savings to offer workers and because the labor movement has never brought its combined strength to the job of building successful cooperatives.

For years co-op spokesmen have pointed to the cities as the next great area of challenge for the cooperative movement. It is a challenge that the cooperatives have been unable to meet successfully. For years the labor movement has endorsed co-ops, but only today is labor making an all-out, unified attempt to put the co-op idea to work. And the attempt is proving successful.

When the Council for Cooperative Development, with key labor and co-op groups as its affiliates, was formed in 1947, the first effective liaison between the cooperative and labor movements was established. After a year's work in Michigan, the labor and co-op groups that pioneered in setting up the Council for Cooperative Development can report on a demonstration project that has proved successful. *(Continued on Page 39)*

Workers shop at a new-style co-op where money buys more. Labor's interest in co-ops is now keen

By PAUL L. PHILLIPS

President, International Brotherhood of Paper Makers

WANT to buy a paper mill? Orders should be plentiful and business should be good during the weeks ahead, when literally tons of paper will be used to deluge the postoffices with Christmas cards.

Mail boxes will bulge with greetings commemorating the birthday of Our Saviour. His Name and Likeness will appear upon most of these Christmas greetings, but He never saw a card during His days on earth; in fact, He never saw paper of any kind. At that time there were no paper makers.

Without paper makers, there were no newspapers, magazines or books. There was no recorded law, or history, or religion, or culture. Without paper there was little of what we today vaguely speak of as civilization.

Men could not read, for there was nothing to read. They could not write, for there was no paper upon which to express their thoughts. With no paper makers, civilization stood still.

Were we to awaken tomorrow morning to find that some magical force had completely destroyed every scrap and particle of paper, with no paper makers to produce more, the loss to society in culture and learning and religion, in artistic and scientific development, in industrial progress, in the functions of democratic government, would be staggering, if not catastrophic. Imagine if you can the dreary and futile existence of a world without paper, and without paper makers to produce more.

MR. PHILLIPS

On at least two distinct occasions paper makers have changed the course of history and the map of the world. Both these instances involved wars, but any resemblance to the unusually large number of strikes by the Paper Makers in 1948 is purely coincidental, and in no wise related to these earlier battles.

After the discovery of paper by the Chinese in the year 95 A.D., the process was kept a jealously guarded secret for more than five hundred years. But in the Seventh Century the Chinese lost the battle of Tharaz River, in Turkestan, and Chinese paper makers who were captured by the Arabians were forced to reveal the great secret of paper manufacture.

Hundreds of years were required for paper making to spread in turn to Spain, Italy, France, Austria, Germany, Holland and, finally, to England. Some two hundred years after reaching England, the first paper was made in North America, with the first mill being built at Germantown, Pennsylvania. Culture, scientific knowledge and civilization followed in the wake of the skill and craftsmanship of the paper maker.

The second leading role of the paper makers in world history began with the bombing of Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941. A powerful nation was plunged into a bloody struggle for survival, a conflict in which the skill of the paper maker made an outstanding contribution toward its victorious conclusion. Registration forms, ration books, shipping containers, atomic research data, military orders, maps, plans, drawings and the all-important "letters from home" were all possible only because there was paper.

Our no-strike pledge, coupled with industrial know-how of management, kept a steady and constant supply of hundreds of thousands of kinds and grades and sizes of paper flowing into the war effort. "Full production" was the slogan, and the Brotherhood of Paper Makers is proud of its war record.

The contribution of paper makers to progress was by no means limited to these two principal episodes. During the advancement of the paper in-

dustry over the past 1,851 years, paper making has constantly set the pace for civilization.

As more recognition was given to the skill of the operators of the paper machine, it was only natural that the paper makers should come to realize that they ought to form some kind of organization to protect their craftsmanship. This line of thought inspired a meeting in 1884, at Holyoke, Massachusetts, of a group of paper machine tenders, who formed an organization of sorts, but which was more of a social club than an economic force.

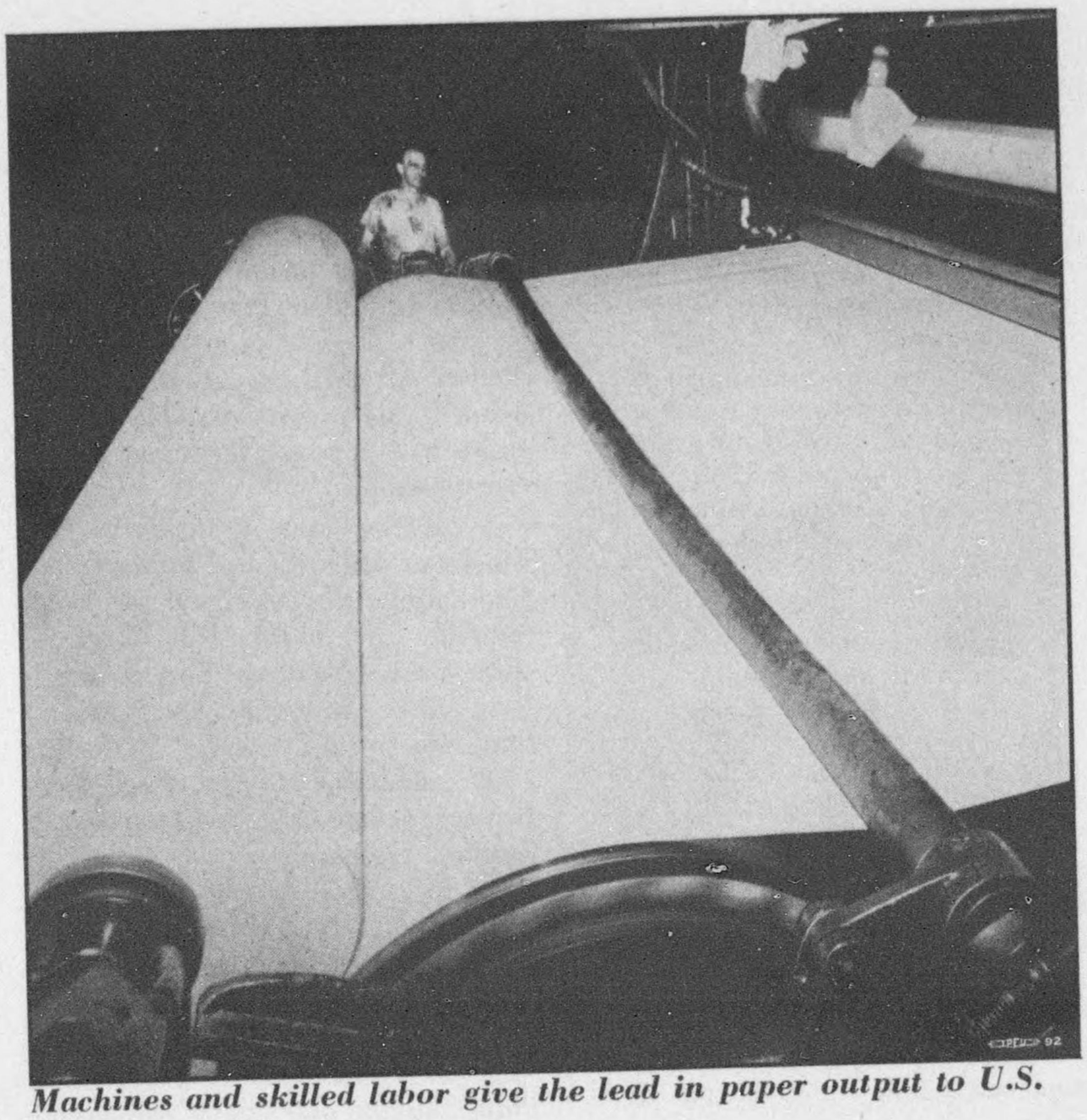
The Knights of Labor were on the decline, and that young upstart, the American Federation of Labor, was rapidly enveloping the labor movement of the country. The American Federation of Labor was only three years old at the time, but it was gaining power and prestige as it proceeded with the task of knitting together the loosely functioning labor groups of the nation into a powerful force of coordinated energy.

As the organization of workers in other industries moved forward, the paper makers at Holyoke came to realize they could not build a wall around their mill and their wage rates, but that other plants must be organized if the workers were to secure the maximum benefits of collective action.

Application was made to the American Federation of Labor, and on May 19, 1893, a charter was granted to the United Brotherhood of Paper Makers. They asked for jurisdiction over only the highest skilled men in paper manufacturing.

The fact that "Paper Makers" was now written in upper-case letters no doubt was a source of satisfaction to the machine tenders and beater engineers, but it did not put any substantial increase into the pay envelope, because of the limited jurisdiction. Reluctantly, and perhaps grudgingly for some, the Paper Makers requested and were granted by the American Federation of Labor July 10, 1897, jurisdiction over all the workers on the paper machine.

The high degree of skill and the relatively high wages of the machine tenders still permitted them the at-



Machines and skilled labor give the lead in paper output to U.S.

The Paper Makers support union-management cooperation. Here a joint committee holds a session

NEXT MONTH

A complete report of the sixty-seventh convention of the American Federation of Labor will be published in the December issue of this magazine.

As in former years, a large number of convention photographs will accompany the many stories describing the major occurrences at the annual parliament of American labor.

We believe every intelligent trade unionist will want a copy of the December issue—to read and to keep.

titude of being the "aristocracy" of the paper industry, and they made little effort to organize the workers in the lower jobs. Other groups of employes did organize into their own unions and, as a natural consequence, conflict and friction developed.

In an effort to create one large, overall union in the industry, the progressive thinkers among the Paper Makers gained control and they persuaded the American Federation of Labor again to enlarge the jurisdiction. On June 17, 1902, the jurisdiction was extended over the entire mill by a charter granted to the International Brotherhood of Paper Makers.

One year later the American Federation of Labor transferred to the Paper Makers some 6,000 unskilled and semi-skilled workers then in federal locals. Unfortunately, these were not granted full membership, but were kept in a secondary status with the Paper Makers retaining positive veto power over any action by the new group.

Inevitably, rebellion flared up, and in 1906 this group seceded from the parent organization, taking other members with them. Open warfare developed rapidly. Each group raided the local unions of the other. They broke each other's strikes, and each tried to destroy the other. As the opponents were evenly matched in strength, the bitter conflict raged for three years. Utter exhaustion finally forced both groups to agree to a compromise, which brought industrial peace to the paper industry.

On June 10, 1909, an agreement was signed by the two groups. Under its terms the Paper Makers agreed to recommend to the American Federation of Labor that a charter be granted to the new group. The jurisdiction of each group was clearly defined, and each was pledged to assist and support the other whenever possible.

A charter was granted by the American Federation of Labor to the International Brotherhood of Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers, with headquarters at Fort Edward, New York. Gradually, the hate and bitterness melted away. With this 1909 agreement still in effect. these two unions have been working closely together to this day.

In very general terms, the Paper Makers have jurisdiction over the highly skilled jobs in the beater room, machine room and finishing room, while pulp mills and converting plants come under the jurisdiction of the Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers. Working together, these two international unions have had remarkable success in organizing the employes in the paper industry of the United States, Canada and Newfoundland, and in improving the general wage level and the working conditions in the industry.

Numerous attempts have been made by rival unions to take over control of the industry. Most of these attempts have been made by trying to "organize the organized." A number of unions from entirely unrelated industries or trades have taken over individual mills, but by and large the paper industry is well organized by the Paper Makers and Pulp Workers, with the result that wages and working conditions are among the best of all industries.

Paper mills usually are located in the smaller communities, and in many instances where there was no other functioning union of any kind. In the beginning the Paper Makers met with widespread resistance to the efforts to organize these isolated plants. Opposition came not only from the paper companies but also from other industries, other firms, the local press and the general public. This was the lineup of opposition which had to be faced in the organization of the paper mills in the South and in Canada. At tremendous cost in money and effort, the plants were organized, and the unionization of the paper mills often paved the way in these towns for unions in other industries.

As a skilled craft with good wages, paper making has attracted a high type of employe from one end of the mill to the other. On the other hand, and for the same reason, the companies have attracted top men for management. The employers of the paper industry, as a group, are both fair and intelligent in dealing with the unions.

The excellent wages and working conditions of the industry have been secured by the union with only occasional, isolated strikes in recent years.

In 1897 the Paper Makers adopted what was called a "Declaration of Principles," one paragraph of which read as follows:

"There is no antagonism to our employers in this Brotherhood. We do not mean to act as if there were any necessary antagonism between capital and labor. We rather believe that we, the laborers, have more interest in common with our employers than we have in separate or hostile action * * *"

Through this declaration the Paper Makers accepted the profit system of industry and embraced the ideal that employers and employes can live and work together in an atmosphere of industrial peace, settling differences around the bargaining table. While there were many subsequent occasions when this theory was seemingly open to question, and the declaration itself was eventually dropped by the wayside, there remains today some of the underlying philosophy embodied in this declaration of half a century ago.

Today the Paper Makers enjoy the respect not only of the companies but also of the general public in those communities in which we operate. Activities are not confined merely to seeking increases in wages, but efforts are directed into many channels which it is believed will benefit the union members and the communities in which they live. Our efforts in these other fields—as, for example, safety—have caused our local unions

to be accepted as an important and necessary part of civic and community life.

Paper mills at one time were considered very hazardous places to work. Joint action by the union and the companies has changed all this. The Paper Makers have spent considerable sums of money on safety work in our industry, and fewer and fewer of our members are suffering accidents.

Although paper mills are now safe places to work in, our organization is constantly striving to better the safety record even more.

Eight regional offices have been established by the Paper Makers in order to give faster and more efficient service to local unions and members. These, together with the representatives in the various regions, are under the supervision of capable directors, and are strategically located.

The official *Paper Makers' Journal*, started in 1901, is published bimonthly, and is sent directly to the home of each member. More recently the Paper Makers have begun publication of an eight-page, tabloid-size newspaper, carrying no paid ads, which is also sent to each member. Each publication is edited by a competent journalist. The editorial offices are at the international union's headquarters in Albany, New York.

The educational activities of the Paper Makers have been extensive. Constant research is carried on to find different and better ways to get information to the members. Summer institutes have been held at the University of Wisconsin. Currently, an expanding program of steward training is under way. The latest innovation in this field is in visual education, through the use of 16mm. motion pictures.

The International Brotherhood of Paper Makers is one of the few unions using the referendum system of government. Laws and constitutional changes can be made only through a referendum vote of the membership. Officers are elected in the same manner. Expense allowances and salaries of the president and the secretary-treasurer are controlled through referendum vote.

Conventions, held biennially, have power only to initiate changes, but in order to encourage attendance, a special convention fund pays railroad fare to and from the convention city, plus a hotel allowance, for one delegate from each local union.

Officers are elected for two-year terms. Each candidate for an office must receive a majority to be elected. A recently adopted preferential system of voting, permitting the voter to select both a first and second choice for any office with three or more candidates, has eliminated costly and burdensome runoffs.

While the referendum system has proven to be cumbersome and at times difficult of operation, it has been preserved by the Paper Makers because of their strong belief in the true principles of democratic government. The Paper Makers have considerable pride in the fact that their union is so democratic. Certainly the union is more truly democratic than are our political governments.

All in all, paper making has played a major role in world history and in the progress of culture, science and government. The makers of paper are a small but extremely important segment of society. From the year 95 A.D., when the first paper was made, through the centuries to the present time, paper and paper making have made great contributions to the advancement of civilization.

Today, in 1948, the Paper Makers are in the forefront in the effort to achieve a durable and lasting peace for the peoples of the world. Peace cannot be possible without paper. An abundance of available paper is the only practical safeguard against ignorance, and the inevitable results of ignorance are suspicion, distrust and hate. It is axiomatic that hate, distrust and suspicion breed wars.

Let men know the truths. Let them have an abundance of paper with which to exchange ideas. Let paper be the medium by which hate, distrust and suspicion are dissipated, so that mankind may have a peaceful and democratic way of life.

To these ideals and to full production of paper by which they may be realized, the members of the International Brotherhood of Paper Makers pledge their skills, their craftsmanship and their energies.

We shall do our part—to keep democracy solvent.

AND THAT'S THE WAY WE PLANNED IT

Birth and Growth of an Idea

By MRS. HERMAN H. LOWE

President, American Federation of Women's Auxiliaries of Labor

THERE were no flags flying that day at Atlantic City, back in 1935—no cigars passed out in celebration of the "idea" which was aborning in the convention hall of the Union Label Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor. Yet, the baby idea was destined to grow into a very useful, full-fledged instrumentality for the advancement of the labor movement, and a celebration would not have been amiss.

When Secretary-Treasurer I. M. Ornburn, the hard-working, astute Washington officer of the A. F. of L. Union Label Trades Department, arrived in Atlantic City for the convention he was armed with the idea in resolution form. The resolution called for the banding together of women's auxiliaries of trade unions affiliated with the A. F. of L. This was to be a federation of women's organizations, fashioned after the pattern of the American Federation of Labor.

There were doubtless those in attendance at that convention who sat with raised eyebrows, to say the least, to have such a far-fetched piece of business introduced for the consideration of their conclave. However, they were tolerant and listened attentively (as good union men do to suggestions offering progress for labor) while Secretary Ornburn explained the necessity for a federation of women's auxiliaries.

The purpose of such an organization would be to spread the knowledge of and goodwill for union label merchandise, and union-conducted services, in addition to participating in the crusade for higher standards of living for union workers generally.

Mr. Ornburn pointed out that women spend 80 or 90 per cent of the nation's annual income. Women, he said, make the decisions, in the majority of instances, when labor services are required. Women need to know about collective bargaining and the need for unions to protect the welfare of the workers. Women have most of the nation's savings in their names, which proves they realize the importance of security.

Mr. Ornburn further stated that women's influence plays an important part in the education of children who should learn the true principles of the American labor movement. Citizens of the future should be taught the reasons why labor must be organized and why the rights of the wage-earner must be respected.

IN THE light of such reasoning there could be no sane objection to giving the idea a trial. After all, wage-earners had nothing to sell but their labor. Their job opportunities depended directly upon the marketing of the commodities they manufactured and the services they could render, so it would be only logical to advertise their products and services through the group that had so much of the finances of the country under control—the women. Then, too, it would certainly be no disadvantage to have this large bloc of voters on the side of labor.

By the time consideration of the idea had reached this stage, it was concluded that it was not new or far-fetched at all. Wasn't this the very same thought that was in the minds of labor's pioneers in 1881 when they established the American Federation of Labor? It was the philosophy then that a union is much stronger than one worker, that a combine of unions is stronger than a single union and that a federation of all labor unions can speak and act more effectively for all wage-earners than can any single group. This being true, then why not accept this powerful new ally—the women relatives of trade unionists—in the spirit of 1881?

The delegates, by and large, accepted the resolution and a campaign

MRS. LOWE

was launched to bring together energetic, diligent women in the families of members of the American Federation of Labor and the railway labor unions as an aggressive army for the advancement of labor as a whole.

Immediately upon the adjournment of the 1935 convention, which adopted the Ornburn resolution, there began the organization of many local groups of women under the auxiliary names of the unions of their husbands and fathers, brothers or sons. This organizing campaign was channeled through city central, state federations of labor, national and international unions. Certificates of affiliation were to be issued only to auxiliaries whose parent bodies endorsed such a move. This cardinal principle was rigidly complied with.

In 1936 and 1937 representatives of these organizations traveled to Washington for conferences. By this time more than 2,000,000 members were enrolled in local, state, city central, national and international union auxiliaries.

At the first conference Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt received the repre-

sentatives at the White House, and the Secretary of Labor, Miss Frances Perkins, invited the group to a reception at the U.S. Department of Labor.

It was at the 1937 conference that the "idea," born two years before in Atlantic City, received its permanent name. The title, American Federation of Women's Auxiliaries of Labor, was adopted and plans laid for the first convention, to be held the following year in Cincinnati, during the first Union Label and Industrial Exhibition sponsored by the A. F. of L. Union Label Trades Department.

EACH year brought some measure of progress. Each meeting brought new confidence, new courage and new understanding for the task and purpose of strengthening unionism.

Then came World War II, with its demands for women to enter the labor market, accept volunteer jobs in spare time or do some tangible work in the prosecution of the war. Anything from baking cookies to joining the ranks of the military and rendering special service in a given or specialized field.

Perhaps it was during this war period that the A.F.W.A.L. made its most pronounced strides in creating goodwill for the labor movement. The women of labor had many opportunities to prove its worth as an American organization by participating in the war effort in cooperation with other women's organizations and on the production line.

The United States Treasury Department recognized members of the A.F.W.A.L. on many federal, state and local committees for the outstanding accomplishments in the sale of war bonds and stamps. Auxiliary members in every community served in aiding the gigantic task of financing the war.

Teeming thousands of our members gave their services in Red Cross work. Many contributed to blood banks, performed varied relief work and served as nurses' aides. U.S.O. centers, without exception, benefited by the wholehearted effort and cooperation of labor auxiliary members.

It was my personal privilege, upon the request of departments of the federal government, to represent the A.F.W.A.L. on advisory committees of the Office of Price Administration, National Housing Administration, Women's Interests Section of the War Department, Federal Security Agency and the National Council of Famine Emergency.

A huge reservoir of goodwill for organized labor was built up through the unstinted effort of the American Federation of Women's Auxiliaries of Labor in convincing fellow-countrymen that the A.F.W.A.L. is made up of good Americans who are not unlike members of other women's organizations.

At our fourth biennial convention, held in Milwaukee last May, a well-rounded program was adopted. The resolutions which were passed indicate the profound interest that women are taking in our national and international problems. Resolutions concerning world peace, military training, child labor, price control, cooperatives, labor press, education, social security and the Taft-Hartley Act—all in addition to a strong resolution upon buying union label goods and using union services—were fully discussed and approved.

The A.F.W.A.L. is no longer a fledgling. We have, little by little, tried our wings and know that there is a place in the social and economic structure of this country for the collective efforts of labor auxiliaries.

The current program of the A.F.W.A.L. calls for decent schools. Education is of the utmost importance to organized labor. We want competent instructors, textbooks free of anti-labor propaganda, labor representation on school boards and adequate school facilities.

We believe low-cost housing is possible, and expect to bend every effort to make it a reality.

Our sights are set on legislation which will provide for improved old-age and unemployment insurance and raise the outmoded 40-cent minimum wage. Next to world peace, our No. 1 current problem is the high cost of living. The women who constitute the membership of the A.F.W.A.L. are aroused over the cost-of-living issue and other issues directly affecting the people of America.

In an effort to make all America vote-conscious, members of labor auxiliaries did a magnificent job in getting the people to register and vote in this year's elections. Working closely with Labor's League for Political Education, the auxiliaries cooperated with existing L.L.P.E. branches or formed leagues of their own to enlist the active participation of citizens.

The methods used were varied. There was block canvassing, polling of organizations, telephone campaigns, letter-writing campaigns, provision of transportation to and from voting places, personal registration (one member alone registered 2,000 in seventeen days) and baby sitting while mothers discharged their duty to vote.

The auxiliary movement is a potent force in the promotion of the union label market and in sponsoring a vigorous campaign of label education. Auxiliary members study merchandise labels carefully. They are vociferous in demanding merchandise made by union workers and services rendered by those who display union shop cards and service buttons. It is they who instill in their children the fact that the union label is labor's protection against unfair employers.

In my opinion, no affiliated union of the American Federation of Labor should consider itself complete unless it has an active, aggressive women's auxiliary functioning as a component part of it. It is inconsistent to complain of an apathetic public and an unfriendly Congress and then demonstrate similar attitudes toward such a valuable ally as a women's auxiliary.

Interlaced with the fervent desire to organize speedily all eligible labor women is the belief of the A.F.W.A.L. that a union's approval of a women's auxiliary in their particular craft must precede acceptance of the auxiliary as an affiliate of the A.F.W.A.L. This policy has not meant rapid growth, but it has stimulated interest in and respect for women's efforts among union members and leaders.

Thus we pay tribute to the American Federation of Women's Auxiliaries of Labor—an instrumentality that has demonstrated its worth for the progress of labor and the nation. The A.F.W.A.L. is a federation of union auxiliaries which was organized of necessity. It is designed for service and geared to action.

Thirteen years ago it had its humble beginning in Atlantic City as an idea. Since then the A.F.W.A.L. has come a long way.

The Nation's Health

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are in a position to set up under collective bargaining a program that can really meet the health needs of their membership and members of their families.

So far the only workable plan that has been brought forward to meet the startling health needs of this country is that developed and supported by organized labor; namely, a comprehensive and contributory health insurance plan which would provide every working person a way to set aside a portion of his earnings to be pooled with the like contributions of other workers.

Out of the fund thus created the costs of medical care for himself and his family could be paid.

This would eliminate the financial barrier between individuals and the services they need to promote health. It would also stimulate the development of adequate supplies of health services and their equitable distribution throughout the country—doctors, nurses, hospitals and other services—through the assurance that there would be a steady demand for such services and that the means of paying for them would be at hand.

The politically minded leaders of the medical profession are still dragging their feet, although at the Health Assembly last May they went further than ever before. When confronted with the demands of united labor and consumer groups, they agreed on eight points, including the following:

(1) "Adequate medical service for the prevention of illness, the care and relief of sickness and the promotion of a high level of physical, mental and social health should be available to all without regard to race, color, creed, residence or economic status."

(2) "The principle of contributory health insurance should be the basic method of financing medical care for the large majority of American people * * * "

Last spring the doctors opposed only the right of the people to use the instrument of government in collecting and distributing the funds. However, at the June meeting of the American Medical Association the reactionary forces rallied and to a large extent repudiated the position their representatives had taken the month before.

Now the political leaders of medicine are attempting to frighten us by pointing out that, even if a health insurance system would provide the means of paying for medical care, there are not enough doctors and not enough hospitals and facilities to meet the demand. They point to the health insurance scheme in Great Britain as a horrible example. A recent editorial in the *Journal of the American Medical Association* said:

"The greatest folly in the world is the manner in which Great Britain embarked on a nationwide health service without hospitals, doctors, nurses, drugs or money to supply what they promised."

I sent this editorial to our friend, Arthur Deakin, who is general secretary of the British Transport and General Workers Union. Readers of the FEDERATIONIST will remember him as the fraternal delegate from the British Trades Union Congress to our 1947 convention at San Francisco. The A.M.A. declared in its *Journal* editorial that the British people under their health insurance scheme were getting much poorer medical service than before, so I thought it would be interesting to know what a representative of the British workers thought.

"A more exaggerated statement in regard to our national health scheme could not be imagined," said Mr. Deakin in reply. In further answering the charge of the A.M.A. he declared that, while inadequate facilities may be unable at present to satisfy peak demands for care, they are that way because of the "patchwork of uncoordinated systems" which developed under the old system. He challenged the charge of the A.M.A. that delays are encountered in receiving treatment under the British plan, characterizing the assertion as "a recklessly exaggerated picture" and adding:

"If there has been an increase in the numbers being treated by doctors, the explanation must be that under the new service adequate medical care has now—for the first time—become available for people who did not get it before."

Our proposed health insurance program would break the vicious cycle of not enough medical personnel or facilities because people haven't the means to pay for them and people are kept in poverty because of sickness. Of course, we realize that its adoption would not automatically build hospitals or train doctors, so we recommend that the insurance system first be established and that this be followed by a "tooling up" period. This might be three or possibly five years; but at the end of that time the services could progressively be provided under the system as facilities become available. Some services could be started almost at once.

This is a sound, progressive and workable plan. It has been developed through years of study. While the basic principles of the first Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill of 1942 have been maintained, practical adjustments have been made to meet constructive criticism and analysis presented during hearings held in three successive Congresses. For six years there has been a steady advance in understanding and acceptance of the plan on the part of the public.

Health insurance was high on the list of President Truman's legislative proposals all through the dismal dark days of the late and unlamented Eightieth Congress. When the Eighty-first Congress convenes early in 1949, you may be sure national health insurance will still be high on the list of proposals to meet the needs of the American people.

And the American Federation of Labor will be right in there pitching just as in the past—this time without the cards being stacked against us.

Your union is what YOU make it.

ATTEND MEETINGS REGULARLY

LABOR NEWS BRIEFS

▶Divisions 85 and 1084, Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employes, have secured 13-cent hourly wage increases and other benefits at the Pittsburgh Railways Company and the Pittsburgh Motor Coach Company.

▶A 10-cent hourly increase for hand production workers has been negotiated by the American Flint Glass Workers Union and the National Association of Manufacturers of Pressed and Blown Glassware.

▶The International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths, in negotiations with the Harvey Manufacturing Company, Racine, Wis., has gained a pay hike of 13½ cents an hour and other benefits.

▶A union membership total of 15,600,000 has been announced by the Bureau of Labor Statistics. This means that one in every four persons in the nation's labor force is a union member today.

▶More than 5,300 members of the United Textile Workers have secured a 17-cent wage increase at American Bemberg and North American Rayon, Elizabethton, Tenn.

▶Manufacturing wage rates advanced by 8.7 per cent (almost 11 cents) between October, 1947, and September, 1948. These figures were released by the Bureau of Labor Statistics.

▶An agreement reached by Local 42, Restaurant Employes, New York City, and the Child's restaurant chain calls for wage increases and other benefits.

▶Local 127, Printing Pressmen, has won a 40-cent hourly wage boost at the Western Printing and Lithographing Company, Racine, Wis.

▶The Masters, Mates and Pilots have won a pay raise and other benefits for 12,000 deck officers in a new pact with Atlantic Coast ship operators.

As their contribution to 1948 Community Chest, building trades men give a day's labor to fix up Washington settlement house

▶Local 8, United Hatters, has renewed its contract with the New York men's hat manufacturers. The new agreement, which covers 500 hat finishers, includes an escalator clause for rising living costs.

▶Non-farm employment in mid-September hit a new record high of over 45,000,000, a rise of 377,000 over August, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics.

▶More than 18,000 members of the National Brotherhood of Operative Potters have won pay raises averaging 13 cents an hour.

▶A blanket wage hike has been secured by the Boot and Shoe Workers in a contract with the St. Louis Shoe Manufacturers Association.

▶A 25-cent hourly wage raise has been won by Painters District Council No. 2, St. Louis.

▶The Grain Millers have won a 12½-cent hourly wage increase at six grain mills in Buffalo, N. Y.

▶The Glass Bottle Blowers have won a wage hike of 12 to 17 cents an hour in negotiations with the American Structural Products Company, which has sixteen factories throughout the country.

▶By an overwhelming majority, the workers in twenty-eight foundries in the Philadelphia area have chosen the Molders and Foundry Workers as their representative for collective bargaining.

▶After a strike of five weeks, Local 71, United Hatters, succeeded in concluding its first agreement with the Etchison Hat Company, Richmond, Va. The contract provides for a general wage increase of five per cent.

▶Wage increases ranging from $5 to $10 have been won by the Retail Clerks at San Francisco in an agreement with Safeway Stores.

▶Drivers for the Michigan Cab Company, Lansing, Mich., have won pay increases averaging $7 a week. The men are members of the Teamsters.

L.L.P.E.'s First Effort

(Continued from Page 5)

man Revercomb of West Virginia and George Wilson of Iowa heralds the beginning of a new and brighter legislative era on Capitol Hill.

THE HOUSE

The final tallies show that 172 candidates backed by Labor's League for Political Education were successful. We also know that 106 anti-labor Representatives who voted for the Taft-Hartley Act will not be returning. Fourteen were defeated in the primaries and sixty-five defeated on November 2. In addition, twenty-seven anti-labor Representatives were not candidates for reelection.

Only in three cases were pro-labor Representatives who voted against the Taft-Hartley Act defeated, and they will be replaced by men who are expected to have as good or better voting records. It was a case of replacing friends with friends.

For the next two years, the House of Representatives will probably be even more liberal than the Senate. Labor's votes on Election Day swept out of office such arch-reactionaries as Gearhart of California, Busbey and Vail of Illinois, Landis and Harness of Indiana, and Youngblood of Michigan.

Minnesota's Knutson, author of the unfair tax bill, won't be back. Missouri retired ten, including the "silk-stocking" Representative Ploeser. Reactionaries such as Potts and pro-Communists such as Isacson were swept from New York's delegation. Ohio "beat Bender" as promised.

Pennsylvania turned eleven enemies out. Oklahoma retired Schwabe. West Virginia made a clean sweep and will return a 100 per cent pro-labor delegation. Tennessee elected pro-labor Frazier to take Estes Kefauver's place in the House, which the latter left to win a Senate seat.

From coast to coast and in virtually every state, the story of victory is the same.

THE foregoing analysis demonstrates that we have had the greatest housecleaning of reactionary forces in history. We were successful in saving every single friendly seat and in completely shattering the reactionary bloc in Congress.

We conclusively demonstrated that for a candidate to be opposed to the Taft-Hartley Act was not a political liability.

However, the 1946 elections resulted in a Congress so bad that even with this tremendous victory of November 2, 1948, we have traveled only part of the road back.

Despite the favorable results in this year's elections, it is quite clear that we must bring forth a greater victory in 1950 if our country is to be governed by a truly liberal Congress. Then, when we finally have a clear majority in Congress responsive to the interests of the people, we must not repeat our past mistakes and complacently let Congress go by default to candidates subsidized by reactionary special-interest groups.

Considering the shortness of the time between the establishment of Labor's League for Political Education and the election, the results were more than gratifying. L.L.P.E. had been in existence only a few short months when Election Day arrived.

However, we all know cases where we would have been successful if we had had ample time and finances to launch a vigorous campaign. We must not wait until a month before the 1950 primaries to get set.

We have two years in which to organize our forces in every precinct in the country. The national office of Labor's League for Political Education should serve as a watchdog on every Representative and Senator in Congress. We must carry on a continuous educational program by sending out reports on every major issue and on the voting record of each Congressman and Senator while Congress is in session.

Pro-labor candidates are completely dependent upon labor's voluntary financial contributions as well as our votes. For that reason, every A. F. of L. member who contributed to Labor's League for Political Education during this campaign is deserving of our sincere thanks and appreciation.

However, because of the short time that we had in which to collect voluntary contributions, our funds were short of the desired goal. Therefore, we must not only strengthen and perfect all of our local leagues for the 1950 campaign, but we must turn our attention to the problem of fund-raising, so that we will achieve the goal of $1 from every A. F. of L. member by 1950.

The rank and file and the officers of the A. F. of L. unions responded to the great challenge with glorious results. The labor papers and the international union journals carried on a relentless and most effective political education campaign to counter the defeatist propaganda of the public press.

The preservation of progressive democracy for the benefit of all the people is our priceless reward. And now, if we are to preserve that democracy and be truly deserving of its rewards, we must work with redoubled energy.

Continued Prosperity Forecast

Agriculture Department economists currently predict that even if a moderate economic recession should come, U.S. living standards are sure to remain far above the prewar level.

The economists, who foresee a continued period of prosperity for the next six years, state their views in an unofficial report prepared for field workers and state agricultural extension workers in advising farmers on future crop operations.

The document, based on the assumption of a relatively stable peace, says that full employment during some and perhaps all years between now and 1955 is a distinct possibility.

"If the adjustment is relatively mild, centering in prices with little interruption to production, the chances for an extended period of full employment are good," the report asserts.

Under such conditions, it adds, employment in the United States would be maintained close to 1948 levels and might even rise slightly in line with population increases.

Stop Playing Favorites!

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surely the Maritime Commission and the Navy know what shipyards were engaged on a tanker program when they *did make their own awards of naval vessels and passenger and passenger-cargo ships.* And surely those interests which got the contracts for the tankers do not have the public responsibility nor the control over public funds which the Maritime Commission and the Navy Department most definitely do. Then why is there this seeming agreement between private interests and public agencies in the letting of shipbuilding awards?

This question is most pertinent, in view of all the facts:

"Are there those whose purpose it is to prevent the continuation and expansion of the West Coast shipbuilding industry?"

Let it be clearly understood: Either the Maritime Commission and the Navy Department will make an equitable distribution of its awards, including the West Coast and other coastal areas now excluded, or Congress will be called on to write suitable legislation which will make it compulsory for them to do so.

THE Maritime Commission and the United States Navy Department ought to realize that we are no longer living in the days of the thirteen original colonies, along a small section of the Atlantic Coast. They might appreciate the fact that in the United States of 1948 there are many other regions.

For example, there is the Pacific region, comprising the states of Washington, Oregon and California, which has grown by leaps and bounds; it exceeded the growth of any region in the period between 1920 and 1930, and between 1930 and 1940. California is now the third largest state of the Union, and bids fair to pass Pennsylvania as the second most populous commonwealth. In terms of internal revenue receipts, for the latest available fiscal year of 1945, California's contribution was greater than that of Pennsylvania.

These three states of the Pacific region, to speak of no others, are most certainly a part of the United States, any action or lack of action of the Maritime Commission or the Navy Department to the contrary notwithstanding.

In these Pacific Coast states there are shipyards which built 42 per cent of the vessels constructed during the peak of wartime shipbuilding. During the recent war the West Coast shipyards made this magnificent record because they developed new methods of ship construction and because they excelled in rapidity of construction and continuity of production. The skilled workmen showed that they knew how to build ships of quality in record time.

Are we going to allow all this know-how and skill to be dissipated?

Are we going to allow shortsighted and selfish interests in one area to prevent an equitable share of shipbuilding contracts from going to all other areas?

The shipyards of the Pacific region and other areas are in the position today of those who pioneered on the ever-changing frontiers of our continent in the past. As a nation we never hesitated to meet our responsibility to every group and every region which had its problems on the outposts of our country.

The West Coast and other coastal area shipyards, now discriminated against, are absolutely necessary for our national security. These yards are also essential to our peacetime needs of a shipbuilding industry.

Federal agencies such as the Maritime Commission and the Navy Department cannot treat the West Coast or other coastal areas as stepchildren in the matter of shipbuilding awards. Such a policy by private groups was used after World War I, but that day is gone forever. The country is grown up, and certain Eastern interests do not have the strangle grip on our economy and government they once had, in the 1920s.

The members of the affiliated unions of the American Federation of Labor are not going to be thrown out of work because shipyards in many areas of the country are going to be closed down, without a hard and determined fight against favoritism and special privilege. They are going to find out the reasons why all

regions except one or two are being discriminated against in the letting of contracts.

They will insist that these contracts be so distributed that the West Coast shipyards and other areas will receive their fair share!

Again we ask the question: Why are shipbuilding awards going only to the Northeast?

We reiterate:

Stop playing favorites!

The European Scene

(Continued from Page 10)

ment heed the needs and rights of German labor, the American Federation of Labor has won a pre-eminent place in the hearts of democratic-minded Germans and German labor.

When, in the early days of the cruel Russian blockade of Berlin, planes landed 1,000 CARE parcels from the A. F. of L. Labor League for Human Rights for the workers of that city, it was not only labor but the entire population and all the Allied military authorities who saw in this act of true international labor solidarity an event of paramount significance in the struggle now going on between democracy and Communist totalitarianism for the souls of the European masses.

The growing importance of labor in world affairs is now a fact. This importance is especially decisive in a period of reconstruction. Without the full cooperation of labor there can be no reconstruction. Totalitarian Russia's realization of this explains the Communist strategy in organizing and dominating the W.F.T.U. That is why the Cominform and all the energies and resources of the Russian dictatorships have gone into foisting Communist control on the French and Italian trade union movements.

The Moscow ruling clique correctly figures that if it can continue its control of these two strategically placed trade union movements, it can cripple the European recovery program. Without the reconstruction of France and Italy, there can be no continental reconstruction. Here is the why and wherefore of the recurrent waves of turmoil in France and Italy.

Of course, labor has many serious grievances in these countries. With prices running swiftly ahead of wages, it is very hard for the Italian and French workers to make ends meet. But with Moscow's minions exploiting these legitimate grievances of French and Italian labor for the purpose of fostering the Communist political program and promoting Russia's drive against the reconstruction of Europe, the working people of France and Italy find themselves in an extremely difficult position. This painful contradiction hits you in the face when you stay in these countries even a few days.

In the light of these developments, the urgency of organizing effective international labor cooperation to assure the success of the European Recovery Program takes on immeasurable import. A visitor to Europe is quick to sense this. The Economic Cooperation Administration is aware of this. America's roving ambassador in Europe, Averell Harriman, has time and again shown a very full understanding of labor's vital role in rebuilding the continent. On more than one occasion I have wished that all trade union officials on the continent had an equally clear comprehension. It would be futile and dangerous to deny that there remains much to be done to mobilize the full energies of Europe's trade unions in behalf of E.R.P.

The recent conference in London of the free trade unions for the E.R.P. made valuable contributions toward such a mobilization. It cleared the ground, to an appreciable extent, for more effective continental action by labor in behalf of reconstruction.

The conference decisions will undoubtedly stimulate the development of more coordinated international action by the free trade unions of Europe and America to repel and defeat the Communist drive to prevent European and world reconstruction. The decision of the conference to establish the Trade Union Advisory Committee with authority to collaborate with the Office of European Economic Cooperation is only the germ of this dynamic idea. But the beginning has been made.

Finally, it would be hard to exaggerate how much the active participation of the American Federation of Labor in world labor affairs has meant to the hopes of the European laboring people and to a strengthened faith in their future, in themselves.

We have not come to Europe as alms-dispensers. We have not come upon their scene as gratuitous advice-givers. The American Federation of Labor in Europe is there by virtue of its unswerving loyalty to international labor solidarity and the democratic and humane ideals which are at the very foundation of our civilization. We are there to do our duty and not to do favors. Our interest is not a passing but permanent one. This is so whether we provide CARE parcels for needy trade unionists, help set up homes and schools for workers' children or fight to rescind false measures now and then taken by our government—measures detrimental to the democratic and free trade union forces on the war-scarred continent.

Long ago we learned that our country cannot stay prosperous and free if Europe and the rest of the world are broken down and enslaved. My latest visit to Europe impressed this truth upon me more deeply than ever.

I am firmly convinced that if American labor meets its share of the responsibilities of our nation in the present world crisis, and if we of the American Federation of Labor continue energetically our participation in the international trade union movement, the prospects for Europe being saved from economic collapse, social chaos and totalitarian communism will be very much improved.

Let's All Give

The 1948 Community Chest drive is now in progress in communities large and small across the face of America. It is vital that this campaign shall be thoroughly successful.

The American Federation of Labor has pledged its wholehearted support. Please give—and give generously—when the Chest solicitor visits you. This is every good citizen's cause.

The Cooperative Idea

(Continued from Page 27)

In Michigan joint labor action and a willingness to focus attention on the needs of workers in 1948, instead of on the experience of the Rochdale weavers of long ago, the pioneers of the co-op idea, have built a new kind of cooperative. They are—

▸Cooperatives with roots among workers instead of university professors.

▸Cooperatives that offer workers savings of four to eight per cent under profit chain operations.

▸Cooperatives that are used imaginatively as a community base for the labor movement; a base for contact with farm groups; a base for work in adult education and inter-group relations; a base for work in the whole area of public policy formation.

▸Cooperatives which, in just one year, have mobilized millions of dollars in buying power and set an example for the rest of the labor movement of the power of the co-op idea when put to work with careful planning and the solid support of local unions.

It was in June of 1947 that John Nicola of the Bakery Workers and several others of us from the A. F. of L. met in Chicago with representatives of the Cooperative League of the U.S.A. and other unions to establish the Council for Cooperative Development. The conferees faced squarely the fact of past failures. It was decided to select a demonstration area and to build there proof that the co-op idea *could* work successfully in the cities of the United States.

The pressure of skyrocketing prices had brought home to union members across the country the intense need for real organization on the consumer front to protect the spending end of the paycheck. It was time to put the co-op idea to the test once for all, to find out whether, with careful planning and thorough organizational work, it had anything substantial to offer American workers.

Because of the keen interest of local unions in that state, Michigan was chosen for the demonstration projects.

One year's work in the Michigan demonstration area developed a new kind of low-cost cooperative distribution outlet. Cooperative retail warehouses, selling basic grocery items, household supplies, appliances, work clothing, paint, hardware and automotive supplies, were operated on margins considerably below those of the chrome-plated supermarkets.

A total of $192,000 was raised to finance procurement on the wholesale level for the whole area. Local units were opened as people in the community purchased $20,000 in co-op shares needed to open a retail outlet.

Tom Arnott, whose Plumbers' local played a leading part in establishing the new cooperative retail warehouse at 11555 East Warren in Detroit, figured he saved $41.60 by buying at the co-op during the first six months of its operation.

The American Federation of Teachers' local in Detroit provided most of the volunteer organizers that did the basic organizational job for the co-op opening at Conant and Charles Streets in that city.

The new co-ops in Flint and Pontiac are setting up direct exchange relations with farmers' co-ops in the area. Much work remains to be done in this direct exchange field, but a good start has been made.

The entire executive board of the largest U.A.W.-A. F. of L. local in Muskegon joined the co-op that is building there.

In all, co-ops are now open in five cities in the Michigan demonstration area. Organizational work is also under way in other Michigan cities as well as at Toledo, Ohio. Thirty thousand workers are welding a powerful economic weapon, one which is effecting immediate and definitely worthwhile savings for them.

The spadework has been done.

We now have an important opportunity—a chance to do even more than helping workers to balance strained budgets. Our opportunity goes even beyond building through cooperatives a weapon for fighting monopoly and depression, for returning control of part of the economy to the people's hands.

We have an opportunity to build for the labor movement the permanent ties with the whole community which we must have if we are to play a deciding role in the crucial area of public policy formation. We can play that role by building in every major urban center in America a base, on the community level, through which we can reach, intimately and directly, most of the people. Co-ops are such a base.

Israeli Labor Thanks A. F. of L.

President William Green of the American Federation of Labor last month promised Histadrut, the Israeli Labor Federation, that the A. F. of L. would continue its support of the democratic aims of the labor movement in the young republic of Israel.

Mr. Green's pledge was given to a four-member delegation from Histadrut which visited him to convey a message of thanks for the past efforts of the Federation in giving help and support to their organization.

The message handed to Mr. Green in Washington by the Histadrut representatives declared in part:

"There is a close kinship between Israel and America, between Histadrut and the American labor movement. This fellowship will ripen as the years go by. It is our common goal to see the world reach a stage of universal peace, of social justice and economic advancement for the masses of the people, for unlimited opportunities for the individuals and nations composing the human race.

"Israel has come into being because our ancient people are inspired by the ideals of justice. Organized labor has been the chief instrument to realize those ideals in our generation.

"The American labor movement has been our loyal ally during many years of extraordinary danger. Thanks to the support which we have received from the American Federation of Labor, we have been able to establish ourselves more firmly in our national home.

"The battle of Israel for survival is not yet over, however. We need your continued support."

WHAT THEY SAY

Dwight D. Eisenhower, *president, Columbia University*—The American university does not operate in an unreal world of its own, concerned solely with the abstract, secluded from the worrisome problems of workaday living, insulated against contact with those other institutions which constitute our national structure. Just as the preservation of the American way demands a working partnership among all 146,000,000 Americans, its continued development demands a working partnership between universities and all other free institutions. The school that enjoys a partnership with the manufacturing industries and labor unions and mercantile establishments of its community is a better and more productive school in consequence. Its influence permeates the entire community and is multiplied many times over, while the school itself—energized by the challenges and dynamism of community life—grows and broadens with each problem it helps to surmount.

Richard F. Walsh, *president, International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employes*—Today we see the whole world worrying about communism and what it will do to the labor movement. I ran up against communism in Hollywood. We had one suspect local out there. We contacted them and said, "There's something wrong with your organization. There are Communists in there." But when we would go in and investigate or sit in on a meeting, everything seemed to be fine. Sometime later, however, when we were compelled to take this local union over under emergency provisions, we discovered how the Communists had functioned so cleverly that we could not find out what they were doing. They would take one person and assign him to ten or twelve people and educate this group as to what would be done the next day in the meeting. The officers would stand up and say, "We don't do any wrong." But they had arranged it all the night before. Our union, like the American Federation of Labor itself, is firmly opposed to communism. The A. F. of L. will be against communism as long as there is an A. F. of L., just as it was against Hitler from the day he started. Some people didn't think then that the A. F. of L. had the right idea, but as time went on, the whole world realized that the A. F. of L. had been right all along. And so it is with communism, too.

Edward J. Hillock, *secretary-treasurer, United Association of Journeymen and Apprentices of the Plumbing and Pipefitting Industry* — Careful reading of the history books will bring to light the fact that national elections can be divided into two categories. One kind may be called "politics-as-usual," the other "bread-and-butter politics." A politics-as-usual election would be one where the real question is whether one group of politicians and their jobholders shall run the government or whether a new group will take over. Usually in good times or in eras of good feeling we have national elections of the politics-as-usual type. Both major political parties have experienced this type of election. On the other hand, there have been elections where the party labels and the personality of the Presidential candidate were of little or no importance because there were issues before the people of America which meant *bread and butter*. In other words, how wage-earners earned their living and the kind of living they could earn were all-important issues in the election.

John Foster Dulles, *U. S. delegate to U. N. General Assembly*—Marxists concede the immense and superior productivity which the American system has achieved. But they contend that is merely a phase of history. They say that different forms of society are adapted to different times; that there was a time when slavery was the preferred form of society; then came serfdom; then came capitalism; now comes dictatorship of the proletariat as the next phase in a great historical progression. There is no factual way to prove or disprove estimates of the future. But the Marxist thesis must be totally rejected if one accepts the religious view of the nature of man. Under that view slavery, however expedient, was never right. Under that view the despotism of a police state can never be right. It might be that a time would come when men would be more productive and more secure if they were treated as domesticated animals and driven to pasture and back to shelter under the direction of some superior human will. It is unnecessary to argue that point if one accepts, as did our forebears, the Christian view that man is destined to be more than a material producer and that his chief end is something more than physical security. The religious conception of the nature of man is the premise—and the only premise—from which political freedom surely follows.

The national election of 1932 will stand out in history as a crystal-clear example of a bread-and-butter election. There have been many others. The national election this year also belongs among the bread-and-butter kind. Whenever the nation is in the throes of inflation, the position of the wage-earners and their families will always go from bad to worse. It is a fact that we are working regularly. It is a fact that our wage rates are high. It is a fact that the demand for our services is high. But it is also true that our standard of living is going *down*, not up. No matter how much more money is in our pay envelopes, we don't get enough food, shelter and clothing.

JUNIOR UNION PAGE

By ANNABEL LEE GLENN

Thanksgiving

THE two girls walked sedately along their way. Priscilla carefully lifted her skirt above her ankles and stepped daintily over a mudhole.

"Mind thy boots," warned Betsy.

"I'm minding them," responded Priscilla. "Mind thee thy skirt. The roads are not prepared for walking. Better we had a horse this night."

"Yeah," came from their escort. "Better we had a horse or better that Dad had let me have the car."

"Oh, come, Allen," remonstrated Betsy. "Where is thy pioneer spirit?"

"Right back with the pioneers," the lad retorted. "Whoever thought of dressing up in these outfits should have quit thinking."

He ran his finger around between the edge of his starched collar and his neck. To a boy accustomed to a pullover or a soft-collared sport shirt, the stiffness of the Puritan neck-piece was torture.

"Allen, not another word of discontent," said his sister. "Be thankful thy clothes cover thy hide and that the skin of you is protected from the wintry blasts."

"I don't see why I couldn't have drawn one of the Indian costumes," Allen said. "You ought to see the outfit Hugh is going to wear."

"We'll see it at the party," responded Priscilla. "Come on, let's hurry. We don't want to be late."

"Gee, we've got lots of time," said Allen. "You girls just want to show off in your long dresses and big shawls."

"They aren't shawls," corrected his sister. "They are fichus."

"Well, whatever they are. Anyway, I still wish I had an Indian costume. Wait a second. One of my shoe buckles is about off."

"Mother told you to let her sew it with that heavy thread," his sister reminded him, as they stopped while he fumbled with the tin buckle.

"There, I guess it's all right," he said, as he straightened up and adjusted his collar once more.

"Watch out, there's another muddy place," warned Priscilla, as she carefully stepped around it. "I wonder when this old repair work will be finished."

They were continuing on their way in silence when Allen was suddenly jerked off the sidewalk by a redskin warrior and quickly bound with a leather thong. The two girls shrieked but were soon silenced by other fierce savages who bound and gagged them.

Prisoners, they were led up the street. At the corner they met several others in early colonial dress who were led by more savages streaked with warpaint. There were whoops now and then to strike terror to the brave hearts of the settlers, although the giggles and roars of laughter which broke through marred the blood-curdling effect to some extent.

The front porch of Terry Swanson's house was lighted with a dull glow and the prisoners were led to it, around to the side entrance. Between sheaves of cornstalks they were led down to the play room in the basement and were presented to the great chief, Wampum Belt, who sat cross-legged in front of his wigwam.

"Let go palefaces," he grunted at his warriors.

His braves promptly obeyed their chief by loosening the bonds of their captives. The young Indian maidens who were watching the proceedings helped the settlers remove their wraps. Amid the chatter of the boys and girls there were many exclamations of surprise and greeting as the Thanksgiving party of the Junior Union got under way.

"How in the world did you Indians capture all of us palefaces?" asked Betsy.

"Maybe we've missed a few," said Hugh, "but anyone could follow you three just by listening to Allen."

The party moved along at a good pace, but the thirty Junior Unionists made a curious sight. Half were dressed as redskins, half as early colonists, Puritans or Pilgrims. The basement had been decorated like an autumn forest clearing and the wigwam of the old chief was the center of attraction, especially when later in the evening large pieces of pumpkin pie and cider were served from it.

Priscilla sat at a table with Janice Taylor, another Puritan, and two boys, one with a feather headdress and the other wearing the costume of a forest scout. They chatted as they ate and Priscilla said:

"It hardly seems possible that we have been able to turn the clock back to 1620 or thereabouts so easily, but honestly, I feel like one of the first colonists."

"Well, I'm not nearly so brave as they must have been," admitted Janice. "Gracious, I was scared almost out of my wits when Frank here captured me on the way to the party."

"Oh, when Betsy and I were taken prisoner I thought I would faint," Priscilla said. "First, someone grabbed Allen and then we girls were taken next. Honestly, when I think back to the old days I'm sure I would not have been one of the examples of bravery which were needed then."

"Yes, it certainly took courage to come over to this strange land and carve homes out of the wilderness, and then begin the long trek across the unknown and unexplored lands to the West. We all surely have a lot to live up to if we ever hope to be worthy of those wonderful ancestors of ours."

"It's a heritage that we must honor," said Janice thoughtfully.

Just then Betsy came up to them with slips of paper.

"You're to write what you are most thankful for, and the one who gives the best answer gets a prize. Mr. Swanson and Dr. Ericson are going to be the judges. They're upstairs now."

Soon the contest winner was announced, although the judges had several difficult moments in making their choice. However, Priscilla was called to receive the prize. Her answer was one word—*America.*

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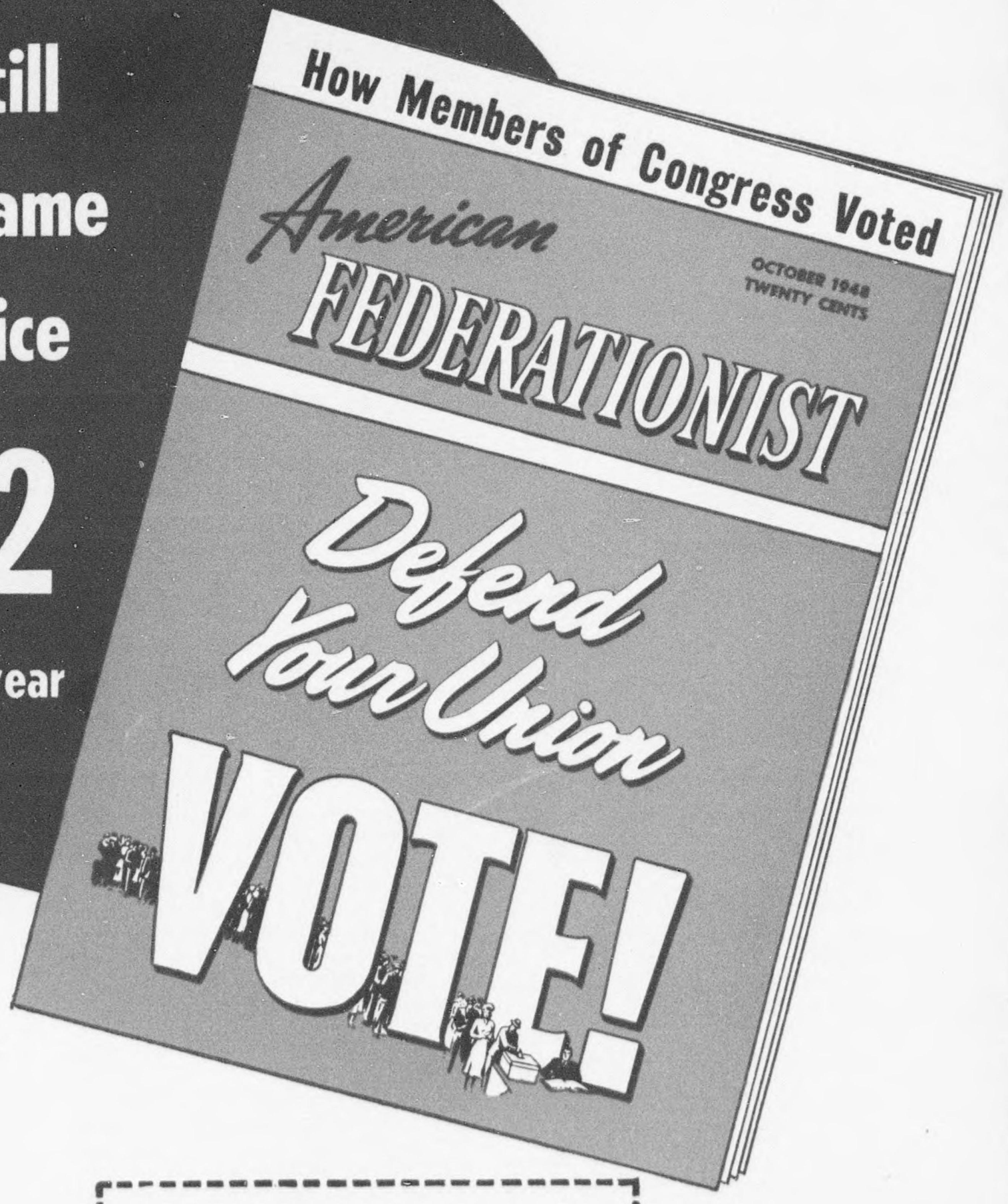

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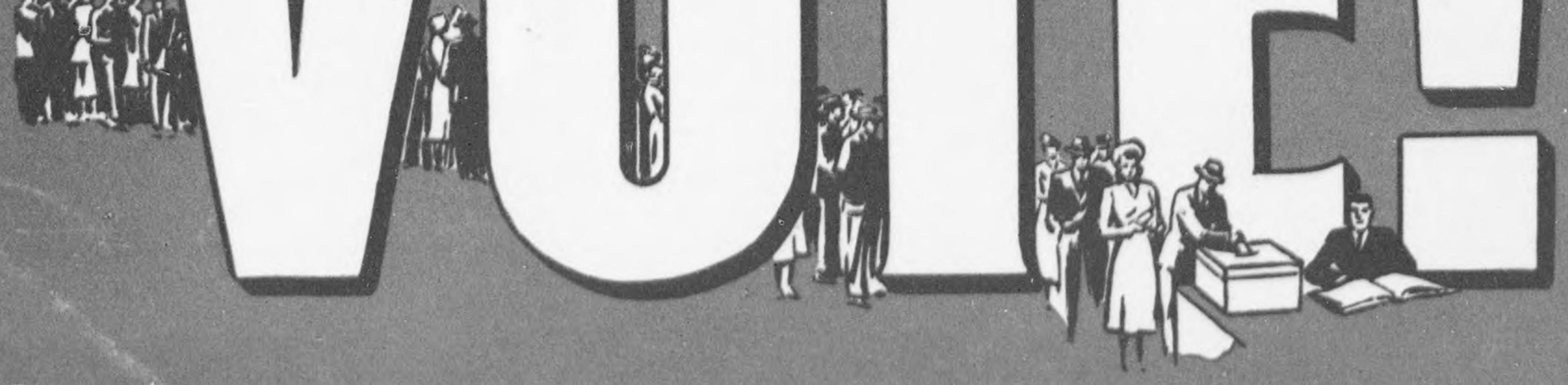

LABOR HIGHLIGHTS

THE REAL MEANING of the recent Maine elections was placed under the spotlight September 21 by the Administrative Committee of Labor's League for Political Education. The Administrative Committee issued a statement pointing out that the voters in Maine had rejected two bills embodying the substance of the national Taft-Hartley Act and that "the Republican candidates who won sweeping victories in the Maine election had come out publicly in the campaign in opposition to this anti-labor legislation." State Senator Tabb, author of one of the two anti-labor bills submitted to the voters, was defeated. The Administrative Committee congratulated the Maine branch of L.L.P.E. for the effectiveness of the campaign which it had conducted and declared: "Labor can now take the position that in asking Congress to repeal the Taft-Hartley Act it is only asking Congress to do what the conservative state of Maine has already done by a popular vote."

THE MOST SIGNIFICANT decisions affecting American labor since the upholding of the Wagner Act in 1937 are expected to come from the United States Supreme Court during the new term which has just begun. It is anticipated that before the year is out the high court will rule on the validity of a number of sections of the Taft-Hartley Act. Before handing down decisions on various provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act, however, the Supreme Court will probably rule on state anti-closed shop laws which have been sharply challenged by labor.

UNFAIR CRITICISM of employes of the federal government was denounced by James G. Yaden, the new president of the American Federation of Government Employes. In a letter to the Washington *Daily News,* Mr. Yaden condemned the attack on the efficiency of federal workers which appeared in *Medical Annals of the District of Columbia.* The A.F.G.E. chief declared: "I have traveled over every state in the Union but one and I have been in literally hundreds of manufacturing plants, business offices, doctor's offices, lawyer's offices and every conceivable kind of an office and it has been my unfailing observation that federal government employes are just as loyal, just as earnest and work as efficiently and as hard as employes in private industry and business offices. I will admit that there are some poor and inefficient government employes just as there are some poor and inefficient doctors, but in each instance the poor ones are the exception and not the rule."

THE HEALTH of a democracy depends to an enormous extent upon the use which its people make of their right to vote. No democracy is as healthy as it should be if any substantial number of its citizens decide to play mumblety-peg on Election Day in preference to visiting their respective polling places and casting their ballots. But even where a democracy's people are sufficiently aware and appreciative of the meaning of the right to vote to exercise this precious right, the state of the national health will not be what it ought to be unless the people vote *intelligently.* And to vote intelligently is an impossibility unless you have the necessary facts. In this issue the AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST supplies information which every citizen who wants to vote intelligently in 1948 must have in his possession. Labor's magazine presents the voting record of every member of Congress on the vital issues of the day. We urge every reader to study this record most carefully before going to the polls.

ANY LINGERING DOUBTS concerning the accuracy of reports that Congressman Hartley is angling for a lush job with Big Business must have been dispelled for most observers when the New Jerseyite noisily demanded repeal of the Walsh-Healey Act. Under this law public contracts are awarded only to concerns which pay their employes at least the minimum wage set by the Department of Labor. Congressman Hartley, who is not a candidate for reelection, issued a silly blast against the Walsh-Healey Act which sounded very much as though it had been written by the most extreme reactionary in the National Association of Manufacturers.

THE RIGHTS OF UNIONS in faraway Sarawak are defined in a special ordinance, reports the *International Labor Review.* Under this ordinance two or more workers may lawfully combine to perform any act in furtherance of a trade dispute if the act would be lawful were it done by only one person.

THE ANNUAL FINANCIAL statement of the American Federation of Labor will be found on another page in this issue of the AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST.

American FEDERATIONIST

Official Monthly Magazine of the American Federation of Labor

OCTOBER, 1948 — WILLIAM GREEN, *Editor* — Vol. 55, No. 10

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Law Supreme

The only way to enforce the law is the way prescribed by law. That which cannot be done lawfully must not be done at all, by the police or any other public officials, from the President of the United States down. This is a government of laws and not of men.

We must be vigilant of every little approach to despotism, however little it may be. We must see to it that those whom we elect to office do not go outside of the laws, or set themselves up above the laws, and do as they please.

It has always been the case throughout the world that the officials who did this did it on the plea that the laws were not good enough; that they could do better than the laws prescribed.

Beware of all such officials. We do not want officials who have any lust of power. We want officials who are very careful about exercising power. We want officials who are careful to exercise no power except that given to them by the people by their laws.

There is no more dangerous man in a free country, in a democracy, than an official who thinks he is better than the laws. The good man in office should be most careful not to set a bad example or precedent for his bad successor, who will come along sooner or later.

William J. Gaynor.

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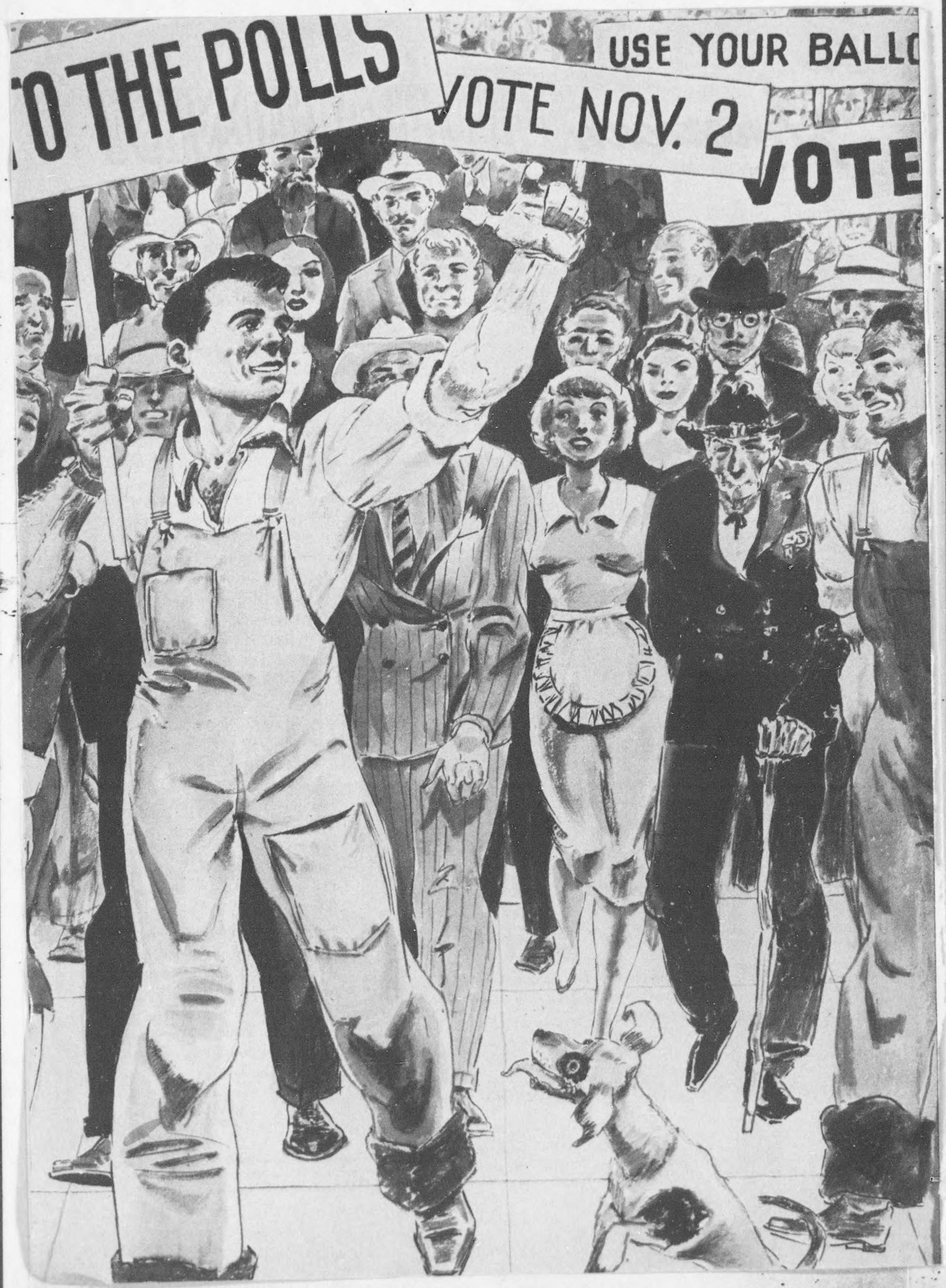
TO THE POLLS
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SECRETARY MEANY

ARE YOU A FREE RIDER?

By GEORGE MEANY
Secretary-Treasurer, L.L.P.E.

WHAT would you call a man who crossed a picket line to take a union man's job? What would you call a man who voted against the union shop? You would probably call such a man a SCAB—a free rider who wants the other fellow to fight for good wages but doesn't want to take any of the responsibility himself.

Did it ever occur to you that if a union man fails to register, doesn't vote on Election Day and refuses to contribute his dollar to Labor's League for Political Education, he is just as bad as the free rider who refuses to join the union or pay dues?

We can have free trade unions only so long as we elect men to Congress who believe in laws guaranteeing the rights of workingmen to deal through free trade unions. Such men are not elected when the majority of us fail to vote.

The Eighteith Congress proved to us that politics is not a casual game. Government is big business—taxing and spending forty billion dollars a year, passing laws that drastically affect our freedom and our paychecks.

The Taft-Hartley Act threw us back decades into another era of paralyzing injunctions, company strikebreaking and heavy damage suits. This Congress sat idly by while prices spiraled upward and gave every worker in this country a 30 per cent wage cut. It did its best to undermine the Wage-Hour Act and weaken old-age and unemployment compensation. By cutting taxes *unfairly*, the Eightieth Congress gave the tycoon with an income of $100,000 a year a 43 per cent increase in take-home pay and the average worker a tiny 3.5 per cent increase. Today only one home in a hundred sells at a price the average wage-earner can afford. Health insurance and aid to education were pigeonholed by this last Congress.

Who is to blame for this sorry record? We, the working men and women of America, are to blame. The Taft-Hartley Act is our fault because the majority of us were political scabs—free riders—in 1946. Fifty-six million Americans of voting age failed to vote. The majority of us abdicated our American responsibility to vote and let Congress go by default to the paid agents of the special-privilege lobbies.

Labor's League for Political Education was formed to make sure that we would never again make the same mistake. We must organize precinct by precinct and district by district, just as we have organized in each shop and industry in this country.

Just as the scab and the non-union shop threaten the working standards of all union men, the union man who fails to vote and the district where labor has failed to organize for political action constitute a threat to every union *(Continued on Page 35)*

Stay on the Road of Freedom
THIS YEAR and EVERY YEAR... VOTE

Who Will WIN in France?

By IRVING BROWN
A. F. of L. Representative in Europe

RISING prices and falling governments have once again made "the French crisis" front-page news. This combination is guaranteed to maintain a permanent state of crisis and make almost inevitable the coming to power of General DeGaulle. Unless the French people can secure some degree of stable government, it may become inevitable that the extremist fight between DeGaullist and Communist forces will lead to some form of dictatorship.

In the last six months the rising price levels have practically nullified the wage increases granted in December, 1947, after the political general strike of the Communist Party's C.G.T. (the General Confederation of Labor). The situation has become even more aggravating in recent days with the 50 per cent increase in the price of bread. In normal times such a drastic price increase would cause raised eyebrows, but given the present critical situation in France, the implications are foreboding.

The inability to control prices or to bring about a decline in the last six months has cut the ground from under those who wished to maintain the democratic middle ground between DeGaulle and the Communist movement. The Force Ouvriere, which was organized last December in a revolt against the Communist Party's political strike, banked upon a democratic and peaceful solution of the high cost of living. The democratic trade unionists refrained from engaging in a program calling for wage increases which would have intensified the inflationary crisis in France. But today it is suicide to continue such a policy.

THE demands of the wage-earners mount from day to day to meet the high cost of living. The average wage is 15,000 to 20,000 francs per month, or about $50 to $60, which just about covers a worker's food bill and a few other items but fails to take care of the full and proper needs of the people.

The stresses and strains in the French political system have become so severe in the past six months, during which all efforts to maintain the workers' purchasing power have failed, that one has to be a sublime optimist to believe that present or future coalition governments can continue to operate without a resort to new elections, which the DeGaullists are clamoring for and which the Communists do not oppose, although abstaining from giving any outward demonstration of support.

Since the liberation France has had more than a dozen different coalition governments. Since July of this year there have been four different coalition governments. During this entire period of falling governments no administration has been strong enough or courageous enough to carry through the extreme measures necessary to meet the problems of an inflationary and sick French economy.

The present government crisis goes back to July when the Socialist Party broke with the first Schuman government (which had lasted about nine months, something of a record these days in France) on the issue of military credits. This involved a

The workers hold the key. Will they back up middle-of-the-road government or swing to extremists?

disputed sum of three billion francs which the Socialists wished to eliminate from a military budget of 330 billion francs already accepted in principle by the French Socialist Party. In spite of the critical international situation and the dangerous alternatives facing the Socialists and their democratic "Third Force" movement, the Socialist Party started the most prolific chain of falling government cabinets since the end of the war and contributed to one of the most serious challenges to democratic government in the Western World.

It is considered by most friends of a democratic France that the French Socialist Party committed a major blunder when it brought about the fall of the first Schuman government in July. In fact, I am fully convinced that Leon Blum, former Prime Minister of France and venerable and respected international leader of French socialism, opposed his party's policy and regarded the fall of the government at the time as a major catastrophe.

'Why Not Let Me Take You Away From All This!'

Dorman Smith for N.E.A. Service

OF COURSE, the Socialists argue that this was merely an excuse or the last straw since there were a whole host of grievances which forced the S.P. into bringing about the government's fall. Unfortunately for the S.P., this reasoning, which may be quite justifiable, is too subtle for the masses who judge by the events themselves at the moment and not on the basis of past events, which may or may not be true.

The decline of the French Socialist Party in recent years is marked by an almost ingenious knack of engaging in inept political tactics. Its descent is one measure of the tragedy of the new French Republic. The inability to maintain a large and successful mass democratic Socialist movement in France makes it almost impossible to maintain a complete and free democracy. Some time ago, when the Marie government was organized following the fall of the first Schuman cabinet, some DeGaullists were saying in private conversation:

"This new Marie government is the only kind of government program that can lick us and bring about some stability. But we are certain that this will be impossible because we can always rely on the mistakes of the Socialist Party to bring about the downfall of this coalition government."

And, sure enough, this is what happened, causing a morass in which strikes and violence mounted.

The people's reaction to this constant instability and falling of governments, combined with the steady rise of prices, is one of despair, cynicism and disgust. Many Frenchmen are turning to DeGaulle, for better or worse, as an inevitability. Even those who prefer not to have a DeGaulle administration are, out of despair and futility, willing to accept him as a last hope of achieving some degree of stability and peace against a far more evil alternative—namely, the Communists, whose totalitarian aims and utter subservience to the Kremlin no one doubts.

Hoping against hope and responding to DeGaulle's almost mystical and nationalistic appeal, a tide of sentiment is growing for DeGaulle as the only one who can bring about the national discipline and self-sacrifice needed to restore France to some degree of economic and political health. Many Frenchmen, including workers and middle-class people, have been driven to a state of wishing to believe that DeGaulle will be able to do what no other Frenchman or government has been able to accomplish. All other alternatives seem to have failed and the masses are in an impatient mood.

This despairing attitude of a large section of the French people today is dangerously similar to the reaction and sentiments of the German people in the early 1930s, when they turned to Hitler after having had twelve years of instability, political crisis, depression and chaos. This is not to suggest that there is any similarity between DeGaulle and Hitler, but merely to indicate a similar state of despair on the part of the people which borders on a dangerous willingness to accept a future dictatorial regime.

Here the danger lies not so much in DeGaulle himself as in the possibility of a greater evil to come if DeGaulle should fail or be unable to achieve what no other government has so far achieved since the libera-

tion of France from the Germans.

Any government in France today is faced with the almost insoluble problems of raising sufficient taxes to meet the French budget, maintaining some degree of stability of prices and wages, increasing production to secure a greater supply of goods and stabilizing the monetary situation. Unless some of these objectives are attained, economic and political instability will be transformed into civil conflict on a much wider scale than has even occured up to now.

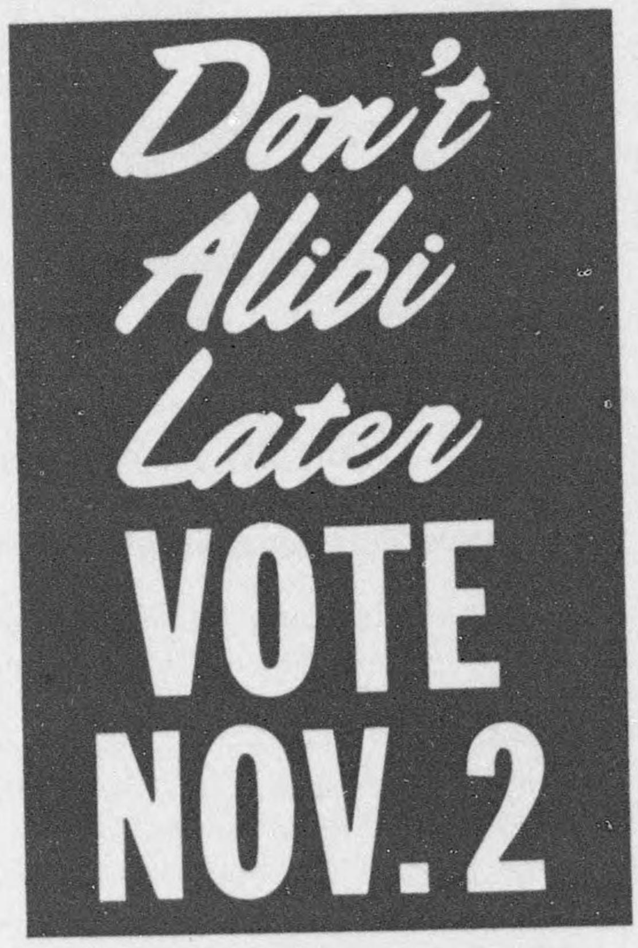
The present Queuille government is a weak makeshift affair in which the Prime Minister himself has no great hope and faith. One should not ignore the fact that Queuille himself was a very close supporter and deputy to DeGaulle during the period when the provisional DeGaulle government was in North Africa. He has never indicated any really sharp differences of opinion or feeling with the general.

It is quite clear that although the present government will engage in a number of activities to achieve some degree of order, the present situation appears to be a bridge or transition to new elections and perhaps a future DeGaulle government. There are some who maintain that this period in France may be similar to the Von Papen experience in Germany, which one may remember was a forerunner and trailblazer of the Hitler regime.

In any attempt to solve the economic and political problems of France one must reckon with the present economic status of the workers. No other section of French society has suffered so much or carried so large a part of the burden and sacrifice in the attempted reconstruction of France after the ravages of war and occupation. The recent deterioration of the purchasing power of the workers, especially the white collar and government employes, who comprise a large part of French labor, has not only intensified the discontent among the workers but has dealt a smashing blow to the leaders of the democratic trade union forces who wish to maintain a free trade union movement and participate in the economic recovery of their nation.

The Force Ouvriere, which showed so much promise in creating a new labor movement outside the C.P., must now reverse its former economic program of fighting for price cuts and resisting wage demands. No trade union faced with a constantly worsening economic situation and the violent demagogy of the C.P. can continue to maintain its membership or reflect the will and desires of the French workers without pressing for increased wages. This means that the Communists, who have demagogically demanded exorbitant wage increases since the beginning of the year, can crow about having been right from the very beginning.

The economic developments in France over the last six months—price increases and nullification of wage increases—have created the



basis for the unity of the trade unions on wage demands if not on an organizational basis. They can effectuate indirectly what a direct program of the C.P. could not achieve through the C.G.T.

Although the Communists are now unable to rally completely the working class or achieve their complete support in a general strike action, the deterioration of the economic situation is securing, in effect, what the C.P. desires. This is why on August 20 M. Benoit Franchon, Communist leader of the C.G.T., proclaimed to his lieutenants and members that the experience of the previous eight months should be sufficient to convince the workers and the "sincere" leaders of the F.O. that they had made the following errors:

(1) By following what he terms "the politics of the S.P.," they were unable to strengthen the position of the working class organizations or alleviate the economic conditions of the workers.

(2) The so-called wicked policy of "submission" to the American "imperialists" has had disastrous results.

(3) The agreement with the government to obtain a reduction of prices has failed. Therefore, the C.G.T. was right in demanding since November, 1947, a minimum wage of 13,000 francs per month, as compared to an existing scale of 10,000, plus automatic wage adjustments in relation to the cost-of-living increases.

No one should minimize or ignore the great advantage given to the Communist Party when what it has advocated for almost a year becomes the accepted program of all other major French trade union organizations after the latter have been identified during this entire period with an economic program that has failed. Furthermore, the unanimous and unavoidable pushing for wage increases upon the part of the trade unions adds a terrific burden to an already bankrupt French economy.

This "I told you so" attitude on the part of the C.P. would have made even greater headway if the Force Ouvriere had not seized the initiative toward the end of August to push for wage increases while still resisting the nefarious schemes of the C.P. for a "united front." The Christian trade movement also reacted very quickly, and unity of action with the F.O. trade unions has been achieved on basic economic demands.

In some ways, indeed, the Christian trade unions moved more quickly and with greater initiative than did any of the others on this burning issue of wages and prices.

No French government can proceed to operate or stop further economic decline without taking into account these basic wage demands of the working class. Given the present insolvent economic situation plus the justifiable wage demands of the unions, it is difficult to see how this government will succeed where all others have failed. There are many, however, who believe that if the Queuille government can remain in power for the next few months, some relief is bound to come due to the record harvest, which is the best in many years. It

is hoped also that the Marshall Plan will begin to have an additional stimulating and improving effect upon the situation. However, these are thin reeds upon which to lean if we remember the past three years of constant strife and chaos in the French political scene. Furthermore, the Communist movement still controls a large section of the workers and their union movement in France. This will continue to enable the Communists to keep the pot boiling as part of their program to prevent economic reconstruction and the restoration of stability in France.

It is very clear that the Communist Party's objectives in France are to oppose everything which the government offers, to push extreme demands for wage increases, to propose phony trade union unity as a means of sabotaging the Marshall Plan and to maintain economic instability and chaos while pushing for an all-out battle with the DeGaullists on the political front.

This strategy is fearfully reminiscent of the German C.P. in 1932. The German Communist Party then hoped to win over the workers and other sections of the population under a slogan of "unified front from below" designed to crush the Weimar Republic and all democratic forces. The German Communists expected to come to power after Hitler.

Today, in a somewhat similar vein, Moscow and the French Communist Party believe that neither DeGaulle nor any other Frenchman or French party can stabilize the political and economic system while Communist forces constitute such a large force, permitting them under present economic conditions to sabotage successfully any serious financial and economic program designed to stabilize the French situation.

Since the general strike of November-December, 1947, a large section of the French workers, perhaps a majority, have deserted the organized union movement. They are waiting to see how events develop and whether the Force Ouvriere or the Communist C.G.T. will be successful. And as the conditions of all workers have deteriorated since the beginning of 1948, the bulk of these workers, pressed by falling purchasing power, have sought ways of remedying their plight. They are now thoroughly convinced that prices have not and will not come down.

This has made it incumbent upon the competing unions and all trade union leaders to engage in demagogic, unrealistic wage demands and a general economic program which can only be realized after a long period of economic and industrial reconstruction. But this fight for the soul of the working class of France is the key to whether or not France will remain a democracy. Or, if DeGaulle should come to power, whether he will maintain a constitutional, democratic republic or be forced to engage in dictatorial measures that will not only injure or destroy free unions but force the French working class into a united front with the Communists.

THIS continuing crisis caused by the twin evils of rising prices and falling governments has dramatized, in a favorable manner, the DeGaulle demands for the dissolution of the present government and the holding of elections for a new National Assembly. This has been the one cardinal and clear point in the entire DeGaulle program, which on all other issues has been rather vague and abstract, to say the least. And as the French people become more and more disgusted with the political parties, the demand for new elections gains momentum.

As each government fails to bring about any solution, except its own dissolution, the position of the DeGaullists becomes reinforced to the point where the only political enthusiasm manifested in France today is for the general, who seems to have an uncanny political intuition about France and her people. Even the Radical Socialists are beginning to move in this direction of demanding new elections. It is quite clear that, if elections should be held today, the DeGaulle movement would become the first party, while the Radical Socialists might also gain at the expense of the Socialist Party and the M.R.P. (Catholic Party). The C.P. will not gain but may maintain its present position, since in recent months it has regained some of the losses suffered last December as a result of the political general strike which the C.P. engineered. Such an electoral outcome bodes no good for the future of the French Republic.

Once again, however, it is a question of whether the working class will be able to secure not only immediate material alleviation but whether the future holds some tangible promise for workers and their children. Every government must face this, and DeGaulle in his own way has come closest to getting some confidence from the French people. But DeGaulle in many ways is an imponderable. He has not clearly indicated what his policy or procedure will be.

The blunder which he committed by his speech on trade unions at St. Etienne last year made most workers and trade union leaders feel that he was advocating a form of Mussolini corporativism. If he should move in that direction, he will not only drive workers into opposition to him but may unite the working class in an alliance with the C.P.

In such a situation he would be forced to move against the trade unions and thus be forced, whether he liked it or not, into a quasi-dictatorial system. It is my hope that the DeGaulle movement does not wish to proceed in this fashion, but the DeGaullists have shown no indication of making the necessary preparations to avoid such a catastrophe nor have they made any overtures to the workers and to democratic trade unionists to prevent such a fatal lineup. And as the democratic parties continue to fail—with neither the S.P. nor the M.R.P. able to offer a way out—the fatal drift in French politics to a narrowing choice between DeGaulle and the C.P. may mark the tragic fate of democracy not only in France but throughout Europe.

There are dark and not very happy days ahead for France and her people. The conflict is reaching a crescendo in the clash between the two extremes—DeGaulle and the C.P.—with increasing violence and fury in what may become the final battle for the French people.

American economic aid has been responsible for making it possible to continue the existence of a French Republic and withstand the C.P. drive for power. This economic aid must be continued, since it is more essential than ever not to deny to the democratic forces the material means of continuing to live.

There is, however, no guarantee that even with all our efforts to aid France we will or can succeed. One thing is certain—without economic aid from the U.S.A., France is lost.

TAFT *Cracks the Whip*

Break the I.T.U., He Orders N.L.R.B. Men

By HENRY KAISER

Partner, Van Arkel and Kaiser,
Counsel to International Typographical Union

FOR the fifteenth time in less than a year, the International Typographical Union has been afflicted by the scourge of "Denhamitis." What is Denhamitis? It is a unique source of infection recently brewed in the richly endowed laboratories of those two eminent political scientists, Robert A. Taft and Fred A. Hartley.

The unusual virulence of the last attack ought to give pause to those who out of ignorance or shortsighted selfishness have been acclaiming the "constructive genius" of Taft-Hartley. This time the danger of its malignancy to the very heart of our constitutional democracy should be obvious to all having knowledge of the facts.

General Counsel Denham of the National Labor Relations Board requested an injunction against the Typographical Union. Judge Swygert issued the injunction on March 27. Two days later, again at Denham's request, the judge denied a motion for a stay of the injunction pending an appeal. Thereupon, the I.T.U. obtained a conference with the judge and Denham's representatives to work out an agreement that would preclude even an unintended technical violation of the decree. Such an agreement was reached.

The I.T.U. undertook to draft instructions to its affiliated locals that would accomplish its declared intention fully to comply with the decree. They were to be distributed only after they had been studied and officially approved by the N.L.R.B.'s general counsel. It was further agreed that, if the general counsel believed that any future I.T.U. action conflicted with the decree, he would permit an opportunity for correction before instituting contempt proceedings. This clear commitment was several times repeated in personal conversations with responsible agents of the general counsel.

MR. KAISER

The approved instructions were then sent out to all locals, on March 31. A few days later they were supplemented by suggestions of "contract provisions which may be proposed in collective bargaining during the pendency of the federal court decree."

Denham received copies of these "contract provisions" not later than April 3. Negotiations then took place which resulted in satisfactory agreements in such vital areas of the printing industry as New York, Philadelphia, Newark, Detroit, Louisville, Rochester and elsewhere, a development that should have been most gratifying to Denham, Senator Taft or any other person ostensibly devoted to the public welfare.

But the Chicago publishers (possibly as a result of a still unpublicized merger of the states of Illinois and Ohio they now appear to be "constituents" of Senator Taft), rejecting all offers of the Chicago local of the I.T.U., forced the continuation of the strike that had begun in November of 1947.

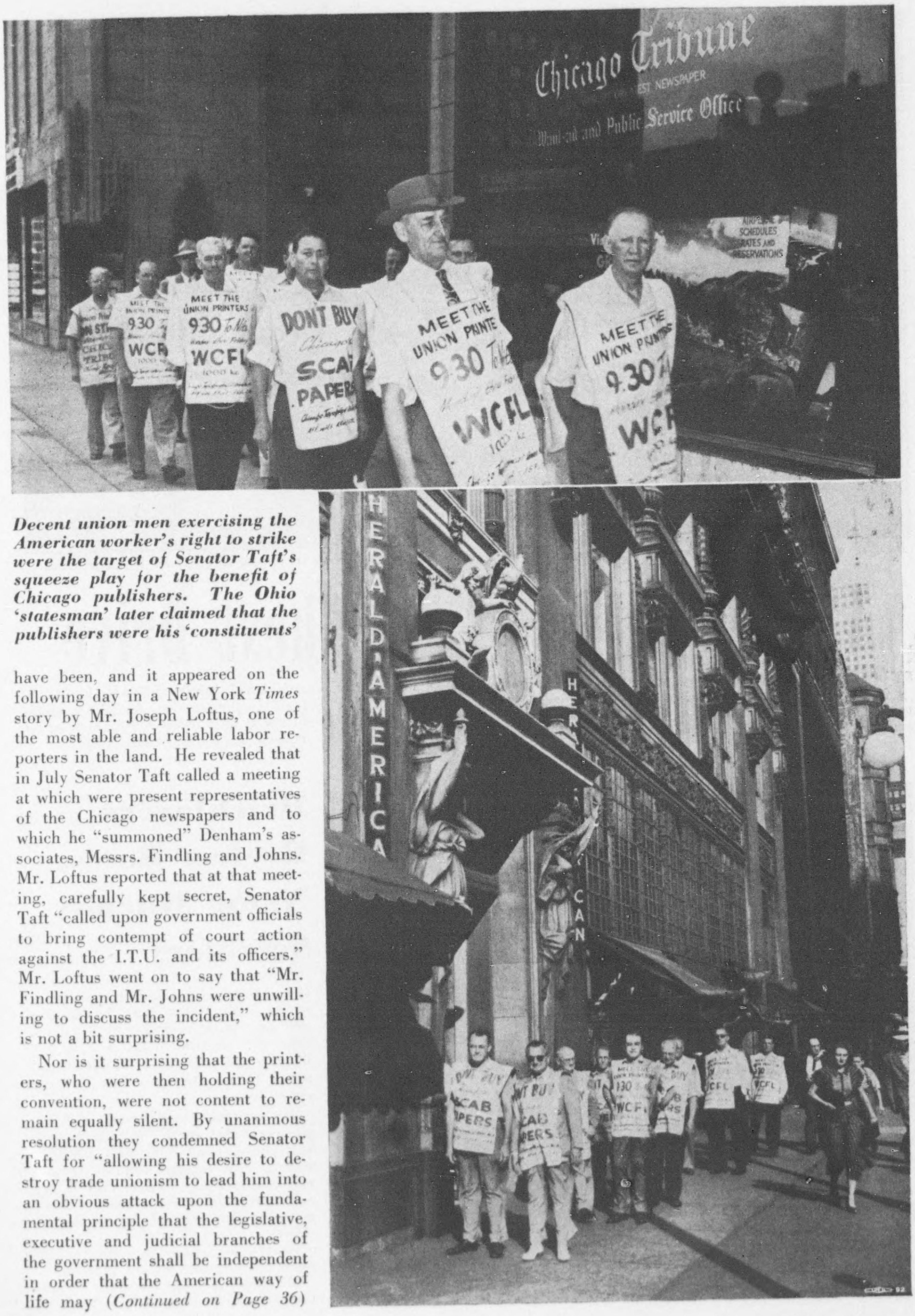
Unlike their colleagues in other cities—indeed, contrary to the practice of some of the very men who publish papers in other cities as well as Chicago—they insisted that the contracts requested by the Chicago local contained unlawful clauses.

Some light may be thrown on their Jekyll-Hyde approach to the law by a comment on their attitude toward wage increases. Before the injunction the Chicago publishers refused even to discuss wages. After the decree they offered an increase that was far below the local's demand and far below that granted by comparable newspapers. It thus can be safely predicted that the ambiguities of the Taft-Hartley Law, compounded by Denham's zealous anti-unionism, will frequently beat down a fair wage. After all, that's the fundamental why of Taft-Hartley. The N.A.M. was not playing marbles.

The next significant date in this sordid story is August 13 when Denham's associates advised (this was the first intimation we had from any source) of their decision to file a petition for judgment in contempt. Our demand for some explanation for the crude breach of their personal promise, made in the presence of the court and several times reiterated thereafter, yielded only embarrassed evasions.

Nor was any satisfactory explanation proffered when we pointed out that for almost five months they knew of the "contract provisions" which they now charged as contempt; that their prolonged silence could, in view of our agreement, only have meant that they found no illegality in the "contract provisions"; that their decision to institute a contempt action constituted an offensive kind of entrapment and unfairly jeopardized all of the agreements that had been negotiated since the decree.

But some explanation there must



Decent union men exercising the American worker's right to strike were the target of Senator Taft's squeeze play for the benefit of Chicago publishers. The Ohio 'statesman' later claimed that the publishers were his 'constituents'

have been, and it appeared on the following day in a New York *Times* story by Mr. Joseph Loftus, one of the most able and reliable labor reporters in the land. He revealed that in July Senator Taft called a meeting at which were present representatives of the Chicago newspapers and to which he "summoned" Denham's associates, Messrs. Findling and Johns. Mr. Loftus reported that at that meeting, carefully kept secret, Senator Taft "called upon government officials to bring contempt of court action against the I.T.U. and its officers." Mr. Loftus went on to say that "Mr. Findling and Mr. Johns were unwilling to discuss the incident," which is not a bit surprising.

Nor is it surprising that the printers, who were then holding their convention, were not content to remain equally silent. By unanimous resolution they condemned Senator Taft for "allowing his desire to destroy trade unionism to lead him into an obvious attack upon the fundamental principle that the legislative, executive and judicial branches of the government shall be independent in order that the American way of life may (*Continued on Page 36*)

As the annual campaign opens, William Green meets five grand kids at Chest agency in Washington

A. F. of L. Backs '48 Chest Drive

THE Community Chest campaign is again receiving the wholehearted support of the American Federation of Labor and its affiliates throughout the nation.

William Green, president of the A. F. of L., says:

"Members of the A. F. of in every part of the country are takir art in the activities of their local Community Chests. I am deeply convinced that this cooperation with their fellow Americans from all walks of life should be maintained."

HARRY C. BATES

JOHN J. MURPHY

Bricklayers Reelect Bates, Name Murphy Secretary

ONE of the most successful conventions in its history was held by the Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers International Union of America last month. San Francisco was the scene of the convention.

President Harry C. Bates won reelection.

He was lauded by delegates from every part of the nation for his statesmanlike leadership of the organization. Mr. Bates is a member of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor.

John J. Murphy of Massachusetts, A. F. of L. director of organization, was elected secretary. Mr. Murphy moves into the post left vacant by the resignation of Richard J. Gray, now president of the A. F. of L.'s Building and Construction Trades Department. Thomas Murphy of New York was chosen treasurer.

The convention took vigorous and constructive action on the Taft-Hartley Act, apprenticeship and many other important matters. The conclave voted to increase maximum mortuary benefits to $750 and relief payments to $33 a month. Salary increases were approved for the union's officers.

The convention called for a renewed fight for a comprehensive housing program.

Miami was chosen as the site of the next convention, which will be the union's sixtieth.

LABOR CONVENTION IN BRITAIN

T.U.C. Takes Firm Stand Against Communism

Florence Hancock delivers her keynote speech blasting the Reds. In circle, Edward J. Volz, one of A. F. of L.'s two fraternal delegates at Margate

COMMUNISTS were handed a severe trouncing at the eightieth session of the British Trades Union Congress, held last month at Margate. Office-seeking Communist labor leaders were defeated and a Communist-sponsored resolution proposing a new conference of the Big Three was rejected.

The T.U.C. met under the chairmanship of Miss Florence Hancock. She gave the signal for an all-out attack on Communists in British unions in her keynote speech.

"We must rid ourselves of these mischief-mongers," she declared.

By an overwhelming vote the T.U.C. condemned Moscow's use of the World Federation of Trade Unions for propaganda purposes. The T.U.C. refused to reaffirm its support of the W.F.T.U., long under fire from the American Federation of Labor as an instrument of Russian aggression.

The T.U.C. heard a scorching attack on the Soviet-sponsored unions in Berlin from James Bowman, a miner. He went to Berlin to investigate conditions there. At Margate he told of the Communists' oppression of democratic trade unionists in Berlin.

The Case of Herr Reusch

By HENRY RUTZ
A. F. of L. Representative in Germany

THEY had had enough. In the face of ever bolder maneuvers on the part of Germany's heavy industrialist class, the patience of German workers and their union leaders had come to an end. The issue at stake was:

Should the old capitalist clique, which through its control of the steel, coal and chemical monopolies was able to drag Europe into the first World War and, with the aid of Nazi tyranny, to plunge the world into a second—should this clique again be permitted to regain its position of power in the economic life of Germany?

Or should a new economic order be created in which industrial democracy will be assured and in which workers through their organizations will have co-determination, guaranteeing thereby that the future production of German industry will be production not for war but for peace?

The issue came to a head with the appointment of Dr. Hermann Reusch to a new commission set up at the instance of the military government to control the production of steel. German workers had been observing for the preceding half year how representatives of the old industrial monopolies had been creeping back into their old positions of influence. But when Reusch, head of one of the oldest steel trusts, was named to this all-important post the workers decided on a showdown. They let it be known that a strike of the entire iron and steel industry would ensue unless he was removed.

Events leading up to this climax really started with the Potsdam agreement.

The unholy role played by German heavy industry in World War I is common knowledge. This role was even more obvious in World War II. In the early financing of the Nazi Party, in the secret preparation for war and in the actual prosecution of the war, Hitler knew he had a dependable ally in German Big Business. Recognizing these facts, the Allies decided at Potsdam, in June, 1945, to smash this power and to decartelize the mighty German trusts, which in the case of coal and steel were mainly to be found in the Ruhr.

Henry Rutz addressing German labor rally

IN ORDER to carry through the decisions of Potsdam, the British military government, in whose zone the Ruhr lies, promulgated a series of interim directives. First of these provided for the separation of the coal industry from the iron and steel cartels, placing coal under a military coal control agency. The technical direction of the individual mines remained for the most part in the hands of the former managers.

The German trade unions have been critical of this setup. They have demanded more co-determination in the running of the mines. To prevent a complete return of control to the former owners, the unions have been pressing for early socialization. They have prevailed upon the parliament of Nordrhein-Westfalen to pass, by a big majority, a mine socialization law. It is expected that the U.S.-British military governments will veto the measure, insisting that no socialization laws be passed until a government of all Germany can decide the issue.

As in the case of coal, the German unions have also been insisting that the only safeguard against iron and steel reverting back to the ownership of Krupp, Thyssen and Company is nationalization. This, of course, has not been done, but a unique compromise solution has been found for at least part of the iron and steel industry.

To accomplish the intent of Potsdam in the field of dismantling, reparations and decartelization, the British military government set up the North German Iron and Steel Control. In its decartelization program this organization has approved the separation of twenty-one iron and steel processing plants from their parent trusts and organized them into independent stock companies. These companies are a cross between the former trust-controlled enterprise system and nationalization.

Every company has a directorate consisting of three members—a business manager, a technical manager and a labor manager. The latter is recommended by the unions. In addition, a *(Continued on Page 39)*

UNION BUSTING,
Philadelphia Style

By HENRY A. MCFARLAND and PETER HENLE

AS A local union official, how would you like a 30 per cent wage cut covering one-quarter of your membership? And your union contract thrown into the wastebasket in the bargain?

Or as an alternative proposition, how would you like to keep your union contract and accept a wage cut of 10 cents an hour—but have the wage cut apply to your entire membership?

This is not a history lesson in what happened to labor unions during the depression of 1930-33. These were the two alternatives offered 2,200 members of an A.F. of L. union in the year 1948 during wage negotiations with an important steel producer.

Is it any wonder that this situation has led directly to a work stoppage which at the time of writing is in its nineteenth week?

Wage cuts have not been very common during this postwar era, but this case may present a preview of what unions will be facing when the current "boom" turns into a "bust." For this reason, it's worth the attention of all local unions who may find themselves up against the same problem sometime in the near future.

By way of background, these facts are pertinent:

The Company—The Midvale Company, Nicetown, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, one of the chief manufacturers of armor plate, shells and heavy steel forgings for the U.S. Navy. Other important company products are locomotive and car wheel tires, many types of steel rolls, and heavy machinery forgings and parts. The company's plant on the outskirts of Philadelphia includes an extensive and integrated network of shops for making many types of steel products.

The Union—Federal Labor Union 18887, directly affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, first won bargaining rights in 1933. It now bargains for all the company's 2,200 production and maintenance employes.

The Union Agreement—In the spring of 1947, when the union won its "second round" wage increase, it agreed to a two-year contract, which would not expire until April 30, 1949. However, both parties agreed to a wage-reopening clause under which the contract could be opened once, but only for a "general and uniform" change in wage rates.

In accordance with the agreement, the union early this year served notice that it wished to invoke the wage-reopening clause for a general wage increase. The company countered with the argument that its financial condition would not permit any increase and would in fact require a wage reduction. The company argued that a wage incentive system in the machine shop allowed workers to make exorbitantly high earnings.

THE COMPANY proposed that the union join with it in breaking the "general and uniform" provision in the 1947 agreement by agreeing to scrap the incentive system for 550 employes in the machine shop; that these workers would then be put on certain specified hourly rates averaging 30 per cent less than their incentive earnings (cuts ranged up to 53 cents an hour); and that the remainder of the 2,200 employes receive no wage increase.

However, added Midvale's representatives, if the union insisted on living up to the contract provision for a "general and uniform" wage change, the company proposed a "general and uniform" wage reduction of 10 cents an hour for all employes.

The key points in this company argument were: (1) its financial condition which, it was claimed, necessitated some type of wage cut; (2) the incentive system in the machine shop under which workers were making so-called "above market" earnings which should be reduced.

Both these points require more critical examination.

The company based its plea of poverty on the fact that for the year 1947 its financial statement shows a net deficit. True enough. It is also true that this was the first year since 1932 that Midvale did not show a profit. It is also true that, if one judges from the company's own figures, Midvale seems to be on the way out of the red. For the first quarter of 1948 the company shows a small profit and, since the start of the strike, the company has had no difficulty digging up the necessary cash to meet two regular quarterly dividend payments.

Moreover, even a deficit doesn't prove that wages are the cost item which needs to be cut before the firm can show a profit. Materials cost, administrative or selling expenses may be out of line and need cutting. Capital equipment may be old-fashioned

and inefficient. Or the company's price schedule might require adjustment.

Although the union has not been able to make a thorough accounting study of the firm, the union committee members, many of whom have spent all their working years in the Midvale shop, tell an uncontradicted story of inefficient and wasteful management at the Midvale plant, of high scrap loss and of production time lost through inefficient supervision and poor scheduling. These are the basic factors which have been causing the company's low level of profits, and these, not the living standards of its employes, are the factors which have to be changed.

The second key point of the company argument concerned the incentive system now covering the vast majority of the jobs in the machine shop. Midvale contended that the earnings of incentive workers in the machine shop were far out of line on the high side compared to other rates in the area, but the figures it submitted on this question didn't prove anything of the sort. They were based on undated employer surveys using extremely unreliable statistical methods. Moreover, no job descriptions were submitted with this data, and it is extremely doubtful that the jobs whose earnings were being compared were actually comparable to the jobs in the Midvale machine shop.

The whole argument could be dropped at this point, but the company's emphasis on this incentive system requires additional comment. Where did this incentive system come from? What is the union's attitude toward it?

The details of the system are too complicated to describe in this article. It involves the setting of a work standard for each particular job as it comes into the machine shop. If the worker meets this standard, he is paid according to an agreed scale of wage rates. The entire system is so complicated that the company freely admits that the only man who truly understands its ramifications and implications is the energetic secretary of the union.

How did this system start? Workers whose service with the company dates back over forty years remember that the basic elements of the system were in effect at least as early as 1907. The most interesting angle to the system's history is that even long before this date Midvale was the scene of early experiments with work standards and wage payment systems conducted by the founder of the "scientific management" system, Frederick Winslow Taylor. And it was in Midvale's machine shop that he did most of his work!

In 1878 Taylor started eleven years of work at Midvale, first as a laborer, then as a clerk, machinist, gang boss, foreman and, finally, chief engineer. It was as gang boss in the machine shop that he sought to increase the daily output of the men working under him up to what he considered a "full day's work." It was this attempted speedup that led him into a lengthy three-year fight with the workers under his supervision.

In those days there was no union at Midvale and no force holding the men together in opposition to Taylor's methods. Taylor eventually won his fight by concentrating first on those men who, because of family circumstances or other reasons, were willing to obey his instructions. Once individual workers had been forced into line, the others eventually had to follow or lose their jobs.

THERE were some good parts to Taylor the man and to the system he developed and preached. He helped to inject more efficient methods for cutting metals, for routing work and scheduling production. Organized labor had no objection to these more efficient ways of doing business.

What labor objected to was Taylor's attitude toward the individual workers who were carrying out his system. It is no exaggeration to use the term "ruthless" to describe his method of handling workers.

According to his views, the individual worker was not capable of making any contribution to the process of production. He simply existed in order to perform the duties which other, more intelligent men set forth for him to do. In this way he was hardly more than an automaton whose only function was to receive and carry out proper instructions. Taylor vigorously opposed the union organizations of his time, feeling that the worker would benefit more by rejecting group action and allowing the "scientific" managers to satisfy his wants. With this type of philosophy behind it, it is no wonder that Taylor's wage payment system was designed, not to benefit the individual worker, but to make certain that he would do all the work that Taylor thought he was capable of doing.

For a long time Taylor favored a vicious type of differential piece rate system under which all workers attaining a very high level of output or "standard" received a relatively high piece rate, but all falling below "standard" received very low rates which, in his words, would "allow the workmen to earn scarcely an ordinary day's pay."

Taylor introduced this system at Midvale, but it is not clear how long this system was continued after Taylor left the company. In any event, it seems quite clear that the present incentive system at Midvale has its roots in the methods and time-study standards first introduced by Taylor over sixty years ago.

A wage incentive system cannot last for forty or sixty years without requiring some serious modifications. Therefore, one might ask, was it not reasonable for the Midvale company to suggest to the union that this system be dropped?

The union holds no special brief for the system as it stands today. It realizes full well that modifications, if not an entirely new system, might be more appropriate. It has repeatedly indicated its willingness to sit down and negotiate necessary changes. But it does insist that any burden resulting from these changes shall not fall on the individual workers now operating under the system.

What the union says is this: "Here is an incentive system which has been in effect through two generations. The company has almost always made money under it (even during the depression it made money every year except 1932). Now, suddenly, the company comes to us, asking us to break our contract in order to abolish the incentive system, and in addition wants to penalize directly, by a wage cut of 30 per cent, all men who have participated in this system. Of course, the system needs changes, but the changes have to be made in accordance with the contract and in such a manner as to protect the earnings of the individual workers."

In the negotiations which have covered a six-month period all these

issues have been thoroughly discussed. Normally through such collective bargaining it would have been possible to reach a mutually satisfactory agreement. However, as the discussion developed it became more evident that the company was less interested in reaching an agreement which would keep the plant operating than it was in breaking the union.

This charge of union-busting is not based on mere idle speculation. It is clearly supported by all the evidence at hand. The company has carried on a campaign obviously directed toward this end. It has written several individual letters to all employes clearly inciting these union members to rebel against their officers. In particular, one letter dated July 6 tried to create division in the union ranks by appealing to all the workers who would not be affected by the 30 per cent wage cut to overrule those machine shop employes who would be forced to accept the cut.

The company's bargaining tactics also disclose its true intentions. Wage negotiations had taken place during April and May. No deadlock or impasse had been reached when, on May 25, the company suddenly posted two notices.

In an obvious effort to split the union, the first notice listed all the departments whose earnings would not be affected by the 30 per cent wage cut proposed by the company. The second notice, posted approximately two hours later, merely stated that if the union did not agree to this proposal, effective Sunday, May 30, the earnings of all employes would be cut 10 cents an hour.

Under these circumstances, what action could Midvale's employes take other than to refuse to work under such conditions? In this connection it is important to note that the Pennsylvania Bureau of Employment and Unemployment Compensation has so far ruled that the employes are not out of work as a result of a "labor dispute" and therefore are eligible for unemployment compensation.

The company alleges a change of attitude in the plant during the past five years. As Midvale's representatives put it, "The idea of 'an honest day's work for an honest day's pay' was replaced by a 'take it easy' or 'let someone else do it' attitude on the part of some men."

Of course, no such change has actually taken place, but it so happens that five years ago the present union officials were first elected. These officials have been very effective in presenting the viewpoint of the men they represent. They have been able to gain a strong union agreement which the company now wants to overthrow, even though it voluntarily agreed to every single clause it contains.

From the company's viewpoint these officials have been too "tough." If the company cannot succeed in breaking the union completely, it would probably settle for the ousting of the present leadership.

The union freely admits that its leaders may be "tough" from the company viewpoint. So what? They were democratically elected by the members of the union and have been fully supported during the present dispute at meetings which draw from 75 to 90 per cent of the membership. "Tough" union leaders are needed to deal with "tough" situations created by "tough" companies. No one can deny that only a tough company would propose an overall wage reduction in the year 1948 when living costs in the particular area where the plant is located have risen over nine per cent since wages were last negotiated.

At all times the union has been willing to settle this dispute on very reasonable terms. It has been willing to arbitrate the entire question of wages: whether there should be a wage increase or wage decrease and, if so, the extent of such increase or decrease. It has been willing to sit down and discuss the wage rates under the existing incentive system and to make the necessary adjustments if the rates are out of line. The only points on which the union is determined to stand fast are: (1) there shall *(Continued on Page 35)*

Ray Kelsay Dies in Accident

Ray Kelsay, president and secretary-treasurer of the Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers and Helpers International Union, was killed in an automobile accident September 25. He was returning to Indianapolis from South Bend, where he had been on union business, when the accident occurred.

In the passing of Brother Kelsay organized labor loses one of its ablest leaders. Although his union was a small one, both he and the union were held in the highest regard throughout the entire movement. He worked constantly to build his union, and under his hand the Metal Polishers' membership increased substantially.

Ray Kelsay was born sixty years ago in Marion, Indiana. He joined the Metal Polishers in 1906. Not long afterward he became a shop committeeman and then president of his local union. Later he headed a district council.

Seventeen years ago, having become favorably known to the union's members in all parts of the nation, Mr. Kelsay was elected international vice-president. He served in that capacity until June, 1943, when he was elevated to international president and secretary-treasurer.

Mr. Kelsay was second vice-president of the Metal Trades Department of the A. F. of L. He attended many A. F. of L. conventions as well as the annual sessions of the Metal Trades Department.

THE LATE RAY KELSAY

In recent years, under Mr. Kelsay's guidance, the union had given much time and energy to its excellent program of service to the men who fought for freedom during World War II, and last December the union was honored at ceremonies in Washington, D. C., for its "outstanding and constructive program" to help injured veterans to support themselves. At that time Mr. Kelsay was given a plaque.

Editorials by WILLIAM GREEN

Leadership: World's Need

THERE exists in all Western countries a tension that has been steadily growing since the end of the military conflict of World War II. The tension has grown out of violation of the most basic principles of the democratic way of life.

We naturally expected something in the way of clarification of principles from the recent gathering of the World Council of Churches in Amsterdam representing 150 Protestant denominations. This meeting, we understood, was to strengthen world spiritual fraternity. We were shocked by a statement from the conference declaring:

"The Christian Church should reject the ideologies of both communism and capitalism which seek to draw men away from the false assumption that these extremes are the only alternatives."

The insertion of "laissez-faire," in a revised statement, to qualify "capitalism" did not make the amazing declaration acceptable. It is incredible that leaders in any important field should not realize that the principle which distinguishes democracy from communism is the recognition of the personal dignity of each individual, giving him basic rights and acknowledging his right to make decisions which affect his life. Communism, like all other authoritarian forms of government, rejects this spiritual concept of man, subordinates the individual to the state and assures him no specific rights. Supreme in control over individuals, communism repudiates moral standards which limit this control.

The exhortation quoted above provides no moral guide to what is important in living or how to live in security exercising basic rights that are necessary for dignity in living and assuming responsibility for the consequences of our decisions. Such an ideal grows out of authoritarian government untrammeled by law.

Our democracy puts its main dependence on the ability of a free society to afford citizens a satisfactory way of life. For material needs it looks to free enterprise, which provides both opportunity and responsibility. We seek to correct existing injustices through collective bargaining, better trade practices, and administrative and legislative controls.

We do not question the right of other people to experiment with state operation of their production facilities. However, we deny the right of the Soviets to force communism on others or to use conspiratorial fifth columns to undermine the purposes of majority rule. For our part, we think we may confidently continue to look for higher standards of living through free enterprise sustained by other free institutions. Any system must be judged by its results and its impact on people. Our system has given us the highest output per hour of work and we think affords the greatest opportunity for workers' participation in problems of work as well as in benefits flowing therefrom. Individuals develop as they utilize opportunities to participate. While we make mistakes, we are *free* to correct them.

By linking capitalism with communism for unqualified repudiation, the statement of the World Council of Churches disregards moral standards which discriminate between the totalitarian and democratic way of life.

We have tragically learned the futility of compromising with governments that espouse a subversive philosophy. It is therefore most surprising to find religious leaders, at this late hour, compromising and missing an opportunity to point the way to achieving the ideals which underlie fellowship between men and nations.

United Nations

A NATIONAL celebration in honor of the United Nations has been planned for this month. The organization of the United Nations was planned during the war to adjust and deal with problems and relations between nations. The United Nations was launched with high hopes for cooperation among the participating nations.

Communist agents have blocked peace by diverting deliberative groups into time-consuming propaganda debates in which there has been such wide divergence of views that no agreement is possible. In the Security Council, where the permanent members have the veto on other than procedural matters, the Council has been unable to agree upon such basic matters as the control of atomic energy and atom bombs and the organization of a United Nations military force. No additional country can affiliate which does not have the Kremlin's favor. The other U.N. agencies which do not have the veto are developing into effective functioning organizations.

During the sessions of the General Assembly, nations can take all their problems to the Assembly and this body may discuss and make recommendations except upon a dispute or situation which the Security Council is handling. In the session of the General Assembly

now meeting in Paris, all affiliated countries have representative delegations and the urgent problems of the world are presented to them as well as reports from all subordinate agencies of the United Nations. The General Assembly decides matters by a majority vote. In the Assembly all nations have one vote each.

The aggression of the U.S.S.R. has brought diplomatic relations between nations to a critical situation in both Europe and Asia. The Kremlin has thus far made a farce of four-power negotiations to relieve the siege of Berlin and is directing Communist uprisings in Southeast Asia as well as in China and Korea. These insurrections threaten the new Indian Government and are facilitating Communist plans in Malaya, Indonesia and the whole of Southeast Asia.

Only unfaltering resistance will curb the aggression of the Communist dictators. To them conference is only opportunity for treachery and gain. Agreements are not honored—only used as a basis for renewed aggression. Meetings of the United Nations are used to abuse and vilify the democratic countries.

The world looks to the Paris meeting of the General Assembly with desperate hope. It must not yield to fear but press forward to justice.

The Union Shop

IN THE earliest days of trade unions one of the first demands was for the "union shop." These proud words meant the realization of the ideal that wage-earners had a right to participate in determining the terms and conditions under which they worked, to see that such conditions were enforced and to support those who were willing to insist upon justice in the workplace with opportunity to promote economic progress.

The union shop meant the development of law and order in the work community. It provided security for its members and established machinery for adjusting misunderstandings and disputes.

The officers of the union who negotiated contracts with management were also responsible for seeing to it that the union's members lived up to their responsibilities under the contracts, which included dependability, a fair day's work, carrying out work orders, etc. Successful unions enforce compliance with contracts.

Unless all workers are union members the union has no way to discipline them. The ability of the union to exert discipline begins with work training for which the union, in cooperation with employers and schools, assumes its responsibility. The fixing of wage rates assumes eligibility for the job. In accepting its share of responsibility for the competency of workers, the union serves both management and society.

The union agreement enforced in a union shop lays the foundation on which cooperation between workers and management is developed. But the union cannot urge cooperation upon workers who refuse to join the union.

Even though they benefit by the higher wages and better standards resulting from union activity, non-unionists refuse to share the effort to make progress, which involves risks and costs. In asking for the exclusion of those who refuse to join, the union applies majority rule. Non-unionists can seek employment with others of their way of thinking.

Employers hostile to unions make much of the "open" shop—meaning the shop intolerant of unions—and of the right of workers *not* to join a union. Workers do have that right, like all other conscientious objectors, but they must not infringe upon the rights of the majority who wish to belong to a union in order that they may have an effective tool for their economic advancement. The union shop is also a service to management—beginning with its employment function. This basic service has long been an established institution in the construction and printing industries. For years the seafaring workers and longshoremen struggled to establish union hiring halls so that union representatives might underwrite terms of employment assuring workers protection against physical brutality, brutal conditions of work and lodging on boat, as well as assuring pay according to contract. This progress rests on the Seamen's Act assuring to seafaring workers the right, without liability to arrest, to quit the job when the boat was in safe harbor.

The union shop is an accepted and constructive institution finding employment for its members, negotiating and enforcing contracts covering terms and conditions of work, and serving the management, the industry, the community and the government in times of need. For effectiveness it requires workers to join unions prior to placement or within a fixed period afterward—or seek other jobs. The regulation rests on the respected principle of majority rule.

The corporation lawyers who wrote the Taft-Hartley Act wanted to weaken the power of unions. They recognized the union shop as the key to union effectiveness and outlawed the requirement for union membership as a condition of employment and devised regulations under which they probably hoped requirement to join the union would not be approved.

So the Presidential election has as its background an effort to disrupt the International Typographical Union and to hamstring its local unions by injunction—even forbidding them to pay strike benefits; tedious and expensive elections in the building trades; shipping on our West Coast tied up by strikes of Communist unions endangering standards in the whole shipping industry established by unions that have served democracy. Through precedents in these battles, the rights of all workers are menaced.

Labor's first line of defense is to use its votes in the coming elections against key persons who were responsible for the enactment of the Taft-Hartley Law, which has revived government-by-injunction and denied freedom of contract to workers.

Rhode Island System

Labor There Has Formula for Success

By ARTHUR W. DEVINE
President, Rhode Island State Federation of Labor

IF SIZE were the only test of greatness, Rhode Island would be in a very unfavorable position indeed, for it is no revelation that Rhode Island is the smallest state in the Union. But a state's greatness is measured not by its size but in terms of the intellectual capacity, the energy, the ability and the progressiveness of its everyday citizens and its leaders.

Rhode Island is blessed with a population of industrious, patriotic Americans and with leaders who understand the needs of the people. So, although small in area, Rhode Island stands out as one of the most progressive states in the Union. The compactness of the state is conducive to unity of purpose in matters pertaining to the welfare of the people.

Organized labor in Rhode Island is proud that there is not one punitive or restrictive anti-labor law on the books of the state. While the State Senate is Republican and the House Democratic, there is no desire to antagonize labor. This is not to suggest that there are not those who would like to ape some of the other states by passing anti-labor laws. But the politicians well know that in Rhode Island it is labor that holds the balance of political power.

This was clearly demonstrated in 1946 when the voters in other states swallowed the slogan, "Have you had enough?" and packed Congress and state legislatures with reactionaries and worshipers of the Golden Calf.

In Rhode Island, however, the workers stood solidly behind their Representatives, who had served their constituents and the nation well. Their records being without blemish *(see Page 32)*, Representatives Fogarty and Forand were rewarded with reelection. Another liberal was elected in the person of Senator McGrath, who by his every word and act has proved his understanding of the basic problems of wage-earners.

Senator McGrath's father was a trade unionist and the son has never lost the common touch. When he champions a cause, its realization is assured. That was proved in his fight for the State Cash Sick Benefit Law, a piece of pioneering social legislation to whose beneficial nature thousands of Rhode Islanders, who in time of sickness have received their weekly benefits, will testify.

RHODE ISLAND'S Industry Accident Compensation Law compares favorably with any throughout the country. The state, under the direction of the Labor Department, maintains a Curative Compensation Center that is outstanding in its practical, physical usefulness in therapy and other medical treatments for those who have met with injuries and who are in need of special treatment.

Many other social benefits have been won by organized labor in Rhode Island. But today labor in our state recognizes that its continued progress largely depends upon the use of the power of the ballot to elect candidates who put human needs before property values.

Our present governor, John O. Pastore, is a candidate to succeed himself. He is an outstanding humanitarian, born not to affluence but the son of poor immigrants. He is the only governor, to my knowledge, who unequivocally opposed the Taft-Hartley Law as a pernicious piece of legislation.

Organized labor in Rhode Island is proud that in the past few years it has not only held its own but gone forward, at a time when in so many other states the reactionaries have risen to power and cracked the whip. We feel that the progress of Rhode Island labor has been brought about

MR. DEVINE

by the realization that organized labor has a duty—a duty to see to it that those who put material values first must suffer the political consequences of their indifference to the welfare of the workers, upon whose productive power rests the economic prosperity of all.

What we have accomplished in Rhode Island can also be accomplished in other states. If trade unionists are united at the polls, liberal lawmakers will be elected. On the other hand, if contending segments of labor permit animosity to prevail and are disunited in their political thinking and political doing, it is inevitable that organized labor will fail and reactionaries succeed.

The value of political alertness and united support of good candidates has been clearly demonstrated by Rhode Island labor. We believe the same formula is bound to produce excellent results wherever it is used.

HERE IS YOUR GUIDE

For many months the American Federation of Labor has been urging the people of the nation to register. The purpose of this campaign has been to persuade the people to qualify to exercise one of the great privileges of a free people—the right to vote.

Now the American Federation of Labor urges the people to vote—to go to the polls next month and vote for those candidates who deserve to be supported.

On the pages which follow will be found the voting record of each Senator and each Representative on twelve key rollcalls. The citizen who wants to exercise his franchise intelligently should—indeed, must—*study this record.*

In a democracy it is the obvious duty of the press to provide the people with information that enables them to discharge their responsibilities as citizens in a patriotic, intelligent manner. It is in keeping with this tradition of service to the people that this magazine now presents the voting records of members of the Senate and the House on the Taft-Hartley Act and other measures of importance.

As in former years, the American Federation of Labor's policy is to favor friends and oppose enemies, irrespective of party labels. Voters who wish to follow this policy should find the information on the following pages helpful.

THE SENATE

Here is a brief explanation of the twelve key issues on which Senators' votes are recorded on the following pages. Read these summaries. Then see how your Senators voted.

1. TAFT-HARTLEY ANTI-LABOR ACT *(H.R. 3020)*

June 23, 1947 Passed, 68 to 25

Final passage over President Truman's veto. This vote was the acid test. No Senator who voted to override the Taft-Hartley veto can be considered a friend of labor. This act, which was conceived by N.A.M., destroys the protection of the Norris-LaGuardia Act and the Wagner Act. It subjects unions to injunctions and damage suits. The purpose of the Taft-Hartley Act is to destroy free unions.

79th CONGRESS (1945-46)

2. CASE ANTI-LABOR BILL *(H.R. 4908)*

May 25, 1946 Passed, 49 to 29

This bill would have repealed Norris-LaGuardia Act and gutted the Wagner Act. It would have subjected unions to suits for damages and banned justifiable secondary boycotts. (President Truman's veto was sustained by the House, so this bill never became law.)

3. RAILROAD RETIREMENT *(Hawkes Amendment to Crosser Bill) (H.R. 1362)*

July 26, 1946 Defeated, 22 to 41

This proposal would have reduced benefits under the Crosser Railroad Retirement Bill by cutting out sickness and maternity benefits and cancelling increases in unemployment benefits.

80th CONGRESS (1947-48)

4. PORTAL-TO-PORTAL ACT *(H.R. 2157)*

March 21, 1947 Passed, 64 to 24

This act relieves employers of liabilities and penalties for violating the Walsh-Healey, Bacon-Davis and Fair Labor Standards Acts. It goes far beyond the original purpose of nullifying portal-to-portal claims.

5. BARKLEY ANTI-INFLATION AMENDMENT *(To S.J. Res. 167)*

December 18, 1947 Defeated, 35 to 48

This amendment would have given the President power to issue regulations on allocations, priorities and inventory controls in order to hold prices down.

6. RENT CONTROL *(McClellan Amendment to S. 2132)*

February 24, 1948 Defeated, 25 to 43

This proposal would have placed final rent decontrol in the hands of local boards, usually controlled by the real estate interests. Rent control would have been seriously weakened if this amendment had passed.

7. ECONOMIC COOPERATION ACT *(S. 2202)*

March 13, 1948 Passed, 69 to 17

This enactment authorized $5,300,000,000 for the European Recovery Program. Appropriation of funds was necessary to permit the Marshall Plan to operate. E.R.P. was favored by the A. F. of L. from the very start.

8. TEARING APART THE LABOR DEPARTMENT *(H. Con. Res. 131)*

March 16, 1948 Passed, 58 to 25

This measure prevented placing the U. S. Employment Service and the Bureau of Employment Security permanently in the Labor Department, where they rightfully belong.

9. HIGHER TAX ON PROFITS *(O'Mahoney-Johnson Amendment to H.R. 4790)*

March 19, 1948 Defeated, 26 to 58

This measure would have reenacted an excess profits tax against record-breaking speculative profits. The tax bill which finally passed gave a tremendous increase in income to the wealthy and very little to low-income groups.

10. FEDERAL AID TO EDUCATION *(S. 472)*

April 1, 1948 Passed, 58 to 22

This bill called for a $300,000,000 federal grant yearly to states for public schools. (Never brought to a vote in House, so bill did not become law.)

11. TAFT-ELLENDER-WAGNER HOUSING BILL *(Cain Amendment to S. 866)*

April 21, 1948 Defeated, 35 to 49

Would have struck from bill a section providing public housing units. (The Rules Committee and the Speaker prevented T-E-W bill from coming to a vote in the House. Regular and special sessions both failed to provide public housing and slum clearance in bills passed.)

12. CRIPPLING SOCIAL SECURITY *(Gearhart Resolution, H.J. Res. 296)*

June 14, 1948 Passed, 65 to 12

Passage over President Truman's veto. This measure takes 750,000 persons out from under social security.

Good Citizens Vote

And they vote intelligently. To be an intelligent voter, study the record. It will dispel the fog. It will give you the facts.

The Congressional Voting Record

THE SENATE

	Party	Taft-Hartley Act	Case Bill	R.R. Retirement	Portal-to-Portal	Anti-Inflation	Rent Control	European Recovery	Labor Dept.	Taxes	Education	Housing	Social Security
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
ALABAMA													
Hill	(D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	—	R	R	R	W
Sparkman	(D)	R	*	*	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	W
ARIZONA													
Hayden	(D)	R	R	—	—	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	W
McFarland	(D)	R	R	R	R	—	W	R	W	R	R	W	W
ARKANSAS													
Fulbright	(D)	W	W	R	W	R	—	R	W	R	R	R	W
McClellan	(D)	W	W	R	W	R	W	R	W	—	R	W	W
CALIFORNIA													
Downey	(D)	R	—	—	R	R	R	R	—	—	R	R	W
Knowland	(R)	W	W	R	W	W	R	R	W	W	R	R	W
COLORADO													
Johnson	(D)	R	R	R	R	—	W	R	R	R	R	R	W
Millikin	(R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	W	W
CONNECTICUT													
Baldwin	(R)	W	*	*	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	R	W
McMahon	(D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	R	R
DELAWARE													
Buck	(R)	W	W	—	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	—	W
Williams	(R)	W	*	*	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	—	W
FLORIDA													
Holland	(D)	W	*	*	W	R	W	R	W	R	R	W	W
Pepper	(D)	R	R	R	—	—	R	R	R	—	R	R	R
GEORGIA													
George	(D)	W	W	—	W	—	W	R	W	W	R	W	—
Russell	(D)	W	W	—	W	R	—	R	W	R	R	R	W
IDAHO													
Dworshak	(R)	W	*	*	W	W	W	W	W	R	R	W	W
Taylor	(D)	R	R	R	R	R	—	W	R	R	—	R	R
ILLINOIS													
Brooks	(R)	W	W	W	W	W	—	W	W	W	R	R	—
Lucas	(D)	R	W	R	R	—	—	R	R	W	R	R	R
INDIANA													
Capehart	(R)	W	W	—	—	W	—	W	W	W	R	W	W
Jenner	(R)	W	*	*	W	W	R	W	W	—	R	W	W

HOW TO READ THE RECORD

R means a RIGHT vote from labor's standpoint.
W means a WRONG vote.
— means Senator did not vote on issue.
* means Senator was not in office at time of vote.

	Party	Taft-Hartley Act											
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
IOWA													
Hickenlooper	(R)	W	W	—	W	W	W	R	W	W	R	W	W
Wilson	(R)	W	W	—	W	W	—	W	W	W	W	W	W
KANSAS													
Capper	(R)	W	W	W	W	W	R	R	W	W	R	R	—
Reed	(R)	W	W	W	W	W	—	R	W	—	R	—	—
KENTUCKY													
Barkley	(D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
Cooper	(R)	W	*	*	W	W	R	R	R	W	R	—	W
LOUISIANA													
Ellender	(D)	W	W	—	W	—	—	R	R	W	R	R	W
Feazel	(D)	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	W
MAINE													
Brewster	(R)	W	W	—	W	—	R	—	—	—	—	R	—
White	(R)	W	W	W	W	W	—	—	—	—	—	R	W
MARYLAND													
O'Conor	(D)	W	*	*	W	R	R	R	W	W	W	W	W
Tydings	(D)	W	W	—	—	R	—	—	—	—	—	W	W
MASSACHUSETTS													
Lodge	(R)	W	*	*	W	W	R	R	W	W	W	R	W
Saltonstall	(R)	W	W	—	W	W	R	R	W	W	R	R	W
MICHIGAN													
Ferguson	(R)	W	W	R	W	W	R	R	W	W	R	R	W
Vandenberg	(R)	W	W	R	W	W	R	R	W	W	R	R	W
MINNESOTA													
Ball	(R)	W	W	W	W	W	—	W	R	—	R	R	W
Thye	(R)	W	*	*	W	—	R	R	W	W	R	R	W
MISSISSIPPI													
Eastland	(D)	W	W	R	W	R	—	R	W	W	R	W	W
Stennis	(D)	*	*	*	*	R	W	—	W	R	R	W	W
MISSOURI													
Donnell	(R)	W	W	W	W	W	R	—	W	W	W	R	W
Kem	(R)	W	*	*	W	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	W
MONTANA													
Ecton	(R)	W	*	*	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	W	W
Murray	(D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	—	R	—
NEBRASKA													
Butler	(R)	W	—	—	W	W	W	—	W	W	—	W	W
Wherry	(R)	W	W	W	W	—	—	W	W	W	W	W	W
NEVADA													
Malone	(R)	R	*	*	W	W	R	W	W	W	W	—	—
McCarran	(D)	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	W	R	R	R	—
NEW HAMPSHIRE													
Bridges	(R)	W	W	—	W	—	—	R	W	W	—	R	W
Tobey	(R)	W	W	—	W	W	R	R	—	W	—	R	—
NEW JERSEY													
Hawkes	(R)	W	W	W	W	W	R	—	W	W	W	—	W
Smith	(R)	W	W	W	W	W	—	R	—	W	R	R	W
NEW MEXICO													
Chavez	(D)	R	—	—	R	R	R	R	—	—	R	R	—
Hatch	(D)	W	W	—	R	R	—	R	R	R	R	R	R
NEW YORK													
Ives	(R)	W	*	*	W	W	R	R	W	W	R	R	—
Wagner	(D)	†	R	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

† Senator Wagner was absent due to illness but was announced as against overriding the T-H veto.

	Party	1 Taft-Hartley Act	2 Case Bill	3 R.R. Retirement	4 Portal-to-Portal	5 Anti-Inflation	6 Rent Control	7 European Recovery	8 Labor Dept.	9 Taxes	10 Education	11 Housing	12 Social Security
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
NORTH CAROLINA													
Hoey	(D)	W	W	W	W	R	W	R	W	W	R	W	W
Umstead	(D)	W	*	*	W	R	R	R	W	W	R	W	W
NORTH DAKOTA													
Langer	(R)	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	R	R	R	R
Young	(R)	W	W	R	W	W	R	R	W	W	W	R	W
OHIO													
Bricker	(R)	W	*	*	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	W	W
Taft	(R)	W	W	W	W	W	R	—	W	W	R	—	W
OKLAHOMA													
Moore	(R)	W	W	W	W	W	—	W	W	W	W	W	—
Thomas	(D)	R	R	R	R	R	—	R	W	R	—	R	W
OREGON													
Cordon	(R)	W	W	R	—	W	R	R	W	W	R	R	W
Morse	(R)	R	R	R	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
PENNSYLVANIA													
Martin	(R)	W	*	*	W	W	—	R	W	W	—	W	W
Myers	(D)	R	R	—	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	W
RHODE ISLAND													
Green	(D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
McGrath	(D)	R	*	*	R	R	—	R	—	R	—	R	R
SOUTH CAROLINA													
Johnston	(D)	R	W	R	R	R	W	W	R	W	R	W	W
Maybank	(D)	W	—	—	W	R	—	R	R	W	R	R	—
SOUTH DAKOTA													
Bushfield	(R)	W	—	—	W	W	—	—	—	W	—	—	—
Gurney	(R)	W	W	W	W	W	R	R	W	W	W	W	W
TENNESSEE													
McKellar	(D)	W	—	R	W	R	W	R	R	W	R	W	W
Stewart	(D)	W	W	—	W	—	W	R	W	W	R	W	W
TEXAS													
Connally	(D)	W	W	R	W	R	W	R	W	R	W	—	W
O'Daniel	(D)	W	W	—	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
UTAH													
Thomas	(D)	†	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	—	—
Watkins	(R)	W	*	*	W	W	W	R	W	W	R	R	W
VERMONT													
Aiken	(R)	W	R	R	R	W	—	R	R	W	R	R	W
Flanders	(R)	W	*	*	W	W	R	R	W	W	R	R	—
VIRGINIA													
Byrd	(D)	W	W	—	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R
Robertson	(D)	W	*	*	W	W	R	R	W	W	W	W	W
WASHINGTON													
Cain	(R)	W	*	*	W	W	R	R	—	W	R	W	—
Magnuson	(D)	R	R	R	R	—	R	R	R	R	—	R	W
WEST VIRGINIA													
Kilgore	(D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	W
Revercomb	(R)	W	W	R	W	W	—	W	—	W	R	—	—
WISCONSIN													
McCarthy	(R)	W	*	*	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	W	W
Wiley	(R)	W	W	W	W	W	R	R	W	W	R	W	W
WYOMING													
O'Mahoney	(D)	R	R	—	R	R	—	R	R	R	—	R	R
Robertson	(R)	W	W	—	—	W	—	R	W	W	R	W	W

† Senator Thomas of Utah was in Europe but was announced as against overriding the T-H veto.

THE HOUSE

Here are summaries of twelve key issues on which Representatives' votes are recorded on the following pages. Read these summaries. Then see how your Representative voted.

1. TAFT-HARTLEY ANTI-LABOR ACT *(H.R. 3020)*

June 20, 1947 Passed, 381 to 83

Final passage over President Truman's veto. This vote was the acid test vote. No Representative who voted to override the Taft-Hartley veto is to be regarded as a friend of labor. This act destroys the protection of the Norris-LaGuardia Act and the Wagner Act and subjects unions to injunctions and damage suits. The purpose of the Taft-Hartley Act is to destroy America's free trade unions.

79th CONGRESS (1945-46)

2. SMITH-MAY-ARENDS ANTI-LABOR AMENDMENTS *(H.R. 3137)*

December 11, 1945 Defeated, 182 to 200

This measure would have imposed various anti-labor provisions, most of which were included later in the Taft-Hartley Act. It took bargaining rights away from a union for one year in case of a wildcat strike and subjected unions to suit for damages. No union funds could have been used for political purposes.

3. CASE ANTI-LABOR BILL *(H.R. 4908)*

February 7, 1946 Passed, 258 to 155

This bill would have repealed the Norris-LaGuardia Act and crippled the Wagner Act. It subjected unions to suits for damages and banned secondary boycotts. (President Truman's veto was sustained later, so this bill never became law.)

4. WOLCOTT PRICE-BOOSTING AMENDMENT

April 17, 1946 Passed, 260 to 137

The passage of this O.P.A.-crippling amendment which legalized guaranteed cost-plus profits was the sign that anti-O.P.A. forces had wrested control of Congress. The passage of this amendment began the brutal rise in living costs which has not yet stopped. Prices have risen 30 per cent since this critical rollcall vote.

5. RAILROAD RETIREMENT *(Lea Amendments to Crosser Bill) (H.R. 1362)*

July 3, 1946 Defeated, 106 to 182

This measure would have reduced the benefits under the Crosser Railroad Retirement Bill by cutting out sickness and maternity benefits, cancelling increases in unemployment benefits and limiting survivors' benefits.

80th CONGRESS (1947-48)

6. PORTAL-TO-PORTAL *(H.R. 2157)*

February 28, 1947 Passed, 345 to 56

This act relieves employers of liabilities and penalties for violating the Walsh-Healey, Bacon-Davis and Fair Labor Standards Acts. It goes far beyond the original purpose of nullifying portal-to-portal claims.

7. FEDERAL EMPLOYERS' LIABILITY ACT

(Jennings Amendment) (H.R. 1639)

July 17, 1947 Passed, 203 to 188

This bill would have given railroads more favorable courts in which to defend damage suits arising from railway accidents. (Never acted upon in Senate, so the bill never became law.)

8. HIGHER TAX ON PROFITS

(Rayburn Amendment to H.R. 4790)

February 2, 1948 Defeated, 159 to 258

This proposal would have reenacted the excess profits tax and raised income tax exemptions. This would have provided greater tax relief for low-income groups. The tax bill which finally passed benefited the wealthy tremendously and did scarcely anything for workers receiving average wages.

9. CRIPPLING SOCIAL SECURITY

(Gearhart Resolution) (H.J. Res. 296)

February 27, 1948 Passed, 275 to 52

Original passage of the bill removed 750,000 persons from Social Security coverage. The bill became law after being passed over President Truman's veto.

10. RENT CONTROL *(Amendment to S. 2182)*

March 16, 1948 Passed, 228 to 155

This amendment would have placed final rent decontrol in the hands of local boards which are usually controlled by real estate interests. Fortunately, this amendment was defeated in the Senate and was not made a part of the final rent control bill.

11. ECONOMIC COOPERATION ACT

March 31, 1948 Passed, 329 to 74

This was the omnibus bill authorizing $6.2 billion for the European Recovery Program, aid to Greece and Turkey, and aid to China.

12. TEARING APART THE LABOR DEPARTMENT *(H.R. 6355)*

June 16, 1948 Passed, 288 to 113

Passage over President Truman's veto of Federal Security Agency appropriation which removed the U. S. Employment Service from the Department of Labor.

The Congressional Voting Record

THE HOUSE

	District	Party	Taft-Hartley Act	Smith-May-Arends Amend.	Case Bill	Price Control	R.R. Retirement	Portal-to-Portal	Fed. Employers' Liab.	Taxes	Social Security	Rent Control	European Recovery	Labor Dept.
			1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
ALABAMA														
Andrews	3	(D)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	R	—	R
Battle	9	(D)	W	*	*	*	*	W	W	R	W	—	R	R
Boykin	1	(D)	W	W	W	W	—	W	W	R	W	—	—	—
Grant	2	(D)	W	W	W	W	—	W	W	R	W	—	—	R
Hobbs	4	(D)	W	W	W	W	R	W	W	R	W	R	R	R
Jarman	6	(D)	W	W	W	—	W	W	W	R	W	—	—	R
Jones	8	(D)	W	*	*	*	*	W	W	R	W	R	R	R
Manasco	7	(D)	W	W	W	W	R	W	W	R	—	—	—	R
Rains	5	(D)	W	R	W	—	—	W	W	R	W	R	—	R
ARIZONA														
Harless	AL	(D)	R	R	R	W	R	W	W	R	W	R	R	W
Murdock	AL	(D)	R	R	R	R	R	W	—	R	W	R	R	R
ARKANSAS														
Cravens	4	(D)	W	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	R	W
Gathings	1	(D)	W	W	W	W	R	—	W	W	W	R	R	—
Harris	7	(D)	W	—	R	W	—	W	W	R	W	R	R	W
Hays	5	(D)	W	W	W	R	R	—	—	R	W	R	R	W
Mills	2	(D)	W	W	W	W	R	W	W	R	W	R	R	R
Norrell	6	(D)	W	W	W	W	—	—	R	R	—	—	—	W
Trimble	3	(D)	W	W	W	R	R	W	R	R	W	R	R	R
CALIFORNIA														
Allen	7	(R)	W	*	*	*	*	W	W	W	W	W	R	W
Anderson	8	(R)	W	W	W	W	—	W	W	W	W	W	R	W
Bradley	18	(R)	W	*	*	*	*	W	W	W	W	W	R	W
Bramblett	11	(R)	W	*	*	*	*	W	R	W	W	W	R	W
Douglas	14	(D)	R	—	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
Elliott	10	(D)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	R	W
Engle	2	(D)	W	R	R	W	R	—	R	R	W	R	R	R
Fletcher	23	(R)	W	*	*	*	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W
Gearhart	9	(R)	W	—	W	W	R	W	R	W	W	W	R	W
Havenner	4	(D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
Hinshaw	20	(R)	W	—	W	W	W	W	W	W	—	W	R	W
Holifield	19	(D)	R	R	R	R	—	R	—	R	R	R	R	R
Jackson	16	(R)	W	*	*	*	*	W	R	W	W	W	R	W
Johnson	3	(R)	W	R	R	W	R	W	R	W	W	W	R	W
King	17	(D)	R	R	—	R	R	R	R	R	—	R	R	R
Lea	1	(D)	W	W	W	W	W	W	—	R	—	W	R	—
McDonough	15	(R)	W	R	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W

HOW TO READ THE RECORD

R means a RIGHT vote from labor's standpoint.
W means a WRONG vote.
— means Congressman did not vote on issue.
* means Congressman was not in office at time of vote.

	District	Party	Taft-Hartley Act											
			1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
CALIFORNIA *(Continued)*														
Miller	6	(D)	R	R	R	—	—	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
Nixon	12	(R)	W	*	*	*	*	W	R	W	W	W	R	W
Phillips	22	(R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	—	W	—	W	W	W
Poulson	13	(R)	W	*	*	*	*	—	R	W	W	W	R	W
Sheppard	21	(D)	R	R	R	—	R	—	—	R	R	R	R	R
Welch	5	(R)	R	R	—	R	—	R	R	W	R	—	R	R
COLORADO														
Carroll	1	(D)	R	*	*	*	*	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
Chenoweth	3	(R)	W	R	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
Hill	2	(R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W
Rockwell	4	(R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W
CONNECTICUT														
Foote	3	(R)	W	*	*	*	*	W	R	W	W	W	R	W
Lodge	4	(R)	W	*	*	*	*	W	R	W	—	W	R	W
Miller	1	(R)	W	*	*	*	*	W	W	W	W	W	R	W
Patterson	5	(R)	W	*	*	*	*	W	R	W	W	W	R	W
Sadlak	AL	(R)	W	*	*	*	*	W	R	W	W	W	R	W
Seely-Brown	2	(R)	W	*	*	*	*	W	R	W	W	W	R	W
DELAWARE														
Boggs	AL	(R)	W	*	*	*	*	W	W	W	W	W	R	W
FLORIDA														
Hendricks	5	(D)	W	W	W	W	R	—	R	R	—	—	—	W
Peterson	1	(D)	W	W	W	—	R	W	R	R	R	W	R	W
Price	2	(D)	W	W	W	W	R	W	W	R	—	W	R	W
Rogers	6	(D)	W	W	W	W	R	W	W	R	W	W	R	R
Sikes	3	(D)	W	W	W	W	—	W	R	R	W	R	—	W
Smathers	4	(D)	W	*	*	*	*	—	R	R	—	R	R	R
GEORGIA														
Brown	10	(D)	W	W	W	W	R	W	W	R	W	W	R	W
Camp	4	(D)	W	W	W	W	—	W	W	R	W	—	R	W
Cox	2	(D)	W	W	W	W	—	W	W	R	—	W	R	W
Davis	5	(D)	W	*	*	*	*	—	W	R	R	W	R	W
Lanham	7	(D)	R	*	*	*	*	W	W	R	—	R	R	R
Pace	3	(D)	W	W	W	W	—	W	W	R	W	W	R	R
Preston	1	(D)	W	*	*	*	*	W	W	R	W	W	R	W
Vinson	6	(D)	W	R	W	W	—	W	—	R	—	W	R	W
Wheeler	8	(D)	W	*	*	*	—	W	W	R	W	W	R	W
Wood	9	(D)	W	—	W	W	—	W	W	R	W	W	W	W
IDAHO														
Goff	1	(R)	W	*	*	*	*	W	W	W	W	W	R	W
Sanborn	2	(R)	W	*	*	*	*	W	R	W	W	W	W	W
ILLINOIS														
Allen	13	(R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
Arends	17	(R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W
Bishop	25	(R)	R	R	R	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	W	W
Busbey	3	(R)	W	*	*	*	*	W	W	W	W	W	—	W
Chiperfield	15	(R)	W	W	W	W	R	W	R	W	—	—	W	W
Church	10	(R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
Clippinger	24	(R)	W	R	W	W	—	W	—	W	—	—	W	W
Dawson	1	(D)	R	R	R	R	R	—	R	R	—	R	R	R
Dirksen	16	(R)	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	—	—	W	R	W
Gordon	8	(D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
Gorski	4	(D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
Jenison	18	(R)	W	*	*	*	*	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
Johnson	14	(R)	W	W	—	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W

	District	Party	1 — Taft-Hartley Act	2 Smith-May-Arends Amend.	3 Case Bill	4 Price Control	5 R.R. Retirement	6 Portal-to-Portal	7 Fed. Employers' Liab.	8 Taxes	9 Social Security	10 Rent Control	11 European Recovery	12 Labor Dept.
ILLINOIS (*Continued*)														
Mason	12	(R)	W	W	W	W	—	W	R	W	W	W	—	W
McMillen	19	(R)	W	R	W	—	R	W	W	W	—	W	R	W
O'Brien	6	(D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	R	R	R
Owens (died)	7	(R)	W	*	*	*	*	W	R	W	W	W	W	*
Price	22	(D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	R	W	R
Reed	11	(R)	W	R	W	W	R	W	R	W	W	W	W	W
Sabath	5	(D)	R	R	R	—	—	R	R	R	—	R	R	R
Simpson	20	(R)	W	R	W	W	R	W	R	W	W	W	R	W
Stratton	AL	(R)	W	*	*	*	*	W	R	W	W	W	R	W
Twyman	9	(R)	W	*	*	*	*	W	R	W	W	W	W	W
Vail	2	(R)	W	*	*	*	*	W	R	W	W	W	W	W
Vursell	23	(R)	W	W	W	W	R	W	R	W	W	W	W	W
INDIANA														
Gillie	4	(R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
Grant	3	(R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W
Halleck	2	(R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W
Harness	5	(R)	W	W	W	W	—	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
Harvey	10	(R)	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	W	W	W	R	W
Johnson	6	R	W	R	W	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
Landis	7	(R)	W	R	W	W	R	W	R	W	W	W	W	W
Ludlow	11	(D)	—	R	R	R	—	—	—	R	—	R	R	—
Madden	1	(D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
Mitchell	8	(R)	W	*	*	*	*	W	W	W	—	—	—	W
Wilson	9	(R)	W	R	—	—	R	W	W	W	W	—	W	W
IOWA														
Cunningham	5	(R)	W	W	W	W	—	W	R	W	W	W	R	W
Dolliver	6	(R)	†	—	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W
Gwynne	3	(R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	—	W	W	W	W	W
Hoeven	8	(R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	R	W
Jensen	7	(R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	—	W	R	W
LeCompte	4	(R)	W	W	W	W	—	W	R	W	W	W	R	W
Martin	1	(R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	W	W
Talle	2	(R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	R	W
KANSAS														
Cole	1	(R)	W	R	W	W	—	W	—	W	W	W	R	W
Hope	5	(R)	W	W	W	W	—	W	W	W	—	W	R	W
Meyer	3	(R)	W	*	*	*	*	W	W	W	W	W	R	W
Rees	4	(R)	W	R	W	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	R	W
Scrivner	2	(R)	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
Smith	6	(R)	W	*	*	*	*	W	W	W	—	W	W	W
KENTUCKY														
Bates	8	(D)	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	R	—	R	R	R
Chapman	6	(D)	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	W	—	R	R	R
Chelf	4	(D)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	R	R	R
Gregory	1	(D)	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	R
Meade	7	(R)	W	*	*	*	*	R	R	W	—	R	R	W
Morton	3	(R)	W	*	*	*	*	W	R	W	W	R	R	W
Spence	5	(D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
Lewis	9	(R)	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	—
Whitaker	2	(D)	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	R

† Representatives Van Zandt, Dolliver and Gifford, Republicans, and McMillan of South Carolina, Democrat, were paired in favor of overriding the veto of the Taft-Hartley Act.

† Representatives Kefauver and Kelley, Democrats, were paired against overriding the veto of the Taft-Hartley Act.

	District	Party	Taft-Hartley Act											
			1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
LOUISIANA														
Allen	8	(D)	W	W	W	W	R	W	W	R	—	R	R	W
Boggs	2	(D)	W	*	*	*	*	—	—	R	—	R	R	R
Brooks	4	(D)	W	W	W	W	R	W	R	R	W	R	R	W
Domengeaux	3	(D)	W	—	W	W	R	—	W	R	—	R	R	—
Hebert	1	(D)	W	W	W	W	—	W	—	R	—	R	R	—
Larcade	7	(D)	W	—	R	W	R	W	W	R	W	R	W	W
Morrison	6	(D)	R	R	R	R	—	—	R	—	—	—	R	W
Passman	5	(D)	W	*	*	*	*	W	W	R	—	W	—	W
MAINE														
Fellows	3	(R)	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W
Hale	1	(R)	W	R	W	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	R	W
Smith	2	(R)	W	R	R	R	R	W	R	—	—	W	R	—
MARYLAND														
Beall	6	(R)	W	R	R	W	R	W	R	W	W	W	R	W
Fallon	4	(D)	W	W	W	R	R	W	R	W	R	R	R	—
Garmatz	3	(D)	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	R	R	R	R	R
Meade	2	(D)	W	*	*	*	*	W	W	W	W	R	R	W
Miller	1	(R)	W	*	*	*	*	W	W	W	W	W	R	W
Sasscer	5	(D)	W	W	W	R	R	W	R	R	W	R	R	R
MASSACHUSETTS														
Bates	6	(R)	W	R	W	W	—	W	R	W	W	W	R	W
Clason	2	(R)	W	R	W	W	W	W	R	W	—	R	R	W
Donohue	4	(D)	R	*	*	*	*	W	R	R	W	R	R	R
Goodwin	8	(R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W
Herter	10	(R)	W	R	W	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	R	—
Heselton	1	(R)	W	R	W	W	R	W	R	W	W	R	R	W
Kennedy	11	(D)	R	*	*	*	*	R	R	R	—	R	R	R
Lane	7	(D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	R	—
Martin	14	(R)	—	W	W	W	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
McCormack	12	(D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
Nicholson	9	(R)	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	W	W	W	R	W
Philbin	3	(D)	R	R	R	W	R	W	R	W	W	R	R	R
Rogers	5	(R)	W	W	W	W	R	W	R	W	W	W	R	W
Wigglesworth	13	(R)	W	R	W	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	R	W
MICHIGAN														
Bennett	12	(R)	—	*	*	*	*	W	—	W	W	W	W	W
Blackney	6	(R)	W	W	W	W	—	W	R	W	W	W	R	W
Coffin	13	(R)	W	*	*	*	*	W	W	W	W	W	—	W
Crawford	8	(R)	W	W	W	W	—	W	R	W	W	W	W	W
Dingell	15	(D)	R	R	—	R	R	R	R	R	—	—	—	R
Dondero	17	(R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	W	W
Engel	9	(R)	W	R	R	W	—	W	R	W	W	W	R	W
Hoffman	4	(R)	W	W	R	W	—	W	W	W	W	—	W	W
Jonkman	5	(R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W
Lesinski	16	(D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	—	R	—	R
Michener	2	(R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W
Potter	11	(R)	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	W	W	W	R	W
Sadowski	1	(D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	R
Shafer	3	(R)	W	W	W	W	R	W	R	W	W	—	W	W
Wolcott	7	(R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	R	W
Woodruff	10	(R)	W	W	W	W	W	—	W	W	W	W	W	W
Youngblood	14	(R)	W	*	*	*	*	W	R	W	W	W	W	W
MINNESOTA														
Andersen	7	(R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	R	W
Andresen	1	(R)	W	W	W	W	—	W	—	W	—	W	—	W
Blatnik	8	(D)	R	*	*	*	*	R	R	R	R	R	R	—
Devitt	4	(R)	W	*	*	*	*	W	R	W	W	R	R	W